

EDWARD VII

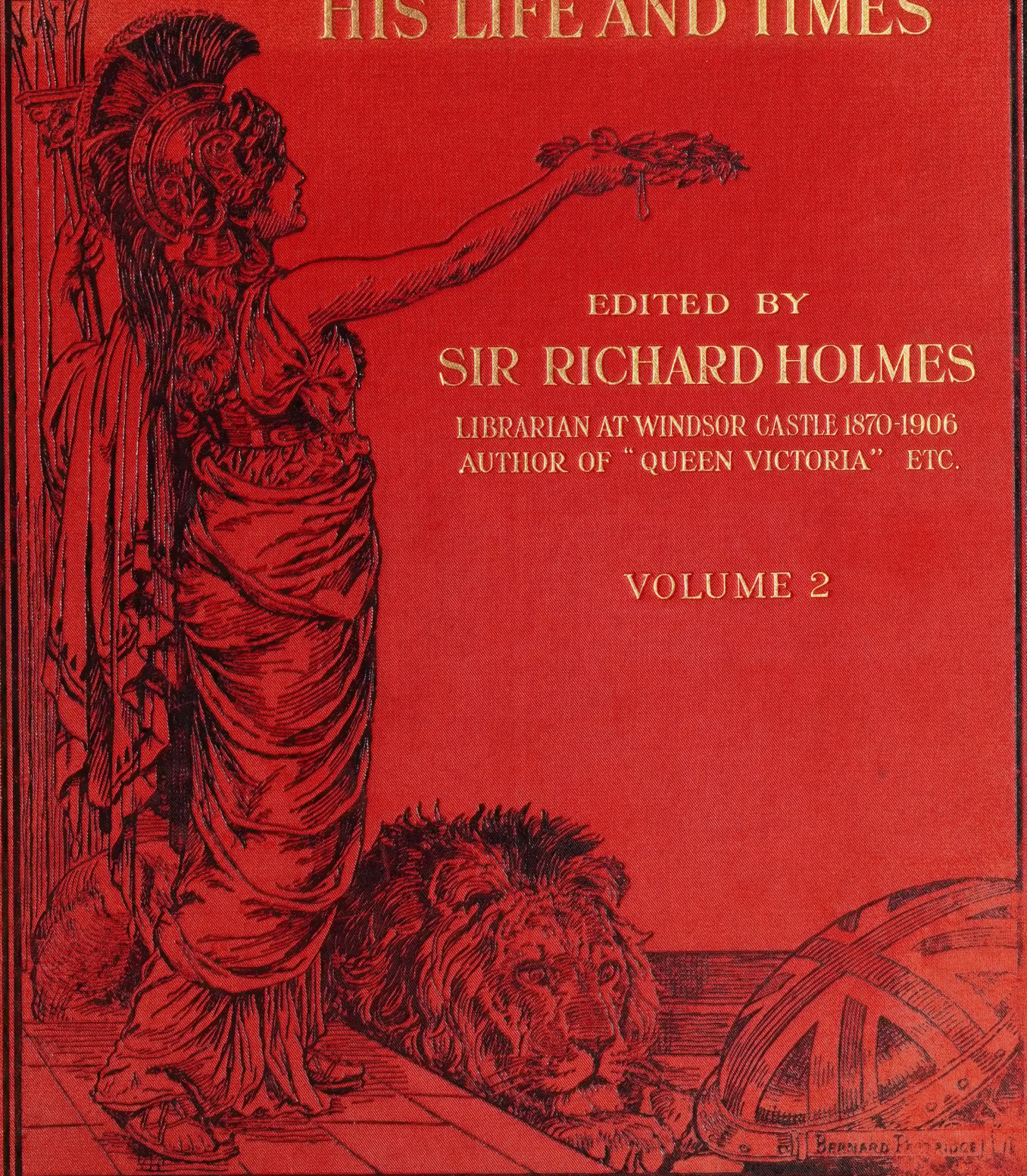
HIS LIFE AND TIMES


EDITED BY

SIR RICHARD HOLMES

LIBRARIAN AT WINDSOR CASTLE 1870-1906
AUTHOR OF "QUEEN VICTORIA" ETC.

VOLUME 2





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◊ *His Life and Times* ◊

EDITED BY

Sir Richard Holmes, K.C.V.O.,

*Librarian at Windsor Castle, 1870-1906
Author of "Queen Victoria," etc.*



PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH SPECIAL PLATES
ORIGINAL DRAWINGS, PHOTOGRAPHS & ENGRAVINGS

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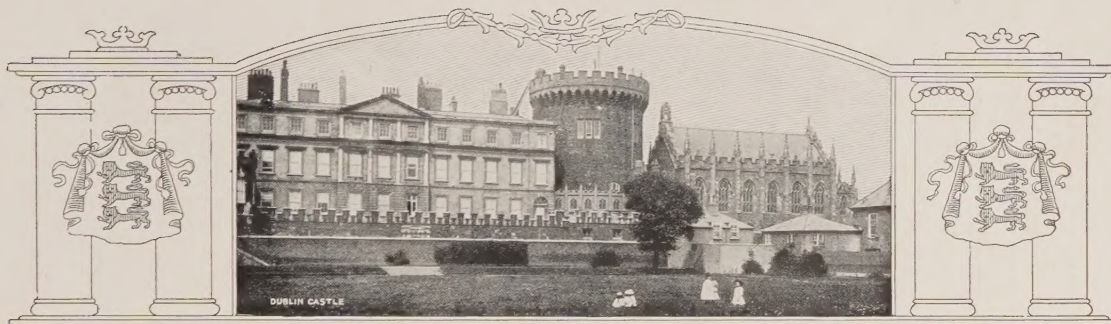
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CHAPTER XLIX

THE ROYAL VISIT TO IRELAND IN 1885

Describing the Three Weeks' Tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales during a Period of Political Unrest, and their Reception throughout the Country



IN April, 1885, the political situation in Ireland was exceedingly grave. Parnell, at the head of a powerful party, was exerting all his efforts to harass and to embarrass the Government. "United Ireland," under the editorship of Mr. William O'Brien, fanned the flame of racial bitterness, and the injustices, real and imaginary, from which Ireland suffered were made the foremost topic of political controversy. Ireland and the Irish question occupied the arena of party warfare to the exclusion of almost every other subject. Mr. Gladstone had not yet passed from coercion to concession; his Home Rule faith was not to be confessed until the following year. Lord Spencer was Lord-Lieutenant, and Castle rule, under his administration, had evoked bitter criticism throughout Ireland. The National League was supreme, and to the internal discords that were rife in the country were added the dangerous existence of a Cabinet responsible for the government of the country, and yet divided as to how that government should be carried out.

The Gladstonian Administration, that had been in power since April 28, 1880, was tottering to its fall. A majority of fourteen votes had alone saved it from censure for the loss of Khartoum. After that approximate defeat, the Cabinet had been held together only by the inspiring influence of the Prime Minister himself. The Irish question, however, dissolved all bonds. The Crimes Act, that potent instrument by which Lord Spencer had restored a semblance of peace to Ireland, required renewal before the prorogation of Parliament. In the Cabinet, Lord Spencer advocated the renewal of some of its clauses, proposing at the same time that his coercion policy should be tempered by a Land Purchase Bill and a Local Government Bill. Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre advocated a Central Administrative Board that should have jurisdiction over the whole of Ireland. On these rival schemes of pacification the Cabinet was divided. It was found impossible to arrive at any one plan which was entirely acceptable to every member of

the Ministry. The time was not far off when Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke were to take the first step towards the disruption of the Liberal party by tendering their resignations to the Prime Minister. Meanwhile, the uncertain attitude of the Government towards Ireland served only to strengthen the hands of the National League, and to render Lord Spencer's position in Dublin daily more untenable.

The Lord-Lieutenant had done much to put down with a strong hand the disorders that had raged throughout the country. The Invincibles had been broken up, the Phoenix Park murderers had been hanged, and, by the aid of the Coercion Act, the number of agrarian outrages had been diminished. He had paid the penalty, however, for the courage and determination he had displayed in effecting these results. A storm of hostile criticisms had been evoked upon his head, and never before had the national sentiment been more bitterly inflamed against England.

While Ireland was in this state, it was suddenly announced that the Prince and Princess of Wales were to pay a State visit to the country. It is hardly possible now to realise the amazement that was universally felt when this Royal intention was made known. On all sides it was hailed with disapproval; by nearly everybody it was condemned for reasons as various as the winds. For the Heir Apparent to risk his life—for so the dangers seemed to many—in Ireland at such a time was regarded almost as madness. Disaffection and disloyalty, it was said, were rampant throughout the country; the Separatist movement was at its height, and to the majority of the National League the Crown was the symbol not of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but of the ruthless ascendancy of the English Government in Ireland. In their excitement, the Nationalist leaders forgot that the Prince stood apart from all political parties, that his strictly constitutional position raised him above all partisanship, and that in his eyes there were no Nationalists or Orangemen, but simply the inhabitants of Ireland, who were as much the subjects of Queen Victoria as the inhabitants of England. They could not recognise



KING EDWARD AT THE TIME OF THE IRISH VISIT

From a photograph by H. N. King

the impartial attitude of the Crown; they could not see that the representative of the Sovereign might fulfil no better or more constitutional function than in helping to assuage the bitterness of political warfare, and by rallying round the emblem, common alike to English and Irish, the subjects of both kingdoms, exercise that moderating influence on the controversy which should have been the desire of all reasonable people. If there was one moment more than another when the Sovereign or her representative was justified in making clear to the people of Ireland the strict impartiality of the Crown, it was at this moment.

None the less, the announcement, once the first amazement was over, raised a storm of indignation wherever the Nationalist influence predominated. It was argued, in justification of this openly expressed hostility, that the visit of the Prince of Wales was not merely the ordinary Royal Family visit, but was being made for a direct political purpose. It was wildly declared that the Prince was coming to Ireland in order to bolster up the administration of Lord Spencer, and at the same time, while recalling the Irish people to a sense of the debt they owed to Royalty, to strike a blow at the popularity of Parnell. Unfortunately, this entirely erroneous view of the Prince's forthcoming visit was supported by the utterances of politicians and journalists of all parties in England. It was widely claimed as a political campaign, and openly written of as an event destined to annihilate immediately the faction which followed the leadership of Parnell. It was to these comments, spoken and written, that must be ascribed many of the unpleasant and unfortunate incidents that marred their Royal Highnesses' tour through the sister kingdom. Only the Prince's courage and his high sense of duty made him persist in an intention from the carrying out of which most men would have hesitated and most men would have drawn back. For it was not only the Nationalists who were loud in their protests against what they wrongly considered a mere political campaign, but the Orangemen, or the "Loyalists"—as they were termed in the parlance of the hustings to distinguish them from the Nationalists, or disaffected section of the people—regarded the event not as an honour paid by the representative of the Sovereign, but as a tardy reparation to Ireland. They complained of the indifference which the Court and Crown had manifested towards Ireland. They found cause for feeling aggrieved at the way in which Scotland had been made the recipient of so much Royal favour, and had been sunned so continuously by the Royal presence. Ireland, they declared, had been systematically neglected. A long space of years had passed since the Queen had crossed to her shores, and the Prince of Wales's previous visit had almost faded from the memory of the people. They pointed out that until the Duke of Cambridge went to Ireland in

1844 no Royal Prince had visited the country for a long period, and since then such visits had been but few. In short, while one section ungraciously looked upon the visit as an act of tardy reparation, the other section regarded it as a crusade not only against their opinions, but against those politicians who, they rightly maintained, enjoyed an immense popularity with a large majority of the people. Such a state of affairs was not a good omen for their Royal Highnesses' tour. Every influence possible was brought to bear upon them to abandon the visit. The state of Ireland was pictured in the most gloomy colours; political unrest was painted as active disloyalty, and a certain section of the Irish Press even indulged in threats. But the Prince of Wales was not dismayed. It has not often happened that the Sovereign of Great Britain, or some member of the Royal Family representing the Crown, is called upon to undertake such a task, and the calmness and courage which the Prince displayed in performing it is the best proof, if proof were needed, of the high sense of duty by which he was always actuated.

It was clearly the belief among the Nationalists that, provided they made known their antagonism to the visit

Irish Nationalist Misrepresentation

political purpose. It was wildly declared that the Prince was coming to Ireland in order to bolster up the administration of Lord Spencer, and at the same time, while recalling the Irish people to a sense of the debt they owed to Royalty, to strike a blow at the popularity of Parnell. Unfortunately, this entirely erroneous view of the Prince's forthcoming visit was supported by the utterances of politicians and journalists of all parties in England. It was widely claimed as a political campaign, and openly written of as an event destined to annihilate immediately the faction which followed the leadership of Parnell. It was to these comments, spoken and written, that must be ascribed many of the unpleasant and unfortunate incidents that marred their Royal Highnesses' tour through the sister kingdom. Only the Prince's courage and his high sense of duty made him persist in an intention from the carrying out of which most men would have hesitated and most men would have drawn back. For it was not only the Nationalists who were loud in their protests against what they wrongly considered a mere political campaign, but the Orangemen, or the "Loyalists"—as they were termed in the parlance of the hustings to distinguish them from the Nationalists, or disaffected section of the people—regarded the event not as an honour paid by the representative of the Sovereign, but as a tardy reparation to Ireland. They complained of the indifference which the Court and Crown had manifested towards Ireland. They found cause for feeling aggrieved at the way in which Scotland had been made the recipient of so much Royal favour, and had been sunned so continuously by the Royal presence. Ireland, they declared, had been systematically neglected. A long space of years had passed since the Queen had crossed to her shores, and the Prince of Wales's previous visit had almost faded from the memory of the people. They pointed out that until the Duke of Cambridge went to Ireland in



STATE VISIT TO IRELAND IN 1885: THE ROYAL PARTY CROSSING TO KINGSTOWN

When, in 1885, the Prince of Wales announced his intention of visiting Ireland, political parties on both sides of the Channel wrongly attributed to it a political motive. Though the Nationalists, as a party, took no part in receiving the Heir to the Throne, the people generally were boisterous in their enthusiasm, and gave the Prince, who was accompanied by the Princess of Wales and their elder son, Prince Albert Victor, a right hearty greeting.

loudly enough, the visit would be abandoned. The calmness and persistence with which all the arrangements were proceeded with speedily dispelled this idea. Believing, as they did, that it was intended as a deliberate attempt on the part of the Government to justify Lord Spencer, and to seal their approval of a regime that was most unpopular, the Nationalists were

convinced that they had only to apply the same tactics that had answered so well in the political

arena to discourage the Prince from coming to Ireland. When they realised that they were mistaken, they were plunged in a turmoil of uncertainty as to how they should act. One section declared for the policy of decided and marked disapproval; another for holding aloof and regarding the visit with an affected indifference and disdain. Parnell himself lent his support to the latter plan of action. In a letter to "United Ireland" he advised that the recognition of the Prince (the Princess, as a lady, was carefully omitted from his proposed plan of proscription) should be left to "the garrison of officials and landowners, and place-hunters who fattened upon the poverty and misfortunes of the country." The more aggressive section, however, used language far more violent than that of their leader, expressing their hostility in terms that were unmistakable. In the Lord Mayor of Dublin they discovered a champion of their views.

For many generations the post of Lord Mayor of Dublin had been held by somebody confessing to the faith of Whig or Tory. It was difficult, especially for English people, to realise that the Lord Mayor of Dublin at this time was a Nationalist—a political creed which has been avowed by each occupant of the mayoral chair since. Something like consternation was created in official circles when it was known that the Lord Mayor had summoned a public meeting in Phoenix Park, and had there declared that on the coming of the Prince he would haul down the flag that always flies from the Mansion House when the Lord Mayor is in residence. The Nationalist Press strongly approved of the course of action he proposed; but the Whig and Tory Press of Ireland received the announcement with a shout of horror; and by the London newspapers, who mischievously persisted in regarding the Prince's visit as a move in the political game, the incident was hailed as a fresh proof of a disaffection which could only be extinguished by the Prince going to Ireland.

The excitement aroused by his words in Phoenix Park alarmed the Lord Mayor. He hastened to do what he could to minimise their effect. In a letter to the papers he expressed his regret for language which he had used in the heat of the moment, and declared that he had not intended to insult the Prince. This apparent surrender, however, only served to embitter the fight between the factions. The Nationalists were angry and indignant; the Loyalists and the English Press hailed the event as proof positive of the disorganisation that prevailed in Parnell's party, and prophesied from this incident that the National League would speedily evaporate "before the sunlight of the Royal countenance." The Lord Mayor again changed his views, and in order to right himself with his Nationalist supporters delivered a furious oration from the steps of the City Court Hall in Dublin to a crowd of indignant Loyalists, who hissed him loudly. The effect of his rash rhetoric was



THE DRAWING-ROOM AT DUBLIN CASTLE ON THE OCCASION OF THE ROYAL VISIT

almost immediately seen. A number of undergraduates from Trinity College raided the garden in Dawson Street, in which the flagstaff stands, just outside the Mansion House, and tore away the piece of bunting which the Lord Mayor had threatened to put to so rebellious a use. The Nationalists, outraged at what had taken place, retorted with what, from their point of view, was an effective answer. A new flag was prepared and put in the place of the one that had been abducted. This flag was simply the national flag—the green standard, bearing upon it the uncrowned harp of gold, the emblem of Ireland as separated from the United Kingdom.

As the time of the visit drew near counsels of moderation prevailed among the Irish leaders; the plans of the more aggressive section were abandoned, and it was resolved that the members of the National League should simply take no notice of the Prince's visit. There could be no mistaking the attitude of the vast majority of Irishmen towards the Royal visit previous to the Prince's arrival. "United Ireland" issued a special number, devoted entirely to expressions of public opinion from prominent Irishmen of all kinds. Every Nationalist member of

A Great Chorus of Protest

Parliament, every prominent Churchman, every president of the local branches of the National League, every Irishman with conspicuous Nationalist views was invited to state his opinions. The replies filled a supplement of several pages. From the Archbishop of Cashel to the officials of the smallest branches of the League; from members of Parliament who followed Parnell to the curate of some remote parish there came a flood of unanimous disapproval of the visit. A perusal of those letters, some of them couched in the most violent language, some, on the other hand, expressed with

reasonable moderation, shows clearly that the vast majority of Irishmen at the time completely misunderstood the motives which prompted the Prince in coming to Ireland. Unanimously they insisted upon the fact that his visit was a purely political move advised by the Government with a view to dispelling the influence of Parnell. As such it was regarded as an insult and a snare. Not

Royal Tact in an Awkward Situation one of the writers realised the constitutional impartiality of the Crown, or the fact that the Sovereign of the United Kingdom, since the days of George III., has stood aloof from all political factions.

This attempt to make the Crown a pawn in the political game—an attempt for which all parties alike, directly or indirectly, were responsible—had the most unfortunate results, and only the consummate tact of the Prince of Wales, never before displayed in such trying circumstances, saved his tour in Ireland from disaster. All the regrettable incidents of that tour must be laid at the door of those politicians who thought to further the interests of their party by lending their countenance to the suggestion that the Prince regarded the people of Ireland as divided into loyalists and disloyalists, into Orangemen and Nationalists; that he favoured one as against the other, and did not look upon them impartially as the subjects of Queen Victoria, whom he represented. It was an unfortunate situation that had been created. Its subsequent effect was to give quite a false impression of the real sentiments of the Irish people towards the Crown—a misconception that has since been fortunately entirely removed. Even in that famous supplement of "United Ireland" it was obvious that no animosity was directed against the Prince personally. Nearly all the letters, while counselling an attitude of

indifference to the visit, urged the people to abstain from any show of hostility to the Prince. The blame in Nationalist eyes attached itself, in short, not to the Prince himself but to those unseen hands which they imagined were busy pulling the strings in order to make the Nationalist section of the people dance to their political tune.

Parnell's letter to "United Ireland" brings out clearly the attitude of the majority of the Irish people towards the Prince's visit. It shows how the mistaken idea prevailed that that visit was purely a political excursion, and that, while the Irish people regarded the Crown with honour and respect, they resented its influence being employed in the squabbles of the factions. "You ask my views regarding the visit of the Prince of Wales," wrote Parnell. "In reply I desire to say that if the usages of the Constitution existed in Ireland as they do in England, there would, in my judgment, be no inconsistency in those who believe in a limited monarchy as the best form of government taking a suitable part in the reception of the Prince; but, in view of the fact that the Constitution has never been administered in Ireland according to its spirit and precedents, that the power of the Crown as wielded by Earl Spencer and other Viceroy is despotic and unlimited to the last degree, and that in the present

Parnell's View of the Royal Visit instance the Royal personage is to be used by the two English political parties in Ireland for the purpose of injuring and insulting the Irish Nationalist party, and of impeding, if possible, their work, I fail to see on what grounds it can be claimed from any lover of Constitutional government under a limited monarchy that the Prince is entitled to a reception from the independent and patriotic people of Ireland, or to any recognition save from the garrison of



THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES PASSING OVER THE PARNELL BRIDGE AT CORK

Visiting Cork on April 15, the Prince and Princess of Wales took part in various ceremonies. Some opposition to the Royal party mingled with the general warmth of the reception, and near Parnell Bridge an organised body of men made a hostile demonstration.



THE PRINCE OF WALES PRESENTING NEW COLOURS TO THE 32ND REGIMENT IN THE CASTLE GARDENS AT DUBLIN

officials, landowners, and place-hunters who fatten upon the poverty and misfortune of the country.

"Let me suggest a parallel. Would it be tolerated in England for a moment if the Government, for their own party purposes, upon the eve of a General Election, were to use the Prince of Wales as an electioneering agent in any section of the country, and were to send him upon a Royal progress in order to embarrass their political opponents? The breach of constitutional privilege becomes still greater when we consider that it is the march of a nation which is now sought to be impeded—the fruition of a long struggle and of many sacrifices which the adventitious aid of his Royal visit is enlisted to injure. I have, however, every confidence that our people, having been suitably forewarned, will not allow their hospitable natures and cordial dispositions to carry them into any attitude which might be taken as one of condonation for the past or satisfaction with the present state of affairs."

This was a comprehensive statement of the views of the Nationalist position. But though the Prince, as the wrongly imagined agent of the English political parties, was not to be cordially received, a clear and sharp distinction was to be made in cases where he acted, in the opinion of the National League, as the representative of the Crown. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, Dr. Delaney, emphasised the distinction which was to be made

The Homage of the Clergy

in an address to his clergy, delivered a few days before the Royal visitors arrived in Cork. The Prince, with his usual earnest interest in social work and in the betterment of the conditions under which the working classes lived, had made known his intention of visiting the Home of Refuge, one of the Catholic institutions in the city. Speaking of this approaching visit, the bishop said that he desired the clergy to join with him in paying to their Royal Highnesses that tribute of respect and devotion due to those of an exalted rank. The Prince of Wales, he said, came among them not as a politician—by his

position he was raised far above the sphere of politics and party strife. He was to be the future ruler of them all, and they were bound to give him that honour and that unquestioning obedience of which St. Paul spoke: "Tribute to whom tribute is due; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour." Moreover, his Royal Highness had evinced a peculiar interest in the question of housing the poor—a question which concerned them in Ireland very intimately—and common gratitude should lead them to give a warm welcome to him who had interested himself so much in looking after their wants.

The Arrival at Kingstown

On April 7 the Prince and Princess of Wales, accompanied by their eldest son, Prince Albert Victor (Duke of Clarence), left London for Dublin. Their reception at Kingstown the following day was one which seemed to belie the rumours that the storm of political strife was to cast a shadow over their visit. Unfortunately, the English Press unanimously united in giving this reception a political bias, and claimed that the enthusiasm with which the people acclaimed the Prince was evidence that the power of Parnell and the National League had disappeared for good and all. This improper and unconstitutional expression of opinion was destined to have the most unfortunate results. At 11 o'clock on the morning of the 8th the booming of the guns of the fleet announced that the Royal yacht was passing the Belleisle guardship. As the Osborne came round the East Pier, a brilliant spectacle was presented to their Royal Highnesses as they stood on the main deck. The shore was crowded with people. On Carlisle Pier itself galleries had been specially erected to seat certain favoured members of the public. All the ships in the harbour were decorated, and the quay was ablaze with the uniforms of the Highland Light Infantry and the ceremonial dresses of the Lord-Lieutenant's staff. But of more value than all these symbols of rejoicing were the loud and hearty cheers which sprang spontaneously from the throats of the thousands

who thronged the precincts of the harbour. After receiving the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary (Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman), and other distinguished officials, the Prince and his party landed on Carlisle Pier. Here the Prince was presented with the first of the many

**The Prince's Reply
to a Loyal Address**

addresses he was to receive before his departure. In reply to the deputation of the Kingstown Commissioners, expressing their loyalty to the Crown, the Prince made known the pleasure his reception had given him.

"It has given me great pleasure to receive the address with which you have greeted me on my first landing in Ireland after some absence from your shores, and I am grateful to you for the welcome which you have accorded to the Princess of Wales and myself. I value, I can assure you, very highly the expression of loyalty and attachment to the Crown which your address contains, and I will not fail to communicate to the Queen the sentiments of loyalty and devotion which you have expressed towards her Majesty. Most certainly do I hope that this may not be the last visit that we shall pay to a country where we have always been welcomed by kindness, and where the hospitality which we have invariably received on all former occasions has left so many pleasant recollections impressed on our minds."

After these few tactful and graceful words the Prince and his party took train for Dublin, where they were accorded a still more enthusiastic reception. Though the Lord Mayor and the Civic authorities refrained from greeting him, the representatives of a citizens' committee presented him with an address on the platform, in which

they extolled the part he had taken in the Commission of Inquiry, then sitting in London, on the question of the housing of the working classes, and expressed the hope that when the Commission came to Ireland the Prince would give the benefit of his support to its proceedings. In reply, the Prince declared "that the furtherance of the welfare of all classes of the realm is an object which is dear to me, and I trust that the efforts of the Commission of which I am a member will tend to the improvement of the dwellings of those who contribute by their labours to the prosperity of our great towns, and will thus add to their public utility as citizens as well as to their private and domestic happiness." Loud and prolonged cheering greeted the Prince's words, and as he left the precincts of the station the vociferous welcome increased in volume.

As the Royal cortège drove through the streets beneath ornamental arches bearing inscriptions of welcome, some in Danish in honour of the Princess, the crowds went wild with delight. From every window and balcony along the route cheers went forth, and the volume of welcome seemed to increase at every foot of the way. The procession, composed of the Royal carriages, escorted by

**Dublin's Delight
and Enthusiasm** under waving canopies, between a dark, tense multitude, lightly fringed with the lines of the infantry on guard. No unpleasant incident, no whisper of discord, occurred throughout the Royal progress to the Castle. In some places, it is true, the crowd was silent; but even in these rare oases of calm the people displayed nothing but good humour and respect. In the afternoon the Royal party visited the



BELFAST'S LOYAL WELCOME TO THE ROYAL VISITORS: THE PROCESSION PASSING ALONG CASTLE PLACE

In no part of Ireland, during the memorable tour of 1885, did the Prince and Princess of Wales receive a heartier greeting than at Belfast. For weeks beforehand preparations had been in progress in this prosperous northern city to give the Royal party an enthusiastic greeting. Never in the history of Ireland had decorations been arranged on such a lavish scale, £50,000 being spent by the townspeople on the triumphal arches and the bunting which emblazoned the streets.



AT KILLARNEY: THE ROYAL PARTY BOATING ON THE BEAUTIFUL LAKE

Spending a few days amid the unsurpassed beauties of the Killarney district, the illustrious visitors experienced an ideal holiday, the anticipations of the Prince of Wales being fully realised, and not a single incident occurring to mar the peace and enjoyment of the tour.

Royal Dublin Society's Spring Show, where the warmth and heartiness of their greeting almost eclipsed that of a few hours previously.

The following day the Prince gave an illustration of the deep interest which he had always manifested in the welfare of his people. At an early hour on April 9 it was circulated in Dublin that, accompanied by his son, he intended to visit privately some model dwellings for artisans. The people determined, however, to divest the proceedings of privacy, and assembled in great numbers outside the Castle, in order that they might have the opportunity of cheering his Royal Highness and escorting him on his tour of investigation. Only by driving out by Ship Street in a closed carriage was his Royal Highness able to escape these loyal attentions. His escort was the Chief Commissioner of Police, who drove ahead in a simple outside car. Making his way to Golden Lane—at that time the very lowest quarter of the city—the Prince inspected some of the slum dwellings.

The sight made a deep impression upon his mind, and he expressed himself as appalled at the idea of any human beings being allowed to occupy such wretched houses. While he was engaged in studying first-hand one of the great social problems, the news got about as to his identity. The neighbours rushed from their houses and cheered him vociferously; the women

The Prince visits Dublin Slums

poured blessings on the Prince and his "fine son," and the children went half frantic with delight. From the slums of Golden Lane, the Prince passed to an inspection of the model artisans' dwellings. Here, again, he was received with wild delight by a large crowd of artisans and their families. The Prince mingled with the crowd fearlessly and cordially, being only guarded by a single policeman, and the trust and confidence that he displayed, and their appreciation of his practical benevolence,

roused the people to a high pitch of loyal enthusiasm.

On returning to the Castle, the Prince held a levée. The excitement that this event created was so great, and the number of carriages so extensive, that those entitled to be presented had the greatest difficulty in making their way to the Castle. The police were unable to maintain order, and, though the crowd was enthusiastically loyal, the confusion was great. Inside the Castle

A Crowded Levée at the Castle

the scene was even more tumultuous. The small entrance hall to the picture gallery, which was the ante-room to St. Patrick's Hall (used as the Throne Room), was besieged by a medley of persons seemingly hopelessly wedged together. Judges, officers of all rank in naval and military and civil service, clergymen and gentlemen from town and country, were huddled together and crushed in an indistinguishable throng. At intervals the door leading to the Throne Room was opened, and a certain number were thrust into the presence by the external pressure. The levée lasted from two till eight o'clock, after which the Princess, who had visited Alexandra College in the afternoon, gave a Drawing Room.

The following day was spent untiringly by the Prince in receiving addresses from various public bodies, in laying the foundation-stone of the new Museum of Science and Art, and in a visit to the Royal University. On the 12th a State Ball was held at the Castle, previous to which the Princess opened and christened the new Alexandra Basin, one of the improvements effected by the Port and Docks Board to accommodate the increasing trade of the city. Trinity College, also, was visited, and a special inspection made of Artane Industrial Schools. On the 13th the Royal party left Dublin for their tour in the country. But while all these rejoicings were taking place, while Dublin was shouting itself hoarse in acclamation of the Prince and the Princess, the political situation had taken a serious development.

Goaded to anger by the almost unanimous shouts of victory with which the English Press hailed the reception of the Prince as a sign that the influence of Parnell and the National League was at an end, the leaders of the Irish party took action. Had the newspapers of London retained that discretion which usually characterises them—had they refrained from regarding the visit of the Prince to Ireland as a partisan manœuvre—undoubtedly nothing would have happened to disturb the

The Nationalists progress of the Royal tourists. As it was, **Roused to Action** Parnell and his followers were almost forced into showing a hostile front to the Royal personage whom they were anxious to treat with honour and respect. It became necessary, in order to maintain the political prestige of the National League, to show its opponents that the visit of the Prince had not undermined the strength and effectiveness of their party. Almost as soon as the reports in the English newspapers reached Dublin, the feelings of the Nationalists were demonstrated.

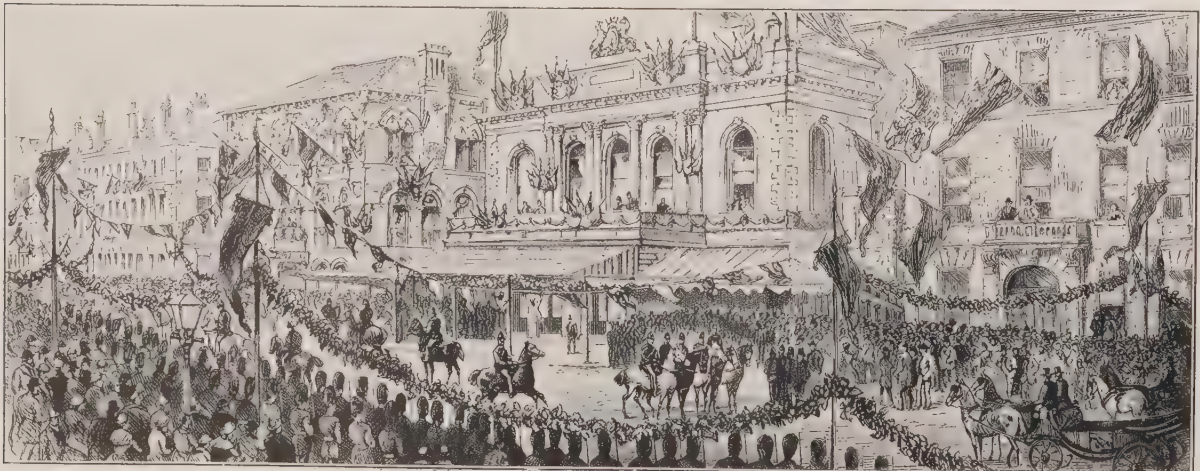
On April 8, the occasion of the Prince's arrival in Dublin, all had gone well. If the attitude of neutrality advocated by Parnell was preserved by a certain section of the citizens of the Irish capital, if the Lord Mayor kept within the walls of the Mansion House and flew the National flag, at least the Nationalists behaved with propriety and decorum, and contemporary reports are unanimous in declaring that their reception of the Prince was courteous and cordial. Only by a slight reserve did they mark the distinction which they imagined existed, and which the political Press had forced them to credit, between the Heir to the Throne of the United Kingdom and the Royal representative of a political faction. But on April 9 the reports in the London papers had been telegraphed to Dublin, and at once the situation took upon itself an entirely new complexion. If the English parties declared that the cordial reception of the Prince in Dublin was a sign that Parnell and the National League were dead forces, it behoved the Nationalist party to demonstrate clearly that such was not the case. If they threw all remembrance of loyalty to the winds, if they abandoned that attitude of courtesy and respect due to the Heir to the Crown, some excuse for their actions may be found in the consideration that the necessities of party warfare forced their hands. In apportioning the blame, the historian must acknowledge that it was the organs of their opponents which first acclaimed the visits of the Prince as a partisan manœuvre. By their subsequent insistence on this point they drove a considerable section of the Irish people into an attitude of hostility. This hostility, however, originated, not in disloyalty towards the Prince, but in the desire to demon-

strate to their political opponents that the National League had lost none of its influence.

The immediate effect of the reports in the London newspapers was a certain amount of rioting in Dublin. On the evening of the 9th several windows which were illuminated in honour of the Royal visitors were broken, and before the Royal stay at Dublin was completed the authorities had to issue a request that such illuminations should be discontinued, in order that peace might be preserved. On the 12th a mass meeting was held in Cork Park which was addressed by the Mayor, Mr. Deasy, and Mr. O'Connor. The speakers vigorously protested against the Crown being employed for partisan purposes, and declared that the English newspapers had grossly misrepresented the effect of the Royal visit to Dublin. In their anxiety to refute the charge that the influence of the National League had been destroyed by the coming of the Prince, the speakers went so far as to advocate the adoption of a policy which should prove by action the solidarity of Parnell and his party. As the result of this mass meeting, green posters were placarded all over Cork and in places through which the Prince was to pass in the course of his southward tour. They bore the heading, "The Prince and the People," and urged the people to abstain from any demonstration in favour of his Royal Highness's visit.

At the same time Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., announced his intention of presenting an address to the Prince at Mallow Railway Station against the injustice of Lord Spencer's rule. On the 13th the Royal party left Dublin, and as soon as their departure was made known the Lord Mayor threw off the restraint which he had preserved, and addressed a meeting from the parapet of the City Hall. In the course of his speech he declared that the Royal visit had been engineered for party purposes, and that as such it was an insult to the Nationalists, and concluded his remarks by calling for cheers for Parnell. While these demonstrations were taking place in Dublin, which he had just left, a more unfortunate scene was being enacted at Mallow. Shortly before the arrival of the

An Unfortunate Royal train, Mr. O'Brien, M.P., accom-
Scene at Mallow panied by Mr. Harrington, Mr. Deasy, and Mr. O'Connor, and followed by a large crowd of Nationalists, attempted to make their way to the platform. They found it already in the occupation of a large body of police. Just as the Royal train steamed in, a scuffle ensued between the authorities and the demonstrators, and it was only by the exercise of considerable force that Mr. O'Brien and his followers were kept back. They betook themselves to a field hard by, and from there answered the cheers of the loyalists in the station with counter cheers for Parnell.



THE DECORATIONS AT ULSTER HALL, BELFAST, DURING THE ROYAL VISIT

Similar scenes were witnessed at several places as the Royal party journeyed down to Curraghmore, the seat of the Marquis of Waterford. At Lismore a large crowd was massed outside the station, who made no demonstration, either friendly or hostile, but preserved absolute silence. At Dungarvan, the station and the road beside it were lined with people, yet not a single cheer was raised, and no demonstration of any kind was made. At one house at Kilmacthomas the roof was crowned with black flags, bearing such inscriptions as "Down with Castle rule," and "Remember Miles Joyce." A large number of people at Carroll's Cross and Durrow Stations allowed the train to pass in silence, and hardly a friendly cheer was raised until Kilmeady, the nearest station to Curraghmore, was reached. At Curraghmore, the Nationalists, without showing any disrespect to the Prince personally, made his arrival an excuse for demonstrating in favour of their leader. While a band played the National Anthem, and a large section of the crowd cheered loudly, another body in the road outside the station raised cheers for Parnell and the Land League. The 11th Hussars, escorted the Royal party to the seat of the Marquis of Waterford, and on their way they were received with hearty and enthusiastic cheers.



THE ROYAL VISITORS PASSING THROUGH THE FAR-FAMED KILLARNEY DISTRICT

Arriving at Cork on April 15, the Prince, in reply to an address, once more emphasised his position as the representative of the Crown, and as, consequently, above all political disputes. "I am very grateful," he said, "to you for the welcome with which, on behalf of a large number of the citizens of the county of Cork, you have greeted us on our arrival among you. It would have afforded us additional pleasure if time had permitted us to see some of those great mercantile establishments which have made Cork famous, and to examine the methods by which the trade and commerce of your city have been developed to their present state. Your labours have raised Cork to an important position, not only with reference to Ireland, but in regard to the Empire at large. I earnestly hope that success may attend you in the future as in the past, and that all who have influence in your affairs may, avoiding those dissensions which impede the progress of a city, unite in earnest effort to promote the real welfare and the true interests of your inhabitants."

This speech, with its wise pacific note, was received with loud cheering. Outside the station, however, there was

some hissing, and later on, while the Prince was engaged in opening a public building, a large crowd of men passed through an adjoining street in military array, singing "God Save Ireland," and booing. After visiting an industrial school and the House of Refuge, the Royal party passed in procession through the streets, which, for a mile and a half, were decked with flags. Their reception *en route* varied according to the political views of the crowd at the different points. At one place stones were thrown; at another the people pressed round the carriage cheering loudly. As they passed Queen's College, they were met with a storm of hisses from the students. Later on, as they entered the precincts of the Protestant Cathedral, the crowd gave them the heartiest of receptions. Again, on their return from the Cathedral, another section, who had begun tearing down the flags and decorations, had to be driven off by the mounted police. A visit to Queen's College, which had been part of the programme, was abandoned. As they passed down the South Mall, an organised body of men, who had taken up their position near

Parnell Bridge, under the leadership of Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., made a hostile demonstration. For the rest of the way, however, to Customhouse Quay, the greetings were spontaneous and continuous.

The Royal party went afloat, making their way to the Royal Victoria Docks, where the Prince laid the keel of a new vessel intended for the Government. They then proceeded to Haulbowline, and as they neared Queenstown

they were welcomed with a Royal salute from the Channel Fleet and from Spike and Harbour fort batteries. A lunch was held

in one of the spacious stores of the naval department of Haulbowline, to which 500 guests sat down. Great enthusiasm prevailed, and not one discordant note marked the proceedings. After lunch the Royal party, having inspected the docks, re-embarked and made a circuit of the harbour. Ultimately they were landed near the Great Southern and Western Railway terminus, where they took train to Ballyhooley. On the 17th the Royal party travelled to Killarney, being received enthusiastically everywhere *en route*. There the anticipations of the Prince were fully realised. His few days' sojourn at Killarney was an ideal holiday. The Royal party enjoyed themselves, like hundreds of less exalted tourists, in wandering amid the unsurpassed beauties of Killarney and the neighbourhood. Not an incident disturbed the peace and enjoyment of their tour. The inhabitants of Kerry vied with each other in their desire to show their loyalty and their affection for the Royal House. During one of their excursions the party took lunch at Derrycunihy Cottage, which had been built on the occasion of Queen Victoria's visit in 1861. One day was devoted to sailing on the lakes, and in watching the boatmen dance Highland flings and Irish reels to the music of the Border Regiment's band.

On Sunday, April 19, the Prince and Princess attended Divine Service at St. Mary's Episcopal Church at Killarney, accompanied by the Lord-Lieutenant and his wife. The following day they brought their tour in the south to a conclusion, and once more took train for the capital. There two days were spent, during which both the Prince and the Princess coped untiringly with a long list of ceremonial functions. On the 21st, 10,000 school children belonging to the Protestant Church in Ireland assembled in the grounds outside the Viceregal Lodge and presented their Royal Highnesses with an address of welcome.

After this the Royal party drove in State to attend the famous Punchestown races. On the following day the Prince inspected the constabulary depôt in Phoenix Park. The same evening saw the close of the celebrations in Dublin in honour of the Royal visitors, these concluding with a citizens' ball, which was arranged on a scale of costly magnificence. All Irish society was represented, and some 6,000 people were present to greet their Royal Highnesses. On the 23rd, the Royal party left for Belfast, the Prince marking his appreciation of the hospitality he had received in the capital by a characteristic gift of £100 to the Dublin Hospital Sunday Fund.

The journey northwards was one long triumphal progress. At every little station through which the train steamed crowds assembled to cheer the Royal party on their way. From the cottages and cabins *en route* flags and banners were hung, some composed with ingenious simplicity of coloured tablecloths and counterpanes, but all indicative

of the loyal feelings with which their owners desired to welcome the Heir Apparent. For weeks beforehand preparations had been made in Belfast to give the Royal party a hearty greeting. Never in the history of Ireland had decorations been arranged on such a lavish scale. Fifty thousand pounds were spent alone by the townspeople on the triumphal arches and the bunting which emblazoned the streets. The enthusiasm of the citizens was commensurate with this enormous outlay. On the arrival of the Royal train the people seemed to go wild with delight. The cheering was deafening, and in their desire to show their appreciation of the honour paid to the city, the people were only with difficulty kept from surrounding the carriage of the Prince and dragging it without the horses through the streets.

Amidst scenes of unparalleled excitement and enthusiasm the Royal party made their way to Ulster Hall. Here they received a tremendous demonstration of affection and loyalty from a densely packed body of citizens. The cheering was so loud and prolonged that it was some time before sufficient quiet could be obtained for the formal reading of the address of welcome. After the Prince's reply, the cheering broke out again in even larger volume.

Then suddenly above the din rose the voice of the choir singing "God Bless the Prince of Wales"; the loyal refrain was taken up by the assembled citizens and from outside there reached the ears of the Royal party an answering volley of cheers. In honour of the Princess of Wales, the choir concluded their performance with the singing of a Danish hymn. From Ulster Hall, the Prince drove through the densely packed streets to Donegal Quay, where the Royal party went on board the Osborne.

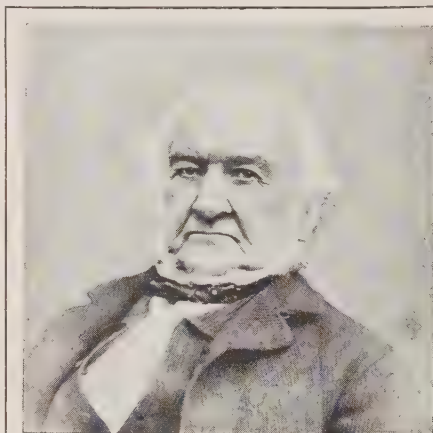
On the following day visits were paid to some of the most important manufactories in the city. The famous York Street spinning mills were inspected, as well as the establishment of Messrs. Marcus Ward & Co., where the Royal party were presented with several volumes specially inscribed.

Afterwards the Royal party drove to the Town Hall and Queen's College. The events of the day culminated in a ball given by the Mayor and citizens. This brought the visit to Belfast to an end. Next day a special train carried them to Londonderry, where they were accorded an enthusiastic reception, unmarred by any political demonstration. After receiving addresses of welcome, the Royal party journeyed down to Baronscourt, the seat of the Duke of Abercorn.

The Royal tour had now been completed. On April 27 the Prince and Princess, with their son, left Baronscourt for Larne. Travelling through Omagh they witnessed the last of the Nationalist demonstrations—the waving

of black flags and the tumultuous singing of "God Save Ireland" to the music of a drum and fife band. Elsewhere they were welcomed with the wildest transports

of delight. At Beragh, Pomeroy, and Donaghmore, the Royal party were sped on their way by volleys of loyal cheers. Stopping at Carrickfergus the Prince opened a new pier, and this function concluded—the last of many that he had performed in the course of his three weeks' visit—the journey to Larne was resumed. Here the Royal party went on board the Osborne, and amidst ringing cheers, the strains of the National Anthem, and the thundering salute of guns the Royal yacht glided away from the quay.



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

As a remedy for the woes of Ireland, the famous statesman introduced a Home Rule Bill, but he failed to carry his own followers with him, and the historic Liberal party was split in two.



CHAPTER L

THE SALISBURY ADMINISTRATION, 1886-1892

A Record and Review of Political Events following
upon the Home Rule Split in the Liberal Party



R. GLADSTONE'S Home Rule proposals had split the Liberal party in two. At the General Election the Conservatives had made up their minds that the question of Home Rule overshadowed everything else. On that principle they abstained from contesting such Liberal seats as at the time were held by Unionists; and in the same way Liberal Unionist candidates did not stand for seats held by Conservatives. At the same time the Liberal Unionist leaders still believed that the Home Rule movement was a temporary aberration, and that a united Liberal party would be formed again with that particular feature eliminated from its programme. As matters stood, the seventy-eight Liberal Unionists commanded the situation.

Under the circumstances, Lord Salisbury had gone so far as to suggest that Lord Hartington should be at the head of a Ministry with a coalition Cabinet, in which the Conservatives, despite their numerical majority, would be willing to serve under him. The proposal, however, was declined by Lord Hartington—first, on the ground that the Unionist Cabinet should be formed from the larger, not from the smaller, of the two Unionist groups; and, in the second place, because he considered it desirable to maintain the Liberal Unionists as a compact party who would at least be able to ensure that a reasonable regard

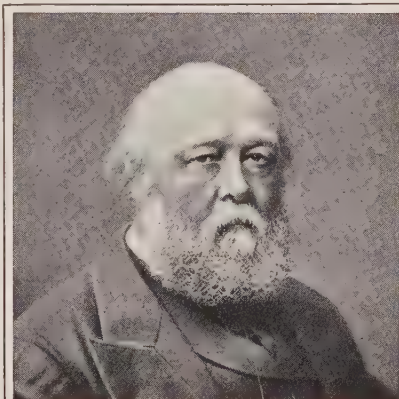
should be paid to their views. An exclusively Conservative Cabinet was therefore constructed. In the House of Commons, Lord Randolph Churchill had won for himself a leading position, and had been admitted into the Conservative Cabinet of 1885. But he had habitually conducted himself as a free-lance entirely unfettered by party traditions and ready to support with uncompromising vigour any measures which seemed likely to bring the party more closely in touch with popular sentiment, even when party exigencies might have previously led him to denounce corresponding measures with the utmost energy. While men admired his brilliant talents, and recalled the unconventional methods by which Lord Beaconsfield had in the past compelled the party reluctantly to recognise him as its chief until he had become its enthusias-

tically admired dictator, it cannot be said that they felt any confidence in Lord Randolph. It was, therefore, with something of a shock that they received his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons. Lord Salisbury did not, as in his previous Ministry, combine the Foreign Secretaryship with his office as Premier; Lord Iddesleigh, who had led the Conservatives in the House of Commons as Sir Stafford Northcote under Lord Beaconsfield, took charge of foreign affairs; Mr. Edward Stanhope went to the Colonial Office; and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, yielding the leadership of the Commons to Lord Randolph, became Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Lord Randolph was regarded with much animosity by the Irish, because, having at one time shown leanings towards a *rapprochement* with them, he had, shortly before the General Election, expressed himself with extreme violence on the other side. The first announcement of the new Government was to the effect that the ordinary law in Ireland would be relied upon; but this was taken to imply that the landlords would be supported by all the forces of the Government in exacting everything they could claim. On the other side it was urged that the agrarian distress was extremely severe, and had made it literally impossible in an immense number of cases for the tenants to pay their rent. Mr. Parnell introduced a Bill to prevent

evictions where tenants paid one-half of their rents and arrears. The Bill was rejected just before Parliament closed. The response to this was the invention by a group of the Irish leaders of the system called the Plan of Campaign. Tenants combined to offer the landlords what they considered a fair rent. If that rent was refused, the money was handed over to a fund for fighting the landlords. The natural result was that the winter of 1886-87 was marked by a fierce struggle, numerous evictions, and the usual operations for the exclusion of fresh occupiers. The warrant for the Plan of Campaign had been found in the evictions carried out on the Clanricarde estate.

In December the public was startled by the announcement that Lord Randolph Churchill had resigned. As Chancellor of the Exchequer he was resolved to reduce an expenditure



LORD SALISBURY

With the support of the Liberal Unionists, who had parted from Mr. Gladstone over Home Rule, the Conservatives came into power in 1886, and forming an Administration, Lord Salisbury remained in office for the next six years.

Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Co.

which he regarded as wasteful. The spending departments declared their inability to comply with his requirements. The Chancellor resigned in the full expectation that the Government would be compelled to take him back on his own terms. But he "forgot Goschen." In the ranks of the Conservatives proper there was no one to take Lord Randolph's place at the Exchequer, but the Liberal Unionists possessed a financier of the highest

ability in Mr. Goschen. Lord Salisbury had no intention of permitting himself to be turned into a subordinate of Lord Randolph; he invited Mr. Goschen to accept the vacant office, and Mr. Goschen did so, with the full assent and approval of the Liberal Unionist party.

Lord Randolph's action had in part, at least, been brought about by events in the Near East. Russia and the Russian party in Bulgaria had just compelled Prince Alexander of Bulgaria to abdicate, but failed to secure control of the principality, which, supported by Austria, declared its independence. It was not impossible that a war between Russia and Austria might result, and Lord Randolph was determined to emphasise the refusal of Great Britain to involve herself in such a contest, being in this respect no admirer of the Beaconsfield tradition.

A considerable remodelling of the Cabinet was necessitated

by the retirement of Sir Michael Hicks Beach on account of ill-health, and of Lord Idlesleigh, who died at the moment of his resignation. No others of the Liberal Unionists would accept office. Mr. W. H. Smith took the leadership of the House of Commons; Lord Salisbury resumed charge of the Foreign Office; and the Cabinet was joined by Sir Henry Holland, afterwards Lord Knutsford, who took the Colonial Office; and by Mr. Arthur Balfour as Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The work of pioneers had begun to take some effect on the public mind, and England was slowly realising the existence of the British Empire. A considerable educational effect had been produced by the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in 1886. The success of the exhibition had been in part due to the strong personal interest taken in it by the Prince of Wales. By him and by others of its promoters, however, it had been regarded as a step towards the creation of a permanent institution, designed to keep constantly before the English public the splendour and value of the great heritage of the British Empire beyond the seas. At the close of 1886 active steps were being taken for the materialisation of this scheme. It was designed in some sort to be a permanent memorial of the completion of the fiftieth year of Queen Victoria's reign. The moving spirit in the matter was the Prince of Wales himself, and it exemplifies in a marked manner the keen personal interest in Imperial concerns which was so prominent a feature of his character. The proposal itself took shape in the Imperial Institute, the foundation-stone of which was laid by the Queen in 1887. It may be that the plan was too grandiose, too comprehensive, and premature in the existing state of public knowledge and public sentiment; but it was a symptom of the awakening of a spirit which was soon to take possession of the Empire.

Of this same spirit another symptom of still greater significance was the proposal for the holding of the first Colonial Conference. The Queen's Jubilee was to be cele-

brated, and Mr. Stanhope, of the Colonial Office, invited the Colonial Government to send representatives, who should hold a conference in London, not with a view to formulating policy, but with a general intention of obtaining an interchange of ideas on subjects of Imperial importance from all parts of the Empire. The idea of federation was expressly debarred from consideration as being one for which the times were not yet ripe; the idea of a Zollverein, or fiscal Union, such as existed in the German Empire and in the United States, was also excluded from discussion. As a suitable subject of inquiry, however, prominence was given to the problem of Imperial defence, and to the fact that the time had arrived when it was no longer possible for colonies, however remote, to regard themselves as immune from the acquisitive designs of European Powers, but must interest themselves in the common necessities of defence. The scheme was tentative only; it made no pretence of being anything more. But the mere fact that it recognised the principle of exchanging ideas, of a mutual relation between all the parts of the Empire, of common interests which concerned all, was a new and important departure. Imperial defence was not the only subject suggested as suitable for discussion; such other matters as improved means of communication and facilities for closer association and fuller information were also to

occupy attention. The conference itself was one of the features of the Jubilee year, and took place under the presidency of Sir Henry Holland, who had succeeded Mr. Stanhope as Colonial Secretary.

The resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill immediately brought one wing of the Liberal Unionists into closer relations with the Conservatives. The other, or Radical wing, however, was in sympathy rather with the views on account of which Lord Randolph had elected to separate himself from the Cabinet. For a moment it seemed possible that this section might again associate themselves with their old colleagues, and negotiations actually took place having that end in view: the

leaders on both sides met at what was called the "Round Table Conference." The hope of harmony, however, proved to be vain. Sir George Trevelyan, the former Irish Secretary, returned to the ranks of Mr. Gladstone's followers; but Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Gladstone found harmony impossible, and the practical outcome was to make the severance between Gladstonians and Unionist Liberals definite and permanent. Nevertheless, some little time still elapsed before the hope of reunion completely disappeared.

When Parliament met at the beginning of 1887 Ireland occupied the field, and the temper of the Irish party was not pacific. With Mr. Balfour, however, they found themselves matched against the one man on

The rise of Mr. Balfour

record who created a career for himself by the occupation of the post of Chief Secretary. Mr. Forster and Mr. Trevelyan had faced them with courage, but both had come very near to breaking down under the strain. But Mr. Balfour's nerves were quite indomitable. Nothing could upset his equanimity or his courtesy. The wildest Parliamentary storms left him unruffled; torrents of abuse slid off him like water off a duck's back; it appeared impossible even to annoy him. His career as Chief Secretary placed him in the first rank of Parliamentarians, and assured his future position in the party.



As Chief Secretary for Ireland in the Administration of Lord Salisbury, during a period of much unrest in that country, Mr. Balfour took his place for the first time in the front rank of Parliamentarians, while Mr. Chamberlain, who had been a colleague of Mr. Gladstone, became a Liberal Unionist on the introduction of the Home Rule proposals.

Photographs by the London Stereoscopic Co. and Half-Tones.



MR. GLADSTONE INTRODUCING HIS FAMOUS HOME RULE BILL TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1886

Convinced, that the people of Ireland were in favour of Home Rule, Mr. Gladstone resolved to stake power and popularity in an honest effort to meet their desires, and on April 8, 1886, he introduced a measure to give to Ireland a statutory Parliament. Many of his own colleagues opposed him. The Bill was defeated on the second reading; and appealing to the country, the great Liberal statesman found that its voice was against him, the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists being returned to power at the General Election. On the occasion depicted in the above illustration, King Edward, then Prince of Wales, occupied a seat "over the clock," listening with interest to the veteran statesman explaining his scheme for the government of Ireland.

Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

The agrarian troubles in Ireland had continued with great severity throughout the winter. The Government meant to fight the National League in the House and out of it. New procedure rules were introduced, increasing the existing powers of cutting short debate, amid loud complaints that freedom of speech was being tampered with. Measures of the kind are always resisted by the Opposition for the time being with righteous indignation, but have

a tendency to become more drastic with each new Government. Anticipation that energetic obstruction would be resorted to on the introduction of the Government Bills for dealing with Irish affairs was the immediate reason which warranted the Government in assuming additional defensive powers.

The anticipation was justified. A Government which depended on the support of the Liberal Unionists, many of whom had been the most zealous supporters of the popular Irish claims apart from Home Rule, and all of whom were pledged to the doctrine that remedial measures were of more vital importance than coercion, was bound to have a remedial programme. But it was also committed to the principle that law and order must be enforced. Law and order had been at a discount; and a Crimes Bill was the first item. An extension of local government being in view, it appeared necessary to strengthen what may be called the police powers of the central authority. The principal aims, therefore, of the new Bill were, in the first place, to give the Lord Lieutenant power to "proclaim" disturbed districts, which would then pass under practically arbitrary control; and, in the second place, to transfer trials of criminal cases from the districts where intimidation made it certain that juries would not convict, to England, where the juries would be unprejudiced. The Irish members did not believe that English juries would, in fact, be unprejudiced; and, as a matter of course, the Bill met with very angry opposition.

While the Bill was before the House, a series of articles appeared in the "Times," under the heading "Parnellism and Crime," which formed a grave indictment against the National League and its leaders; and in the House, as well as outside, charges were made of direct incitements to crime, and imputations that leading members of the League were guilty of treason and murder. The climax came when, on the eve of the division on the second reading of the Crimes Bill, the "Times" published what purported to be the facsimile of a letter written by Mr. Parnell immediately after the Phoenix Park murders, apologising for his public condemnation of them. Mr. Parnell contented himself with a contemptuous repudiation of the letter and a repetition of his denunciation of the crime. No further steps were taken at the time; and there can be very little doubt that the episode did much to strengthen the public opinion

adverse to the Irish party. After the Bill had been fought in Committee, line by line and word by word, for several weeks with very small progress, it was carried without further discussion by stringent application of the new closure rules.

Meanwhile, a Commission appointed by the Government to examine into the working of the Land Acts had presented a report favouring a further reduction of the judicial rents. The Government Land Bill did not adopt this proposal; but it extended the operation of the Act, and in particular it gave the County Court power to stay evictions by allowing the tenants time for the payment of rent. The Liberal Unionists, however, were able practically to compel the Government to make in the Bill some modifications in favour of the tenants which aroused extreme indignation on the part of the Irish landlords.

The powers of the Lord Lieutenant under the Crimes Act were promptly brought into play. In the late summer the National League was declared a "dangerous association"; meetings were proclaimed, but were held in defiance of the police; there were serious collisions; and in a riot at Mitchelstown the constabulary fired on the populace. In spite of the verdict of the coroner's jury, the police

were not brought to trial; and the irregularities and violence, which had been displayed embittered the feeling on both sides, probably all the more because sundry English enthusiasts had taken part on the popular side in some of these disturbances. Ultimately, Mr. William O'Brien and others were arrested; and a somewhat grotesque aspect was given to the whole affair by the futile attempts of the Government to



KEY TO THE PORTRAIT GROUP OF QUEEN VICTORIA AND ROYAL FAMILY

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|--|--|--|
| 1. Queen Victoria | 21. Princess Margaret of Prussia | 39. Prince Christian Victor of Schleswig-Holstein |
| 2. The Prince of Wales | 22. The Grand Duke of Hesse | 40. Prince Albert of Schleswig-Holstein |
| 3. The Princess of Wales | 23. Prince Louis of Battenberg | 41. Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein |
| 4. Prince Albert Victor | 24. Princess Alice of Battenberg | 42. Princess Louise of Schleswig-Holstein |
| 5. Prince George of Wales | 25. Princess Alice of Battenberg | 43. Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne |
| 6. Princess Louise of Wales | 26. The Grand Duchess Eliza, of Russia | 44. The Marquis of Lorne |
| 7. Princess Victoria of Wales | 27. The Grand Duke Serge of Russia | 45. The Duke of Connaught |
| 8. Princess Maud of Wales | 28. The Hereditary Grand Duke of Hesse | 46. The Duchess of Connaught |
| 9. Crown Princess of Germany | 29. Princess Alix of Hesse | 47. Princess Margaret of Connaught |
| 10. Crown Prince of Germany | 30. The Duke of Edinburgh | 48. Prince Arthur of Connaught |
| 11. Prince William of Prussia | 31. The Duchess of Edinburgh | 49. Princess Victoria Beatrice Patricia of Connaught |
| 12. Princess William of Prussia | 32. Prince Alfred of Edinburgh | 50. The Duchess of Albany |
| 13. Prince Frederick William of Prussia | 33. Princess Marie of Edinburgh | 51. Princess Alice of Albany |
| 14. The Hereditary Princess of Saxemeiningen | 34. Princess Victoria Melita of Edinburgh | 52. Prince Charles Edward of Battenberg |
| 15. The Hereditary Prince of Saxemeiningen | 35. Princess Alexandra of Edinburgh | 53. Princess Beatrice, Princess Henry of Albany |
| 16. Princess Feodora of Saxemeiningen | 36. Princess Beatrice of Edinburgh | 54. Prince Henry of Battenberg |
| 17. Prince Henry of Prussia | 37. Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, Princess Helena of Great Britain and Ireland | 55. Prince Alexander Albert of Battenberg |
| 18. Princess Irene of Hesse | 38. Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein | |
| 19. Princess Victoria of Prussia | | |
| 20. Princess Sophie of Prussia | | |

compel Mr. O'Brien to array himself in prison garments.

London was thrown into a state of considerable excitement by more or less riotous proceedings which took place in the course of this year; partly, but by no means exclusively, associated with the socialistic propaganda. There can be no doubt that language used by Mr. Gladstone and others in connection with affairs in Ireland, where, rightly or wrongly, it was generally held by English Liberals that the law was being administered with unconstitutional violence, was accepted as implying a general right of resistance to a tyrannical Government and its minions,

the police. The announcement that a mass meeting would be held in Trafalgar Square by way of protest against the treatment of political prisoners in Ireland was met by a warning that the meeting would not be allowed. Nevertheless, large crowds poured in procession to Trafalgar Square, where there was a severe contest with the police, and many more or less serious injuries were inflicted on both sides. A threat to repeat the attempt on the following Sunday created a wild panic, and a considerable number of special constables were enrolled.

Treatment of Political Prisoners



QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE WHOLE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY AT WINDSOR ON THE OCCASION OF HER MAJESTY'S JUBILEE IN 1887

Discouraged by a pronouncement of Mr. Gladstone, the promoters of the meeting changed the place of assembly from Trafalgar Square to Hyde Park, where their right to gather was not disputed, and there was no further collision between the populace and the authorities.

The year was particularly notable as being that of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, the fiftieth of her reign. The matters, however, associated with this event are dealt with at length in a subsequent chapter; as also is the partition of Africa, in respect of which negotiations and treaties were at this time in active progress with all the European Powers, whose active scramble for the Dark Continent had begun in 1884. Here, therefore, we need not give further attention to these matters.

The main Parliamentary work of the session of 1888 was the Bill for Local Government, introduced by Mr. Ritchie. Important, however, as was this measure for the democratising of Local Government in England, interest in the subject by Irish affairs. Early in the year Pope Leo XIII. issued a letter condemning boycotting and similar practices. The enormous mass of the Irish Home Rulers were Roman Catholics, in spite of the fact that some of their most vigorous and prominent leaders, including Parnell himself, were Protestants. Consequently, this denunciation by the Holy See was a severe shock to a party which owed much of its power to the influence of the Irish priesthood. Nevertheless it soon became clear that the submission of the Irish Roman Catholics to Papal authority did not carry them so far as to make them submit to political dictation from Rome. The clergy themselves proved hardly more submissive than the laity, and the Papal decree proved virtually a dead letter.

Meanwhile, however, a lively campaign of vituperation was continued in the Press on both sides, denunciations of Mr. Balfour's monstrous tyranny being balanced by the continued imputations and charges, by no means temperately expressed, against the National League and its leaders. A member of the Nationalist party brought an action for libel against the "Times." The action failed because it was held that the charges were not personal to the complainant. But in the course of the trial, in which the "Times" was represented by the Attorney-General—a legitimate, but in the circumstances certainly an injudicious arrangement—further letters were produced purporting to incriminate Mr. Parnell. This roused the Irish leader to action. He immediately expressed his intention of bringing an action against the "Times" in respect of the letters. The suspicion, however, that a Middlesex jury, however honest, could hardly bring an unbiassed judgment to bear on such a question, caused Mr. Parnell to change his plan, and to demand instead the appointment by the House of a Select Committee to inquire into the letters. His demand was refused by the Government, which, however, took the unprecedented course of appointing by Act of Parliament a special Commission of three judges to examine, not the question of the letters, but the whole indictment against the Irish party comprised in the "Times" articles.

Although this action on the part of the Government enormously extended the scope of the inquiry, public

interest centred entirely on the personal question affecting Mr. Parnell. On certain of the broader issues there was never any doubt in the mind of any human being. The action of the Land League and its successor, the National League, had palpably and manifestly tended to encourage defiance of the law, and had palpably and manifestly aimed at intimidating the other side. The Leagues had not refused aid from extremists of the most lawless type, nor had they severed themselves from avowed advocates of the total separation of Ireland from the British Empire. These were plain and notorious facts, and no one took any interest in the Commission so far as it was a process of getting the truth of those facts confirmed by a group of impartial judges, or of procuring an authoritative statement that the facts did or did not amount to proofs of technical conspiracy, or even treason. What the public did care about was the question whether the Irish leader, when he did denounce certain crimes, had been at the same time explaining to secret confederates that the denunciations were merely intended to deceive the public as to his real sentiments. It desired also, in a less degree, to be enlightened as to whether any of the Irish leaders had made any active efforts to check outrages and crimes, since it had been taught to believe that they, one and all, went as far as they dared in the encouragement of violence.

The Commission began its sittings in the autumn of 1888. The crisis in its proceedings arrived when the letters came under investigation. Of these the most serious was the Phoenix Park letter, of which the "Times" had obtained possession from a man named Pigott. Two days of merciless cross-examination left Pigott with a certainty that the cheat which he had practised on the "Times" would be completely exposed, and he himself utterly ruined. To escape justice he fled from the country, leaving behind him a written confession of forgery; and a few days later he committed suicide to avoid arrest. For all practical purposes this was a complete triumph for the Irish leader, though it was open to opponents to say that nothing had happened, beyond the disappearance of a particular piece of evidence regarding a single detail, which left the general charges against Mr. Parnell and his supporters practically unaffected.

When, nearly a year later, the judges issued their report they pronounced Mr. Parnell absolutely cleared of all charges resting on the letters; and they declared that some of the Irish leaders, notably Mr. Davitt, had expressed bona-fide disapproval of outrages, but that, broadly speaking, they had been responsible for intimidation. But by that time the excitement had passed away. Perhaps the total effect on the popular mind may be summarised by saying that the charges pronounced true were somewhat less comprehensive than English Home Rulers had, on the whole, expected, while it had been demonstrated that the accusers had been curiously reckless in their acceptance of evidence tending to establish their case, and that Mr. Parnell had been entirely cleared of unwarrantable accusations against his personal honour.

While Mr. Balfour's administration of the Crimes Act was denounced in unmeasured terms, the Chief Secretary proceeded no less imperturbably with his remedial measures. Lord Ashbourne's Land Purchase Act was extended at



QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN 1886

**The Parnell
Commission**



A PRIVATE PORTRAIT OF KING EDWARD

From a photograph by Messrs. W. & D. Downey

the end of 1888. Steps were taken for reclamation of waste lands and for developing light railways. The effects were so far satisfactory that, in the beginning of 1890 the operation of the Crimes Act was suspended over a great part of Ireland.

At the end of 1890 a great disaster befel the partisans of Home Rule, when Mr. Parnell was cited as co-respondent in an undefended divorce suit. The immediate effect was a demand, very general among English and Scottish Liberals, for the withdrawal of Mr. Parnell from his position as Irish leader as a condition of continued co-operation with the Nationalist Party. The demand was shortly endorsed by the clericals and by an increasing section of the Nationalist party themselves. Parnell refused to resign, turning fiercely on his antagonists; and the Nationalist party was torn in two, the majority rejecting his leadership. Even his death a year later left the party still divided.

The disorganisation of the Opposition resulting on these dissensions somewhat simplified the task of the Government. A further Land Purchase Bill, introduced in 1890, met with vigorous opposition in that year, which necessitated its withdrawal; but it was reintroduced and passed in 1891, and at the same time almost the whole of Ireland was released from the operations of the Crimes Act. The last Irish measure proposed by the Government was the Local Government Bill introduced in 1892, which did not become, and probably was never intended to become, law. In fact, it was so hedged about with safeguards against the possible action of the elected governing bodies which it proposed to appoint, that it must have been quite ineffective as a democratic measure. Apart from Ireland, very much the most important Bill which the Government succeeded in passing was that of 1891 which established free education.

In the course of the Parliament which was dissolved at the end of its sixth year, in the summer of 1892, Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone had each remained officially the chiefs of the Administration and of the Opposition respectively. But there had been several other changes of leadership. The most notable was the disappearance of Mr. Parnell, a chief who had so organised his small following that, even when it numbered little over forty, it had been more formidable to the existing Government than the solid ranks of the legitimate Opposition. For ten years he had succeeded in preventing the House of Commons from devoting any solid portion of its time to any subject unconnected with Ireland. He had come nearer to holding the sway of a popular dictator than any of his predecessors, even than Daniel O'Connell. He had accomplished this by sheer force of a personality which seemed little adapted to appeal to the Celtic temperament. To the outside world he gave the impression of a man cold, unsympathetic, passionless, remorseless; but neither his party nor his country has produced among the many able Irish representatives anyone with the same capacity for mastery, or with the same power of impressing the imagination.

Parnell's place in Irish History

Next to the disappearance of Mr. Parnell was the self-effacement of Lord Randolph Churchill from the Minis-

terial ranks. Had a long life been before him it would be impossible to doubt that he would have recovered something, at least, of his old Parliamentary position. As it was, his vaulting ambition did very literally o'er-leap itself. He struck for supremacy, and found himself dispensed with. But he had already educated his party in the democratic principles which the older school among them were compelled reluctantly to swallow. He was replaced as leader by that most typical

Balfour as leader of the Commons

Englishman, as typical in character as in name, William Henry Smith, the most upright and the kindest of men, the incarnation of sober common sense and unflinching good temper, who never spoke a word that was either ill-mannered or witty. But before Parliament had closed, Mr. Smith's death had again rendered vacant the leadership of the House of Commons, which passed, with general approbation, to Mr. Arthur Balfour.

Another change removed the accepted leader of the

Liberal Unionists, Lord Hartington, to the House of Lords on his succession to the Dukedom of Devonshire; and the leadership of his party in the House of Commons was transferred to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who was still regarded with some alarm as an advocate of dangerously advanced views, but was more and more subordinating his Radicalism to an enthusiasm for Imperialist ideas of which no one had suspected him when he was a member of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry.

In accordance with general anticipation, the Ministerialists lost many seats at the General Election. The final effect, however, was to make the total of the two Unionist parties exceed the total of the Gladstonian Liberals by forty. No possibility remained that any Administration could be formed independently of the eighty-one Nationalist members. In spite of internal dissensions, however, on the primary question of the day Gladstonians and Nationalists were in sufficiently close agreement to make a Gladstonian Administration practicable; while an alliance between Nationalists and the existing Government was out of the question. Nevertheless, Ministers did not resign till they met with defeat on the Address in the House of Commons.

During the course of the Salisbury Administration questions arose requiring the utmost nicety of adjustment in many regions. African affairs are dealt with elsewhere; but in the western and southern hemispheres alike other Great Powers were concerned in matters which touched our colonies; and India had troubles of its own. In our Eastern dependency, or rather beyond its borders, the Afghan boundary question was brought to a satisfactory conclusion, the British relations with the Amir were established on a thoroughly healthy basis, and the defensive relations which had long been advocated by military men within our own frontier were effectively carried out.

Of considerable importance in another way was the first appearance in India of a body calling itself the Indian National Congress. The National Congress was not representative of the peoples of India—it would be practically impossible to bring together any assembly to which such a description would be applicable; but it was representative of that large educated class which had attained a certain acquaintance with the ideas of Western political theorists,



KING EDWARD IN 1886

and a superficial acquaintance with Western democratic doctrines. In the nature of things, this is precisely the class whose voice is heard in the native Press; which produces the native newspapers, and controls their utterances, impressively entitled "the voice of India," for the very good reason that no other voice of India is articulate and audible. Unfortunately, the class referred to is perhaps that which is least capable of exercising governmental powers efficiently, and is most distrusted by Indian officialdom; whereas their sayings and doings make an especial appeal to a large section of the British public at home. Consequently the National Congress has not only in India complicated to some extent, by its critical attitude, the task of the Indian Government, but has further exposed that Government to criticism at home derived from views whose original source is mainly to be found in the utterances of the Congress.

In the West the troubles which affected both Canada and Newfoundland had to do with fisheries. All were concerned with treaty rights. The Newfoundland question dated back to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and the rights conceded by that instrument to the French and Newfoundlanders respectively. Canada was touched by fisheries questions both on the east coast and on the west. In the case of Newfoundland Lord Salisbury's Government set aside the views, expressed with extreme energy, of the Newfoundland Government and virtually admitted most of the French claims.

The Canadian fisheries question was dealt with in a manner not very much more satisfactory to Canada. In this case the base treaty dated from 1818. The Canadian Government had seized American vessels which had been fishing, as it held, illegally. America at the time was suffering from a fit of what in England would have been called jingoism. The Imperial Government intervened, in view of the threatening language which was used by the States, and a treaty was framed and signed which virtually confirmed the American interpretation of the earlier treaty. The assent of Canada was obtained with considerable difficulty. But in the United States a Presidential election was just coming on. The effect was that the fervid patriotism of the Republican party made them refuse to ratify the treaty, while Mr. Grover Cleveland, the candidate of the Democrats, not to be outdone, denounced it with equal fervour.

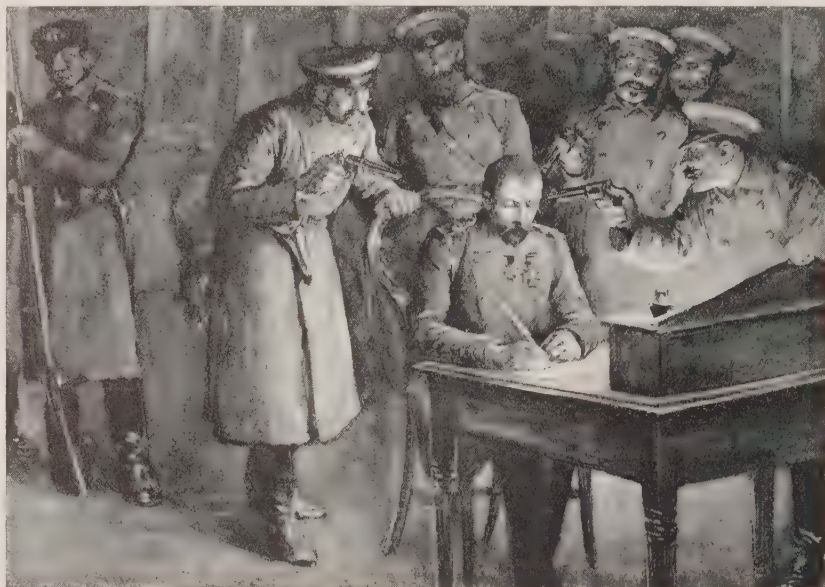
It followed that the whole affair was dropped, and the fisheries question remained as uncertain as before.

The third case was that of the Bering Sea seal fishery. Some time previously Russia, which was in possession of Alaska, the north-western corner of North America, had sold that territory to the United States. She had previously claimed that the seas north of the Aleutian Islands formed an inland sea; whereas, with obvious justice, both British and Americans declared that those seas were open. With the possession of Alaska, however, the American view changed. British ships capturing seals in the open sea were confiscated; and the confiscation was confirmed by the Alaskan

courts. Lord Salisbury succeeded early in 1892 in obtaining an arbitration treaty under which the affair was finally dealt with. In this case the arbitration confirmed the British case, and the injured seal fishers were duly compensated. For the protection, however, not of United States rights but of the seals, restrictions were, by consent, placed on the seal fishery, which had much the same effect as if the waters in question had been declared an inland sea.

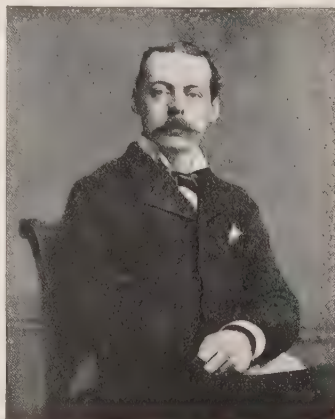
In 1888 British New Guinea was

organised as a possession of the British Crown, while remaining in certain respects attached to Queensland. In the general process of partitioning the world, the British and German spheres in the Western Pacific had been already divided, including a partition of New Guinea. The negligent attitude of the British Government on this question had aroused strong feelings in Australia, and particularly in Queensland, during the great Gladstone Administration; and had probably done more than anything else to awaken a sentiment in favour of Australian federation, with the specific intention of securing New Guinea, and of preventing the appropriation of the New Hebrides or other Australasian islands by the French as convict stations. The idea so far took shape in 1883 that a Federal Council of Australasia was actually formed. Its powers, however, were extremely limited; this being, in fact, little more than a tentative step in the direction of federation, of which the approach was more definitely hastened by the adoption, in 1888, of a scheme of Australasian naval defence in which the Imperial Government took a considerable share. A conference in 1890, and a federal convention, in 1891, carried matters further. But fulfilment was still in the future.



PRINCE ALEXANDER OF BULGARIA SIGNING HIS ABDICATION

The closeness of the relationship between home and foreign politics was demonstrated in 1886 when Lord Randolph Churchill severed his connection with the Salisbury Administration. Russia and the Russian party in Bulgaria had just compelled Prince Alexander of Bulgaria to abdicate, by methods indicated in the above illustration, and as it was not impossible that a war between Russia and Austria would result, Lord Randolph was determined to emphasise the refusal of Great Britain to involve herself in such a contest.



LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL

Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Salisbury's Administration, he stood out for economy, and showed his independence by resigning. Much to his own surprise, his resignation was accepted. Photograph by Bassano.



CHAPTER LI

QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE

Being a Chronicle of a Memorable Episode in the History of
the Empire and its Celebration in London and the Provinces

THE Jubilee of 1887 marks a great epoch in the history of the United Kingdom. Its importance must not be estimated simply by the amount of ceremonial, the gorgeousness of the pageantry, or the long list of festivities that characterised that memorable occasion. Its importance and its value can be gauged most adequately by a consideration of subsequent events. The Jubilee was a great rally of the people round the Throne; it was the apotheosis of constitutional monarchy; it was the triumph of that unique system which had been built up through the centuries. Since 1887 the position of the Crown has been strengthened, and, while preserved within its constitutional limits, its authority has been enormously enhanced. In the reign of George III., Parliament had considered gravely the resolution "that the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The influence that George III. attempted to exert was very different from the influence which the Crown has been able to exercise since 1887. Supported by the whole-hearted affection of the people, the Throne has been able wisely to direct the progress of the nation, assuaging political bitterness, moderating too violent action, and, by its secret influence, constitutionally exercised, helping forward the cause of the Empire at home and abroad.

For fifty years Queen Victoria had exercised the supreme authority in the State. Since the death of the Prince Consort, however, she had retired into semi-private life. Except for the ordinary ceremonial functions which form part of the duty of the Sovereign, she had been seen little by her people. It is not too much to say that for many the personality of the Sovereign was almost a myth. A generation had grown up in the course of the last twenty-four years who

honoured Victoria almost as an institution. Her seclusion had insensibly relaxed those bonds which knit together the complex fabric of constitutional monarchy. At one period the principles of Republicanism had made some way in the country, and, though by 1887 these revolutionary sentiments had practically vanished, the fact that they had existed demonstrated the importance of an appeal to the loyalty and good sense of the people. The Jubilee was that appeal, and its effect, enhanced by the conduct of the Queen's successors, has been to establish the Throne more firmly in the affections of the people than has ever been known before in the history of the monarchy.

For the Queen the Jubilee was an act of supreme self-sacrifice. Already advanced in years, a woman bowed down by many sorrows, she laid aside her private inclinations and her private griefs, and came out into the glare of public life in order to rally round the Throne the people of her far-flung dominions.

The idea of celebrating the fifty years of her reign appealed strongly to the sentiment of all classes. No such movement has had so enthusiastic and universal support as the Jubilee of 1887. Once the idea was mooted, from every part of the United Kingdom, from every corner of the Empire, came a chorus of approval. It was as if the dormant emotions of the British race had been suddenly set aflame, and the wave of loyalty that swept over the lands under her dominion surpassed almost the enthusiasm that was expressed on the great day which was set apart as a memorial of her long reign. The clamour of political warfare, in Great Britain at least, was silenced. Though the Home Rule agitation was at its height, though Liberal and Conservative were joined in an historic battle, all was forgotten for the moment in the universal desire to show



QUEEN VICTORIA IN THE DRESS WORN AT THE
JUBILEE SERVICE

From a photograph by Hughes & Mullins

to the Crown the reverence and devotion of its subjects. Favoured by a summer of the most exceptional brilliancy and beauty, encouraged by the state of general peace which prevailed all over the world, the country threw itself into the celebration with unchecked enthusiasm. Everywhere large sums of money were subscribed. Every city, every town, and every village, however small and remote,

The Nation Prepares for the Jubilee

made elaborate preparations for keeping the day as one of jubilation and in establishing some permanent memorial of an event which was felt by all to be historic. But the triumph and success of the Jubilee of 1887 were due almost entirely to the energy, the tact, the unflinching sense of high duty of the Prince of Wales. On him there fell the responsibility of discharging all those endless tasks with which such a great celebration was inevitably associated. Ever since 1870, the Prince had taken a foremost part in the life of the country, acting for his Royal mother on all those occasions when her presence could be dispensed with. Each year, nobly supported by the Princess, he had taken up the burden of the Queen's duties, and had shown, not only his abilities as a prince, but his great devotion as a son.

The preparations entailed an endless amount of labour. As soon as the celebration of the Jubilee was made known, all the Courts of Europe expressed their intention of being represented in the person of some Prince of the blood. And not only Europe, but the whole world, wherever there was a glimpse of civilisation, hastened to announce the despatch of some Royal representative. The loyal princes of India came in person to show their allegiance to their Empress. All the colonies were to be represented, and even the Queen of Hawaii made known her desire to be present. Not only had all these personages to be properly housed, but all the minute details of etiquette—how they were to be greeted, the number of the salutes to which they were entitled, the gentlemen and ladies who were to be placed at their disposal—these and a thousand other points had to be settled. For everything the Prince was practically responsible, and never before were his great abilities shown to better effect than in dealing with these minutiae of a complex ceremonial.

The situation brought out all those great gifts for which he was famous. His tact, his good temper, his graciousness, his knowledge of the world, alone served to make the Jubilee a success. Without him it might have relaxed into a state of utter confusion, so vast was the scale on which it was to be celebrated, so large was the number of representatives of foreign States who came over to England. While the Queen lingered still in the background, the Heir-apparent laboured strenuously to make the function one great triumph.

There had been no similar piece of ceremonial since the Jubilee of George III. on October 25, 1809. That celebration hardly formed a precedent on which to base the Jubilee of Queen Victoria. In 1809 this nation was in the throes of a great war; Europe, in the chains of Napoleon's Continental system, was almost cut off from this country, and could not, therefore, participate in the event. As a consequence, the arrangements of the Jubilee for 1887 had to be made without any assistance which might have been afforded by the imitation of some previous procedure. The Prince, in concert with the Queen's advisers, arranged the scheme for the whole function, and settled all the details. It was he who greeted the Royalties as they arrived, and rendered possible an onerous piece of ceremonial which the Queen, unassisted, never could have borne. It was his counsel and advice which dictated the various arrangements and gave a proper direction to the sentiments of the public. It was at his instigation that it was decided to devote the money collected as a Jubilee offering to the building of the Imperial Institute, Kensington. It was he, too, who counselled the Queen as to the various public ceremonies she should attend, selecting out of the thousands suggested to her those which, from his happy understanding of the people, he realised would be most popular and most necessary.

The events of that memorable summer commenced as early as May 14, when the Queen paid a visit to the East End. Never was such excitement seen among the people. The poorest of the poor joined in the tremendous ovation with which she was greeted as she opened the "People's

Palace." It was a true forecast of the triumphant success of the Jubilee celebrations. On May 17 the question of the attitude of the House of Commons was discussed. On that day Mr. W. H. Smith, who had become Leader of the House of Commons on Lord Randolph Churchill abandoning office, proposed that in celebration of the fiftieth year of her Majesty's reign the House should attend at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, on the following Sunday. Mr. Gladstone seconded the motion, which



THE JUBILEE SERVICE AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY ON JUNE 21, 1887

From the painting by T. S. C. Crowther

was agreed to unanimously. It was this solemn worship by the representatives of the people which constituted the formal opening of the celebrations of the Jubilee. An important event took place on the very next day. It consisted of a special issue of the "London Gazette" announcing the circulation of the new Jubilee coinage, which was to be marked by an alteration in the likeness of her Majesty—the girlish head of 1837 had till then been preserved—and by the introduction of a new coin, the double-florin.



AT QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE SERVICE: THE ROYAL PROCESSION IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Illustration by A. Forester

The weather proved gloriously propitious for the great Empire fête. With the coming of June the sunshine and the temperature were such as to belie the gloomy tradition of the English climate. On June 14 the Prince and Princess of Wales journeyed down to Southend, where the Prince gave the signal for starting the boats in the Jubilee Yacht Race round the United Kingdom. Three days later his Royal Highness found time for one of his many acts of mercy and benevolence. On the 17th, abandoning all the crowding cares of State, he laid the foundation-stone of the Home for Destitute Boys in St. Giles's—an institution now called Shaftesbury House. The building was a worthy memorial to a distinguished philanthropist; at the same time it commemorated, in a manner which touched the hearts of all people, the Jubilee of Queen Victoria. While the Prince and Princess of Wales were busy in London, the Queen had journeyed up to Scotland. There, on June 16, Glasgow celebrated the splendid record of half a century with the review of ten thousand troops and Volunteers on the Green, and on the same day six thousand of the poor were entertained to dinner in various parts of the city. On the 17th, the Queen left Balmoral and took her departure for England. All through the course of her journey southward she was received with the wildest enthusiasm. Wherever the train stopped crowds cheered the Sovereign, who showed by her emotion how deeply she appreciated these marks of public esteem.

Windsor's Homage By the 20th, through the unparalleled exertions of the Prince of Wales, all the preparations had been completed.

On that day the Queen left Windsor for Buckingham Palace. The Mayor and Corporation, in their municipal robes, assembled at the bottom of the hill beneath the Castle in order to do honour to their Sovereign before her departure. Shortly after eleven o'clock, her Majesty, accompanied by Prince and Princess Henry of Battenberg,

left Windsor Station by special train and reached Paddington by midday. The station was *en fete*, the officials of the company having made extraordinary efforts to turn the barren architecture of the terminus into something more beautiful by the aid of flowers and flags and drapery. After being received by the chairman and directors of the

Great Western Railway Company, the London Welcomes the Queen

Queen, dressed simply in black, proceeded to the four-horse landau in waiting, and was driven to Buckingham Palace. As soon as a glimpse of her Majesty was seen by the crowd which thronged the streets a tremendous burst of cheers filled the air, and the Queen enjoyed the first experience of the magnificent welcome her people had prepared for her. Escorted by a detachment of the Guards, the Queen passed to her Palace amidst scenes of the liveliest enthusiasm. Everywhere the loyal fervour of the crowd was apparent, and the acclamation of the Sovereign was almost deafening. Immediately on her arrival at the Palace the Queen received the various special envoys who had come to present the congratulations of their respective sovereigns. Among the number of these envoys was Monseigneur Ruffo Scilla, who had been specially sent by the Pope to pay the homage of the father of the Roman Catholic Church to the Sovereign whose reign had been marked by so many evidences of religious toleration.

All through that night the crowds paraded the streets, gazing at the decorations with which they were adorned. All London seemed to collect itself in the few miles of what was to be the route of the morrow. There were no disturbances, the crowds were well-behaved and orderly, showing their feelings by singing the National Anthem and cheering the Queen again and again. Here and there, too, was heard the hymn specially devoted to the Prince of Wales, and these evidences of the popularity of the Heir-apparent were not the least notable incident of the day.

On the morrow, by daybreak, the streets were once more crowded. Not only London was here now, but the dense throng was swelled by tens of thousands from the provinces, who had come up to the capital to witness the triumphal progress of their beloved Sovereign. A contemporary account records with effect the impression of that wonderful day in which the Throne and the people were united.

**London on
Jubilee Day**

"From the earliest moment of dawn until long after night had fallen the people of this country and of the whole Empire, and especially the population of London, kept high festival in celebration of the Jubilee of their Sovereign. Never has there been a day to which the subjects of the Queen and the Sovereign herself could look back with a larger measure of grateful and righteous pride. A national pageant has proceeded amidst circumstances of unrivalled splendour; the voice of a mighty people has been heard rejoicing with no uncertain sound; kings and princes from the Continent, and even from the distant parts of Asia and the far Pacific, and representatives of her Majesty's Indian and Colonial Empires, have assembled to take their share in the universal joy and triumph. The Sovereign, in spite of burdens of half a century of power, has assumed her part in the imposing ceremony by which her fifty years of glory and prosperity have been celebrated. In the venerable Abbey, which from old times has been the scene of the coronation of our kings, attended by numerous descendants and by a crowd of illustrious personages, her Majesty has made her offering of thanks to God for the great blessing of a long and prosperous reign which has been bestowed upon her and upon her people. She has put aside her own sorrows and grief in order to join in the song of jubilant exultation which the nation is singing with one accord.

"The result has been happy beyond all anticipation and hope. The sounds and sights were a revelation. Surely never was any manifestation of Royal pomp so successful in calling forth from an assemblage, so completely representative and unanimous, such cordial expressions of loyalty, of sympathy, and of affection as those heard to-day. Throughout the previous night carpenters and upholsterers were industriously at work. At the last moment the floral decorations were arranged. The effect of the draperies, flags, and pennons, of the avenues and stands and Venetian masts, of the scrolls and banners and festoons of evergreen, was splendid in the extreme. Numbers of persons of all classes filled the streets throughout the night with animation, snatches of song, and loud cheering. Crowds lined the route from the early hours of the morning in readiness for the procession. Northumberland Avenue was one vast grand stand as far as buildings were concerned; below was an assemblage of spectators kept back by a line of police and the picturesque Volunteer corps of the London Scottish. Trafalgar Square was a sea of faces. Waterloo Place and Regent Street were spanned with arches, garlands of leaves, and lined with troops, while Piccadilly was a scene brilliant beyond conception."

Such was an impression of the scene through which the Queen was to pass. There is yet another contemporary account of the events of the day which is worth recording, inasmuch as it gives a faithful representation of the feelings and emotions aroused at the time, sentiments which have never since abated.

"The broad space in front of Buckingham Palace was full of cavalry, whose helmets and sabres flashed and glittered in the sun. The Palace itself was devoid of any decoration. Volleys of cheers greeted

the Duke of Cambridge as he rode up with the Horse Guards Staff at ten o'clock. By eleven o'clock the vast crowd, orderly and well-conducted beyond all precedent, was manifestly in full fervour of anticipation. Suddenly a blare of trumpets announced to the world the fact that the Queen was on her way, and the excitement became almost painful. First came the advance party of the 1st Life Guards; then a series of aides-de-camp and equerries, among whom, as representatives of the Volunteer forces, were the Duke of Westminster and Lord Truro. Then came the Royal suite, with the imposing column of the Headquarter Staff of the Commander-in-Chief, with all its splendour of appearance. Then came the famous cream-coloured horses into full view. The rich and tumultuous chorus of loyalty and welcome broke forth in unrestrained strength. Her Majesty's face loosened the voice of the assembly. Her white bonnet, a tribute to the exultant joy of her subjects, was regarded as a sign of especial good-will, and she began

**The Queen in
the Procession**

her magnificent progress in the midst of a burst of loyal cheers, which became the continuous accompaniment of her route through the principal streets to the venerable Abbey. It was manifest that the main interest was centred on the Queen herself, seated in State, wearing the Orders appertaining to her Royal and Imperial position, and engaged in celebrating with worthy pomp and majesty her righteous reign of half a century."

The system on which the procession was marshalled was



A NOTEWORTHY INCIDENT AT THE THANKSGIVING SERVICE

The conclusion of the thanksgiving service at Westminster Abbey was marked by an affecting incident. Stepping from his place, the Prince of Wales advanced to his mother, and, bending low, took her hand in his and gently raised it to his lips. As he did so, the Queen bent forward and kissed him on the cheek, and then, carried away by the impulse of the moment, her Majesty embraced all the Princes and Princesses of her family with manifest emotion.

simple but effective. Its head, composed of three sections, was formed first in Hyde Park, while the remainder—the main part of the procession, divided into sections—was got together behind the railings of Buckingham Palace. Each of these sections in turn unwound itself and passed slowly on its way. As soon as the glittering mass in the Park had been drawn out into a long thin line, the Palace began to pour out its complement of Royalties and troops. The system was wonderfully successful, and, under the able direction of the officials responsible for the handling of this great body of people, hardly even a hitch occurred. The arrangement worked with machine-like accuracy, and the huge ceremonial procession—probably without a parallel in the history of the world—was carried through

with less difficulty and delay than characterises a Lord Mayor's Show.

The final details had been settled the day before by the Prince of Wales, who found time, even amidst the ceaseless ceremonial labours connected with the greeting of a large number of Royalties, to superintend the most inconsiderable point. With the usual business-like energy and carefulness which always characterised him, he insisted upon revising the programme with the officials responsible for the Royal pageant. Under his directions the arrangements were simplified, and such steps taken as would tend to make the day a success and lessen its difficulties for the Royal guests. So as to prevent an unnecessary prolongation of the procession, and to economise the number of soldiers at his disposal for Royal escorts, certain of the Royal guests were sent on ahead to the Abbey, there to await the coming of the Queen. The minute of their arrival was fixed to a nicety, so that their passage through the streets should not interfere with or hinder the procession itself. His Royal Highness's programme was carried out in the following order.

At 10.20 the following junior members of the Royal family entered the Abbey:

Princess Feodore of Saxe-Meiningen, Prince Albert and Princess Louise of Schleswig-Holstein, Princess Alix of Hesse, and Princesses Marie, Victoria, and Alexandra of Edinburgh.

Ten minutes later they were followed by:

Princess Frederica, Baroness von Pawel
Notable Figures Rammingen and Baron von Pawel Rammingen, attended by Evelyn Paget, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar and Princess of Saxe-Weimar, Prince of Leiningen and Princess of Leiningen, Prince and Princess Victor of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, and Countesses Feodora and Victoria Gleichen and Count Edward Gleichen.

The order of the procession itself is now an interesting historical document, and deserves to be reproduced in

detail. As already described, the first section of the first division, composed entirely of distinguished Indian chiefs and deputies of Indian native states, assembled at Hyde Park.

Punctually at 10 a.m., accompanied by a captain's escort, it was got under way in the following order:

1. Deputation from the Raja of Kapurthala, C.I.F.
Kauwar and Kauwarani Hanan Singh Ahluwalia, C.I.F.
2. Deputation from Maharaja of Bhurtpore, G.C.S.I.
Colonel Gunga Baksh.
Dr. Tayler, C.I.E.
3. Deputation from Maharaja of Jolnapore, G.C.S.I.
Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh, K.C.S.I.
Captain Bruce-Hamilton
- 4 & 5. Deputation from the Nizam of Hyderabad, G.C.I.
Sadar Diler ul Mulk, C.I.F.
G. Blaythwayt, Esq.
Nawab Amir i Akbar Asman
Lady Bahadur
Nawab Zafar
Joon Sham
Sad Dowlah
Shumsa
Colonel Cockburn.
6. The Thakri Sahib of Gondal, K.C.I.F.
Major Talbot, C.I.F.
The Thakri Sahib of Lathi
Colonel Nutt
7. The Thakri Sahib of Morvi
Colonel Woodhouse.
8. The Maharaja and Maharani of Kutch Behar R. Bignell, Esq.
9. The Rao of Ivateh
Colonel Goodfellow
10. The Maharaja Holkar of Indore
Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.

The second section of this

first division was composed of three carriages as follows:

1. Equerries and Ladies in Waiting.
2. Princess Victoria, Prince Adolphus, Prince Francis, and Prince Alexander of Teck.
3. Prince Frederick of Anhalt, Prince Ernest of Saxe-Meiningen, and the Duke and Duchess of Teck.

The Queen's Royal Guests

A third section, composed of her Majesty's Royal guests, left the Alexandra Hotel immediately behind the last section:

1. Abul Naser Mirza Hissan us Sultanch of Persia.
Mr. H. L. Churchill.
Nawab Mirza Hassan Ali Khan.
Mirza Ali Khan.
2. Prince Devawongse Varoprakar of Siam.
Mr. Edward H. French.
Phro Darun Raksa.
3. Prince Komaten of Japan.
Mr. R. B. Robertson.
Yoshitane Sonomiyu.
4. Queen Kapiolani of Hawaii.
Princess Lihoukalani.
Mr. R. E. Sygne.
General Curtis Jaukea.

This ended the three sections of the first division. As soon as they had been got into motion and had begun to pass in stately order down Piccadilly the first section of the second division left Buckingham Palace. At 10.45 the crowds round the gates of the Palace raised a tremendous



QUEEN VICTORIA'S ESCORT OF PRINCES IN THE JUBILEE PROCESSION
 Drawn by six cream-coloured horses and escorted by sixteen mounted princes in full uniform, Queen Victoria's State carriage was the most striking feature of a remarkable procession. This escort of princes included the Queen's sons, sons-in-law, and grandsons, and husbands of her granddaughters, and in the above illustration the Prince of Wales is easily recognised.

From a drawing by W. H. Overton

cheer—a signal to the spectators beyond that they would not now have long to wait for the coming of the Queen. Already the thousands collected round the Palace had had a sight of her Majesty, who, with that familiar touch which endeared her to all the nation, had shown herself at the window of one of the rooms. The first

**The Crowds
at the Palace**

section of the second division was headed by eight carriages containing gentlemen in attendance and Ladies in Waiting on the following:

9. Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg.
Prince Ludwig of Baden.
Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.
Princess of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.
10. The Hereditary Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar.
Prince Hermann of Saxe-Weimar.
The Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
The Hereditary Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
11. Prince Ludwig of Bavaria.
Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.
The Infante Don Antonio of Spain.
The Infanta Donna Eulalie of Spain.
12. Duc d'Aosta.
Crown Prince of Sweden.
Crown Prince of Portugal.
Crown Princess of Portugal.
13. Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary.
Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
14. King of Saxony.
King of the Belgians.
Queen of the Belgians.
15. Prince George of Greece.
Crown Prince of Greece.
King of the Hellenes.
King of Denmark.

This completed the first section of the second division. Immediately afterwards came the procession of the Queen and the Royal Family. It was headed with five carriages containing the Ladies in Waiting, Chamberlains, Stewards and Equerries; then came:

6. The Mistress of the Robes.
Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein.
Princess Margaret of Prussia.
Prince Alfred of Edinburgh.
7. Princess Victoria of Prussia.
Princess Sophie of Prussia.
Princess Louis of Battenberg.
Princess Irene of Hesse.
8. The Grand Duchess Elizabeth of Russia.
Princess Maud of Wales.
Princess Victoria of Wales.
Princess Louise of Wales.
9. Hereditary Princess of Saxe-Meiningen.
Princess William of Prussia.
The Duchess of Albany.
The Duchess of Connaught and Strathearn.
10. The Duchess of Edinburgh.
Princess Henry of Battenberg.
The Marchioness of Lorne.
Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein.
11. The Crown Princess of Germany.
Princess of Wales.
Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Accompanying the Royal carriage was a group of horse-men, composed of the sons, the grandsons, the sons-in-law, and the grandsons-in-law of her Majesty:

GRANDSONS AND GRANDSONS-IN-LAW.

The Grand Duke Serge of Russia.	Prince Albert Victor of Wales.	Prince William of Prussia.
Prince Henry of Prussia.	Prince George of Wales.	Hereditary Grand Duke of Hesse.
Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Meiningen.	Prince Christian Victor of Schles- wig-Holstein.	Prince Louis of Bat- tenberg.

SONS-IN-LAW.

Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein.	Crown Prince of Ger- many.	Grand Duke of Hesse.
Prince Henry of Battenberg.		Marquis of Lorne.

SONS.

The Duke of Con- naught and Strath- earn.	Prince of Wales.	Duke of Edinburgh.
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QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE: THE ROYAL PROCESSION ON JUBILEE DAY PASSING HYDE PARK CORNER
From a photograph by Messrs. Valentine & Sons

The route of the procession lay along Constitution Hill, Hyde Park Corner, Piccadilly, Regent Street, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, Cockspur Street, Northumberland Avenue, the Embankment, Bridge Street, to the west door of the Abbey. As the second section of the first division left the Palace its coming was heralded to the waiting thousands by a fanfare of trumpets, the playing of bands, and the rattle of kettledrums. As the Queen appeared, accompanied by the stately group of her descendants, cheers broke out instantaneously and spread with great rapidity all down the line. Hardly could the music of the massed bands be heard for the enthusiasm of her loyal subjects. Another volume of acclamation broke out in honour of the Prince of Wales, as he rode by, with a brother on each side, on his magnificent chestnut horse Vivian, called after Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Vivian, its former owner. The Crown Prince of Germany, the gallant soldier-husband of the Queen's eldest daughter, who was shortly afterwards to wear the Imperial Crown for so brief a time, was also warmly welcomed by the crowd. Tremendous cheers greeted, too, the ill-fated Prince Albert Victor, and Prince George, his brother, destined afterwards to come to the throne, as they passed by on their splendid chargers. The end of the procession was brought up by a body of Indian cavalry and a field officer's escort of the 1st Life Guards.

Thro' all this tract of years,
Wearing the white flower of a blameless life,
In that fierce light that beats upon the throne.

The same gorgeous setting awaited the procession in Northumberland Avenue and on the Embankment. Parliament Square had been altered beyond all recognition. Inside the railings of Palace Yard a stand had been erected for the police and minor officials of the Houses of Parliament. In the corner of the garden facing here was another stand for Parliament officials and members of the

Parliamentary Press. Nearest to the Abbey, in a special enclosure, were gathered the agents and representatives of the colonies. The roof of the House of Commons was crowded with spectators as well as the roof of the adjoining church of St. Margaret's, and both the Westminster Session House and Westminster Hospital were packed with loyal subjects. The people assembled here had witnessed, while waiting for the coming of her Majesty, not one of the least in-



AN EVENT OF THE JUBILEE: QUEEN VICTORIA'S DRAWING ROOM

The same warm-hearted enthusiastic reception greeted the Queen at Piccadilly, where the decorations had been arranged on the most elaborate and dazzling scale. Baroness Burdett-Coutts's residence and Devonshire House in particular were striking in their adornment, being almost literally embowered in laurels, flowers, and ferns. At one place there was hung over the roadway a huge piece of bunting, bearing the legend, "Piccadilly rings with cheers, Telling the love of fifty years." As the open barouche, with its six cream-coloured horses, ridden by postillions and attended by grooms on foot, passed slowly down this dazzling highway, from all sides a storm of cheers broke out, which visibly affected her Majesty. Waterloo Place was marked off by a lofty triple arch which spanned the road and footways. It bore the legend, "Victoria, all nations salute you," and all along the houses ran a series of inscriptions, declaring that "the

Decorations and Rejoicings

British Isles, the Indian Empire, your colonies and dependencies in Europe and in Asia, in America, in Africa, in Australasia, and Oceania give you good greeting."

Spanning the road by Nelson's Column were two large crimson banners, trimmed with gold, and setting forth the scriptural aspiration, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee," and "The Lord make His face to shine upon thee." Another inscription contained a quotation from Tennyson:

teresting portions of the celebration. From before ten o'clock a long series of distinguished people had passed on their way to the Abbey. They had been able to beguile the time in watching Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, Mr. Goschen, and other prominent figures in the political world, coming by, and in seeing the arrival of the Lord Mayor and Corporation. They had seen, too, the march past of a party of bluejackets who had been told off to form a guard of honour at the west entrance of the Abbey.

The Procession from Parliament

Perhaps the most interesting of all these scenes was the procession from the Houses of Parliament. At eleven o'clock the House of Lords, headed by the Lord Chancellor, left the Palace by St. Stephen's porch, and, crossing over to the Abbey, entered it by the Poet's Corner. Hardly had they passed from view than the Speaker made his appearance, heading the long line of Commons. Immediately behind him walked the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Gladstone, followed by members of both the Front Benches. It was half an hour after midday before the carriage of the Queen appeared in Parliament Square. Loud and prolonged cheers were raised as her Majesty passed to the ancient Abbey, there to offer to the Almighty her mead of thanks and gratitude for the great mercies that had been vouchsafed her for the fifty years of her reign. The escort of Royal Princes excited the special enthusiasm of the crowd, popular interest centring as before upon the Prince of Wales and the Crown Prince of Germany. On approaching the west end of the Abbey, the Queen's carriage halted, while her Royal escort dismounted. The carriage then turned the corner and drew up under the temporary porch which had been erected opposite the Abbey entrance. On a

platform, which ran the whole breadth of the west front, the ladies and officers of the Household received the Queen on alighting. She was immediately conducted to the retiring-rooms which had been built for her use between the Abbey and the temporary entrance.

Inside the Abbey the resplendent scene that was to greet her Majesty had been slowly forming itself since nine o'clock in the morning. At that hour the

The Scene in the Abbey

doors had been thrown open to ticket-holders, and the building had rapidly filled with a vast throng, representative in the fullest sense of the classes and masses of English life. The sumptuous carpeting of the nave and of the Royal dais, figured with the cross of the Bath and manufactured of the particular shade of crimson associated with that Order, the indigo blue of the stalls and benches of the canons and prebendaries, the snowy surplices of the choir, and the scarlet, blue, and gold of countless uniforms, blended into one harmonious whole, formed a picture of surpassing beauty. Everywhere provincial mayors, civic functionaries, officers of the Militia, the Yeomanry and the Volunteers, learned professors, doctors, lord lieutenants, sheriffs—everybody privileged to wear robe, gown, hood, scarf or uniform—contributed to the enlivenment of the scene. The vivid colouring of the spectacle was further enhanced by the dresses of the ladies present. Slowly, as the minutes went by, the Abbey filled with the ambassadors and ministers of all nations, the peers and peeresses, the members of the House of Commons, the judges, the most distinguished officers of both services, and a multitude of all that was most eminent in every branch of the national life.

The entry of the Indian chiefs and their suites was one of the most striking incidents that preceded the coming of her Majesty. Their dress was resplendent with gold and jewels, and their stately bearing, amidst this splendid scene that was set in a distant land, in the temple of a religion which they did not accept, was remarked by all. Their impressive and solemn gait, as they walked up the aisle, told of a familiarity with ceremonial, of which no Western prince present, from the most Royal Court in Europe, could boast. One by one the Royal guests who were not taking part in the procession arrived, a quaint touch being given to their passage by the coming of the dusky Queen of Hawaii in a dress of heavy material, bespangled with gold. Absolute silence was preserved in the Abbey—a silence of reverence and anticipation—while these events were taking place. Then suddenly the notes of the organ filled the building, as Dr. Bridge played the "Marche Pontificale." At the same moment the Royal

guests of the Queen entered two by two and passed to their places. The music ceased; a long and impressive silence ensued. Over the whole assemblage brooded an atmosphere of tense excitement and anticipation.

From the organ-loft a stirring fanfare of trumpets scattered the silence. The organ awoke again with one of Handel's marches. The Queen was coming. The doors were flung open, and the glittering procession entered the nave. First came six minor canons and six residentiary canons. Then the Bishop of London robed as a peer; then the Archbishop of York and the Dean of Westminster, wearing heavily embroidered copes. Following the clergy came the heralds of Lancaster and Windsor, the Gentlemen Ushers, the Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's department, the Groom of the Robes, the Lord-in-Waiting, the Groom-in-Waiting, the Groom of the Stole to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the Vice-Chamberlain. Behind came the Royal Princes, walking three and three, in inverse order of precedence. Again the silver trumpet sounded; the Garter appeared, followed immediately by the Royal lady who was the centre of the whole brilliant pageant. Robed in black, as was her custom, she wore only the Order of the Garter and the Star of India. As she made her way reverently to the Royal dais, escorted by the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Steward, the vast assemblage rose to their feet. Immediately behind the Queen there walked the procession of Royal and Imperial Princesses, the most exalted in rank being nearest her Majesty's person. As soon as all were seated, the service, conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dean of Westminster, and the Bishop of London, began.

Simple Ceremony of Thanksgiving

The religious ceremony, as was appropriate to "a thanksgiving and prayer," was extremely simple, being marked only by special music, partly selected by the Queen from the compositions of her ever-regretted husband,

and partly composed and arranged by Dr. Bridge. It was rendered by a choir of three hundred voices, and by the great organ of the Abbey, with the support of brass and drums. After a blessing on the Queen had been asked in the solemn form of prayer and response, the Prince Consort's *Te Deum* was sung; then followed a special prayer pronounced by the Archbishop of Canterbury. These solemn words of supplication deserve to be preserved.

"Almighty God, we humbly offer to Thy Divine Majesty our prayers and hearty thanksgivings for our gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, unto whom Thou hast accomplished full fifty years of sovereignty. We praise Thee, that



FOUNDING A MEMORIAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE

On the suggestion of the Prince of Wales, it was agreed to devote the large sum of money collected as a Jubilee offering to the erection of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington, and on July 4 Queen Victoria laid the foundation stone of this imposing memorial of her long reign.



A MEETING OF THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE HELD IN LONDON IN THE JUBILEE YEAR

One of the most striking features of the Jubilee was the impulse which it gave to Colonial sentiment and the part which it played in bringing together in closer bonds than ever before the scattered possessions of the Empire. On April 4, 1887, for the first time in the history of the British Empire, a conference of representatives from all the self-governing colonies in the dominions of the Queen assembled in London, under the presidency of Sir Henry Holland, Secretary of State for the Colonies. The deliberations of the conference extended through several weeks, the proceedings being of a purely consultative character.

From a sketch by Mr. G. Fairfield and photographs by Messrs. Elliot & Fry

through Thy grace she hath kept the charge Thou gavest her in the day when Thou didst set the Crown upon her head, bidding her 'to do justice, stay the growth of iniquity, and protect the Holy Church of God; to help and to defend widows and orphans; to restore the things gone to decay; to maintain the things that are restored; to punish and reform what is amiss, and confirm what is in good order; to keep the Royal laws and lively oracles of God.' We bless Thee that Thou hast heard through sorrow and through joy our prayer that she should always possess the hearts of her people. And we humbly pray Thee that for the years to come she may rejoice in Thy strength, and, at the resurrection of the just, enter into Thine immortal kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

After two other special prayers had been recited and the Exaudiat Te Dominus had been sung and the Lessons of the day read, Dr. Bridge's anthem, "Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on His Throne, to be king for the Lord thy God," specially composed for the occasion, was rendered. During the whole of the service the Queen was deeply affected, and the Prince of Wales, it was noticed, who was near his Royal mother, gazed tenderly and anxiously at her from time to time. When the Benediction was pronounced the Queen, who had sat during the prayers, attempted

The Queen's Affection for her Family

to kneel at the prie Dieu in front of her; but it had been placed too far off, and she sank back into the chair, resting her head upon her hands as the final blessing was pronounced.

The conclusion of the service was marked by one of those tender and familiar incidents which have endeared the Royal Family to the people. Stepping from his place,

the Prince of Wales advanced to his mother, and bending low, took her hand in his and gently raised it to his lips. As he did so the Queen bent forward and kissed him on the cheek. The Crown Prince of Germany and the Grand Duke of Hesse next paid their homage in like manner, the future German Emperor kneeling as he did so.

Then, carried away by the impulse of the moment, her Majesty embraced all the Princes and Princesses of her family with manifest emotion. The great scene in the Abbey

was now nearly over. Rising in her place, the Queen bowed to the foreign Royalties, who returned the obeisance. The organ crashed out "The War March of the Priests" from "Athalie." Once more the procession was formed, and the whole brilliant pageant faded away from under the time-worn arches of the Abbey. The return of the procession through Whitehall was a repetition of the progress of the morning, with the exception that the Royal section went first instead of last.

That night, while Royalty feasted in sumptuous state, the capital was *en fete*. In the City, when darkness set in, many spectators thronged the principal streets to view the decorations and illuminations. The Mansion House, the Bank of England, and the Royal Exchange were a blaze of light and bunting. All down Ludgate Hill and Fleet Street the same symbols of loyalty were displayed. In the West End also the illuminations presented a beautiful spectacle, considerable ingenuity being displayed in devices of coloured lights, setting forth appropriate inscriptions. Perhaps the legend which most exactly expressed the appeal that the Queen's personality made to the people was contained in the motto that flared in Piccadilly, "Wife, mother, friend; not Queen

alone." And while London was thus keeping, in the darkness of that memorable day, the celebration of the Queen's fifty years' reign, elsewhere in England a still more remarkable scene was being enacted. On the well-known range of the Malvern Hills thousands of people had assembled to watch the lighting of the great beacon which

Rejoicings in the Country

was to flash its summons across the kingdom, and to be answered from every lofty point by a flame of light. It had been arranged that the central beacon on the Malvern Hills should give the signal to the rest of the country.

At nine o'clock a procession was formed, and a number of the principal inhabitants of the neighbourhood, bearing torches, wound their way up the height to a plateau known as St. Ann's Well. Here they halted, and the National Anthem was sung by thousands of voices. As ten o'clock struck a flight of rockets "sobbed up into the sorrowful dark"; at the same moment the beacon was lighted. Immediately all round the country the message was answered, and was carried, like the Fiery Cross of old, from one end of the kingdom to the other. On Skiddaw, Scawfell, Snowdon, Cader Idris, and Plinlimmon the beacons blazed. To the crowd on the plateau the fires in Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire were visible, and some thousand beacon fires were lighted altogether in the fifty-two counties of England and Wales. In addition to this romantic illumination, thousands of bonfires were set ablaze at the same time by private persons in different parts of the country. So closed the great Jubilee day.

On the following day the Prince and Princess of Wales, with their usual display of sympathy and tenderness, abandoned the more stately functions of the occasion to visit Hyde Park. Here, a Jubilee treat, initiated by the proprietors of the "Daily Telegraph," was given to about 20,000 school-children. Each child was presented with a paper bag containing a meat-pie, a piece of cake, a bun, an orange, and a memorial silver-plated medal. The children were supplied from tents, each of which was presided over by a Court lady, assisted by eleven other ladies and twelve gentlemen. When the Prince and Princess arrived, at four o'clock, they received a tremendous ovation from thousands of shrill little voices, and the smiles of the Royal pair showed clearly the gratification they felt at this welcome. Proceeding to one of the tents, the Prince and Princess distributed the memorial cups to the children. At five o'clock the Queen, with some of her Royal visitors, drove down to the scene and witnessed, with evident pleasure, the supreme enjoyment which the fête afforded to the throngs of little ones. On the same day, too, the Jubilee Service at Westminster Abbey was repeated for the benefit of the public. At the suggestion of the Prince of Wales, half-a-crown was charged for the seats in the Abbey, and the sum thus received was handed over to the hospitals and other voluntary institutions which ministered to the wants of the sick poor in London.

Immediately after the children's fête, the Queen drove to Paddington and travelled down to Windsor, visiting Eton on the way, where she was received by the school-boys with tremendous enthusiasm. The Royal Standard, announcing her arrival at Windsor, was hoisted on the Round Tower, and the bells of St. George's Chapel and St. John's Church pealed out a welcome. Escorted by the Coldstream Guards, whose band played "Home, Sweet Home," the Queen and the Royal party made their

way through the streets to the place where the statue of her Majesty, presented by the town of Windsor and twenty parishes within the radius of three miles, had been placed. Having unveiled the statue, the Queen passed by George the Fourth's Gateway to the Castle. That night the Round Tower was illuminated by electric lamps, and all Windsor and Eton blazed with decorations and lights.

To commemorate the Jubilee, the Queen conferred peerages and other distinctions, and among the Naval promotions was that of the Prince of Wales to be Admiral of the Fleet. At the same time a Royal Proclamation was issued, granting a free pardon to all deserters from military services who should report themselves to their respective commanding officers. It was while at Windsor that the Queen received the officers and general committee of the Women's Jubilee Offering Fund—a fund raised by subscriptions varying in amount from a penny to a pound, and contributed by three million women in the United Kingdom. The sum thus collected totalled £75,000. On the same occasion a handsome casket, carved out of Irish bog-oak, with the representation of the Irish harp on the cover, was presented to the Queen on behalf of Irish women by the Marchioness of Londonderry.

Elsewhere in the country the Jubilee festivities were continued, dinners being given to the aged poor, and tea and amusements to the children.

On June 28 Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales arrived in Dublin to assist at the Jubilee celebrations there.

Unfortunately, the same political trouble that had marred the Prince of Wales's visit two years previously still divided the sister kingdom. In spite of this, however, the young Princes were well received, though counter-demonstrations were attempted at some points on the route of the procession through the city.

On June 29 the Queen returned to London from Windsor, and on her way to Buckingham Palace from Paddington paid a visit to Kensington Palace, her birthplace and her old home, where she had received, fifty years before, the news of her accession. In the evening the Lord Mayor and Corporation gave a ball at the Guildhall, at which the Prince and Princess of Wales were present, together with a large number of foreign Princes and distinguished men from all parts of the Empire. Three days

later the Queen reviewed 23,672 Volunteers at Buckingham Palace, and on July 4 she laid the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington.

After this interesting ceremony, which, in the words of Professor Huxley, was "the public and ceremonial marriage of science and industry," the Queen received the congratulations of the Army on her Jubilee. These were tendered by the Duke of Cambridge, to whom she expressed her sense of the love and devotion of the Army. On July 9, her Majesty reviewed 60,000 men at Aldershot, and a fortnight later took part in the last, and perhaps the greatest, function of the Jubilee celebrations. This was the review of the fleet at Spithead on one of the most brilliant days of a brilliant summer. Altogether 135 vessels of war took part in the review. Many of them were antiquated ships, and the effect of the great naval pageant was far-reaching. It gave an impetus to naval construction; it made Englishmen realise to what straits their first line of defence had declined, and caused them to strain every nerve to re-establish the Navy on a proper footing. Naval reform dates from July, 1887.



THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS
OF WALES AND FAMILY

From a photograph by Messrs. Russell & Sons, taken at Abergeldie in September, 1884



A SOUVENIR OF THE SILVER WEDDING OF KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA

From photographs by Lafayette, Dublin



QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN THE YEAR OF HER SILVER WEDDING

From a photograph by Messrs W. & D. Downey

streets of London were a curious and touching sight. The West End shops, for instance, were divided between a desire to celebrate the Silver Wedding by a display of silver and gay colours and to honour the memory of the German Emperor by a mourning show of black and steel. Many houses, and especially those in the vicinity of Marlborough House, were adorned above with flags, crystal medallions, and brilliant devices for a more resplendent series of illuminations than had been prepared for the Jubilee; while, in a sad contrast to these festive signs, many of the windows below them were divided by sombre funeral boards.

But though nearly all the festivities of a public character were abandoned, the Silver Wedding was celebrated at Marlborough House in a quiet, homely way, which enhanced rather than diminished its special character. After all, it was one of those occasions when a simple family gathering seems more appropriate than the pomp and pageantry of a great State function. The people at once recognised this view of the matter, and instead of grumbling over their disappointment at being unable to show their Prince by their acclamations what a marvellous hold he had on their affections, they rejoiced that he had chosen to keep to

his original plan, and had stayed at Marlborough House instead of retiring to Sandringham. Early in the morning they came in a vast but orderly multitude to Pall Mall, and, in spite of the fact that it was then raining heavily, they patiently waited on in order to watch the arrival of the incessant stream of distinguished persons who came on visits of congratulation. These began to arrive at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and they continued to come until seven o'clock in the evening, and many pages of the visitors' book at the lodge were filled with their names and titles.

The most interesting of the visitors was Queen Victoria, who drove up in an open landau drawn by four bays in an interval of "Queen's weather" a little before noon. Somewhat later the King of the Belgians, who had come on a special voyage of congratulation, arrived; and after him followed great personages from Turkey, China, Japan, and the Hawaii Islands, and deputations of all sorts, bearing Silver Wedding gifts. Conspicuous among them were fifty personal friends of the Prince of Wales, who brought three silver flagons; and three hundred and sixty-five ladies, each on terms of intimacy with the lovely Princess, who offered her an exquisite diamond tiara of the value of £4,400. Her Royal Highness also received some charming gifts from the representatives of the various Danish communities in the United Kingdom, and ambassadors from all the great potentates of the world came with splendid offerings. Everybody was delighted to see that the Prince and Princess and their handsome sons and beautiful daughters had put aside their robes of mourning in order to celebrate happily the happy occasion of the Silver Wedding. Princess Louise, Princess Victoria, and Princess Maud were radiant in bright spring dresses; and their mother, arrayed in a soft gown of creamy tints, looked as young as the youngest of her daughters. Ten noblewomen who had been her bridesmaids came with the gift of a silver casket; and one of them afterwards said, "We all looked old ladies, but the Princess was as fresh and young as she was on her wedding day."

At two o'clock the Prince and Princess of Wales, with their children and the Crown Prince and Princess of Denmark, drove, amid the cheers of the multitude of spectators, to Buckingham Palace, and lunched with Queen Victoria. A little while before their return, the Lord Mayor of London and his Sheriffs

The City's Present to the Princess came in their State coaches to Marlborough House, and by means of their picturesque robes gave a colour of ceremony to the quiet and home-like affair. They brought with them a model in silver of the Imperial Institute, and this the Lord Mayor offered to the Princess, saying:

"It is my pleasing duty, in the name of the Corporation, to beg your Royal Highness's acceptance of this silver model of the Imperial Institute, towards the foundation of which her Gracious Majesty and his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales have done so much; and to express the hope that it may long remain a memorial of a day in which we all rejoice."

The reply of the future ruler of the Empire was remarkable for the singular faculty with which he seized on this

sent by the King of the Belgians. Vases of white flowers were arranged upon the console-tables, and the buffet was hidden in a radiant mass of silver shields, silver tankards, and old silver cups and goblets. Clusters of lamps glistened round the walls and hung from the ceiling, and their mingled radiance played on all the examples of the silversmith's art with a dazzling effect. High above everything else towered a gigantic wedding-cake, six feet from the top to the bottom, half hidden in trails of beautiful white roses.

The Indian Room was literally heaped with presents. An entire corner was filled with flowers. Little garlands of lilies of the valley had been sent by peasant girls from all parts of the country to their beloved Prince and Princess, and these humble but delightful gifts were mingled with rarer foreign blooms received from the nobility. Among the prettiest things were the silver models of the Princess's favourite mare, and the Prince's favourite hunter, presented by the Royal children to their father and mother. The Prince gave his wife a cross of diamonds and rubies, and a silver clock with the letters A-L-B-E-R-T-E-D-W-A-R-D engraved round the dial in the place of figures, and with an inscription on the back in a facsimile of his handwriting, "In Remembrance of March 10th, 1863-1888, from A. E."

Few of the other gifts showed much originality, though many of them were in exquisite taste. Queen Victoria gave a massive silver flagon; her eldest daughter, the Empress of Germany, sent a delicate and costly vase of Dresden china; from the Tsar and Tsarina of Russia came a necklace of lovely jewels. The King of the Belgians fell back on the safe and the commonplace, and bought a silver tankard; and Prince Waldemar of Denmark could not think of anything more original than a set of silver spoons, which his parents completed by a silver tea and coffee service. The King of Hawaii certainly surpassed, on this occasion, his more powerful brother monarchs. He sent a large wooden bowl made from a gigantic acorn, and finely mounted in silver; it was the most curious of all the presents, and not the least beautiful. Even the Empress Eugénie, instead of commissioning one of the great French sculptors of the day to turn out some exquisite silver piece of statuary, merely sent a little copy of an Elizabethan frigate. King Edward himself clearly showed the most originality of taste

and modernity of view. The colonial subscribers gave him, as has been said, two thousand pounds, and asked him to choose a gift for himself and his wife. He had a massive, but beautiful candelabrum designed for electric light. Common as things of this sort now are, they were an unusual novelty twenty-two years ago. It was only persons like

King Edward, with an equally lively interest in art and science, who then thought of striking out in this new direction.

At half-past ten o'clock in the evening the inspection of the Silver Wedding gifts was concluded, and Queen Victoria then went out to see the illuminations. In spite of the fact that the greater number of dazzling devices had been taken down on receipt of the news of the death of the German

Emperor, the chief streets in the West End were brilliantly and beautifully lighted. The Queen rode through the cheering crowd along Pall Mall, which was blazing with the classic flambeaux of the clubs and with wreaths and crowns of light of the shops. As her carriage turned into Waterloo Place a really magnificent example of the art of illumination took her eyes. Above a base formed by bannerets, spring flowers and medallions, was a gigantic legend in silver flame on a blue ground, "May to-day's festival once more come, ripened with time of gold!" This was indeed the wish that inspired the people of London that night. For once they acclaimed their gracious Sovereign less because she was their Queen than because she was the mother of their beloved Prince. As the Royal carriage

rolled down the bright, crowded streets, close on midnight, the Queen received some of the welcome that London would have liked that day to give to her son. One fine trait in Queen Victoria was her peculiar responsiveness to the unspoken feeling of her people when she was at last brought face to face with them. Her experiences on the night of the Silver Wedding

completed the lesson which she had learnt on the day of her Jubilee. She knew at last that her people wanted to see her take a more active part in public life, and thenceforward she began to do so. Some of the credit for inducing her to take this happy step must undoubtedly be given to her son. Insensibly, and without even aiming at it, he had become a great power in the land, and his influence was perhaps more profound by reason of the fact that it was exercised outside the ordinary political channels.

At the time of his Silver Wedding King Edward was in his forty-seventh year, and though he had not been allowed to show his remarkable talents in the field of politics, he had given a fine example of what a Prince of Wales of the modern sort could do in promoting the physical and intellectual welfare of the people. Equally remarkable were his achievements as a private country gentleman. In some respects it would have been more appropriate if his Silver Wedding had been celebrated at Sandringham instead of at Marlborough House, for it was at the charming country seat, which he bought at the time of his engagement to the loveliest Princess in the world, that the happiest and the longest part



A FAMILY GROUP AT SANDRINGHAM

From a photograph by Ralph

Queen Victoria and Her People



A GARDEN PARTY AT MARLBOROUGH HOUSE IN THE YEAR OF KING EDWARD'S SILVER WEDDING

From a drawing by R. Caton Woodville

of his married life had been spent. Queen Alexandra had always preferred the country to the town, and her husband's tastes in the matter were similar to hers. Most of their children, however, had been born in London, as Queen Alexandra always stayed at Marlborough House during her accouchements. But the Duke of Clarence appeared quite unexpectedly on January 8, 1864, while his mother and father were passing the winter at Frogmore House in the grounds of Windsor Park. "There was no nurse, no baby-linen, and no doctor," said Lord Malmesbury, who was present with the Prince of Wales and Lord Granville. "Lady Macclesfield was, fortunately, in waiting, and as she has had a great many children, she was probably of use." Some time later the four special physicians retained for the event, and the two nurses, arrived post haste from London. They found the newborn baby wrapped in cotton-wool, as no clothes had been prepared for it. Happily, neither the mother nor the child was any the worse for the occurrence in January of an event which was not

expected until March, and the good news was naturally the occasion of great rejoicing throughout the country. The Princess chose the anniversary of her wedding-day for the christening of "Prince Eddie," which took place in the Chapel at Buckingham Palace on March 10, 1864. Lady Macclesfield, in recognition of her services, had the honour

of placing the pretty baby in the arms of his godmother, Queen Victoria. He received the names of Albert, after the Prince Consort; Victor, after the Queen; Christian, after the King of Denmark; and Edward, after his father.

Queen Alexandra at the time was not yet twenty years of age, but from that period onward she became wholly absorbed in her loving maternal duties, and every moment which she could spare from her social and public life was spent in the nursery. On June 3, 1865, her second son, now King George, was born at Marlborough House. A month after his birth, a fire broke out on the nursery floor. Without waiting for any help, King Edward sent his wife and children to another



QUEEN ALEXANDRA AND HER DAUGHTERS

From a photograph by Hughes & Mullins



AN AUTOGRAPHED PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA
A. DIX

part in the house, and set to work with great energy to fight the flames. Long before a fire-engine arrived he had tipped up the floor in order to trace the source of the mischief, and while doing this had a narrow escape from a bad accident, falling to some distance through the rafters. Thanks, however, to the courage and presence of mind of King Edward, the fire was subdued before any great harm was done.

The birth of Princess Louise, on February 20, 1837, was a very dangerous event to her mother. Queen Alexandra at the time was very ill, with rheumatic fever. For many nights and days the pain was so great that she could not sleep, and the Queen of Denmark was summoned to the bedside of her daughter. King Edward devoted himself to the care of his suffering wife, and even had his desk moved into her sick-room, so that he could not be separated from her while he was engaged in answering his enormous correspondence. Nothing is so great a test of the depth and strength of mother love as sickness, and it was during the serious illness of his wife that King Edward showed how kind and loving a husband he really was, and the sweet and thoughtful attentions which he then lavished on her were recalled four years afterwards, when Queen Alexandra nursed him in time through his terrible fever.

For the rest of that year the Prince and Princess of Wales lived very closely together, and travelled as little as possible. And on July 1, 1838, the Princess Victoria was born. After a pleasant summer at Sandringham, they went on a visit to the Emperor and Empress of the French, and then on a tour by the Danube, Germany and Austria-Germany. In November, 1838, was born Princess Marie, the last and the favourite child of King Edward. It is true that he had another son, Alexander, on April 6, 1837, but the poor

little baby only lived one day. It was a sad coincidence that, at their beloved home at Sandringham, King Edward and Queen Alexandra lost both their youngest and their eldest born. Sandringham was indeed the scene of their deepest sorrows and their deepest joys.

After they rebuilt Sandringham House, in 1870, their home life became almost entirely centred there, and it was there also that the least obtrusive, but not the least important, part of their work was done. Until 1877 both their sons and daughters were brought up at home. King Edward naturally took the deepest interest in the training of his children. The education which he gave them was of a simple rather than a severe kind.

The Home Life of the Royal Family He allowed them to have many more toys than he possessed in his childhood, but they had to be toys of an ordinary and inexpensive sort. He did away also with the stiff German custom that required his household and his servants to use the term "Your Royal Highness" when addressing the young Princes and Princesses. In the days of Queen Elizabeth the grand old English title of "lady" was accounted good enough for the daughter of an English king; and having regard to the multitude of princes and princesses in Russia and other parts of the Continent, the old Tudor form of address might well be revived in England. King Edward, however, managed, with his fine tact and his love of simplicity, to hit the golden mean, and his children were merely called by the servants "Prince Edward," "Princess Louise," and so on.

King Edward did not make, in regard to the education of his children, the same mistake as the Prince Consort. As soon as his sons and daughters grew up, they were each permitted to cultivate and follow their individual tastes. Princess Louise resembled her mother in her dislike to



AN AUTOGRAPHED PORTRAIT OF PRINCESS LOUISE
A. DIX



KING EDWARD IN THE EAST END, LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE FESTIVAL HALL

town life, and she was encouraged in her love of fishing and in her interest in the management of a country estate. The result was that she became as good a judge of farm-stock as a farmer, and took up what, at the time, seemed the unladylike pursuit of cattle-breeding. Princess Victoria, on the other hand, was of a domestic turn of mind,

and for many years she helped her mother in the direction of the Royal household. Princess Maud, as is well known, was a roguish, merry maid, and being the favourite of her father, she adopted his tastes. So manly a race as the Norwegians deserve to have a queen like her. There are few sports, from horsemanship to yachting, in which she cannot excel the ordinary man, and she is almost as versatile an artist as she is a sportswoman. By reason of her great gifts, King Edward conceived high ambitions for his favourite daughter. It is now

no secret that he would have liked her to aspire to a crown. In regard to the marriage of his daughters, however, King Edward showed the same largeness of mind and kindness of heart as he did in regard to their education. When he saw that Princess Maud had really fallen in love with Prince Charles of Denmark he consented to her following the dictates of her feelings as readily as he consented to Princess Louise marrying the Earl of Fife. It need scarcely be added that the strange turn in Scandinavian politics which led to the Crown of Norway being offered to Princess Maud and her husband was, in its results, a source of great joy to King Edward, though he much regretted that his favourite daughter should have obtained a sudden, unexpected exaltation at the expense of his old friend King Oscar of Sweden.

There is a popular error that King Edward and his family used to speak in German among themselves. As a matter of fact, when the Duke of Clarence went to Heidelberg to attend a course of lectures at that famous university, he had so slight an acquaintance with the German tongue that he was obliged to study the language for some time before he was able to understand the lectures. By the time that his sons grew up, King Edward seems to have arrived at the opinion that, wide as his own education had been from the point of view of learning, it had been very narrow as regards the study of mankind and of the ways of the world. He was anxious that his boys should be able to read men as easily as books. As is generally known, he found an even better place than a public school for bringing them up in the way that he desired. He had inherited from the Prince Consort the idea that the best kind of training for young men of the highest rank was that they should be taught, as he himself said, "to do something with their hands." The Duke of Clarence and King George were therefore entered as students on the training ship *Britannia*, and there, by their father's special

orders, no difference whatever was made between them and their shipmates. The young Princes were instructed in carpentry and engineering; they had to darn their own socks, and mend their own clothes, and fight their own battles. They learned to take a blow and to give one, and, to the great delight of King Edward, they grew up into manly, good-natured, active boys, equally forward in tackling a hard piece of work or indulging in a bit of innocent fun. From the *Britannia* they proceeded as cadets to H.M.S. *Bacchante*.

After their second cruise in this warship they were confirmed at Whippingham Church, near Osborne, and it was then decided that the Duke of Clarence should enter the Army and King George continue his life at sea. In 1888 Prince George was on active duty on H.M.S. *Dreadnought* in the Mediterranean, but he obtained leave of absence, and arrived at Plymouth on March 7 in time to

take part in the celebration of the Silver Wedding. Britain's sailor King undoubtedly owes a great deal to the scheme of education prepared for his benefit by his wise and practical father, who gave him all the opportunities which he himself vainly longed to possess.

To sum up, King Edward was a kind husband and a good father; and if these sides of his character were more fully revealed in the festival of the Silver Wedding than that public side of his life which the people at the time were anxious to acclaim, in order to convince Queen Victoria that her heir was worthy of taking an active share in the task of government, this was, after all, as it should have been. What was commemorated on March 10, 1888, was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the domestic happiness of King Edward and Queen Alexandra, and it is on the domestic happiness of a ruler that the general welfare of his people in large measure depends. Everything about the home of the great Peacemaker was tranquil and fortunate, and it was there that he first revealed his large and splendid gifts. Long before the "Housing Question"



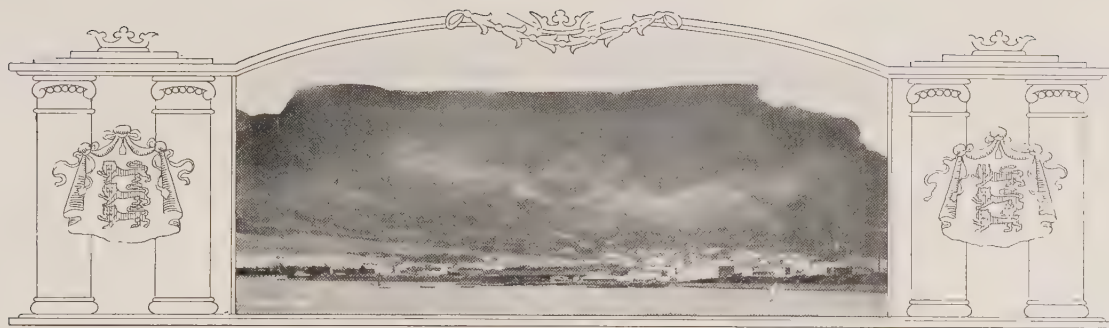
QUEEN ALEXANDRA AND HER SONS

From a photograph by Messrs W. & D. Downey taken at the time of the Silver Wedding

began to occupy the attention of Parliament, King Edward had solved it on his estate at Sandringham. He was not merely a man of kind feelings, but his kind feelings were enlightened and directed by knowledge. To everything bearing on the health, comfort, and moral and intellectual welfare of the persons on his estate he gave his whole attention, and he made Sandringham a magnificent and inspiring example of the noble work that every country gentleman in the United Kingdom could do if only he bent his energies in that direction.

Next to the Silver Wedding festivities in the vast metropolis of the Empire, those in the towns and villages of Norfolk were the most remarkable. The event was celebrated in a really appropriate manner, the festivities including a feast to a thousand poor and aged persons.

Norfolk's Celebrations



CHAPTER LIII

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

Describing the Era of Competition among European Powers for Colonial Territory, and the Extension of British Possessions in the African Continent

At the beginning of the nineteenth century European knowledge of Africa was practically limited to a narrow coastal strip all round the continent, and no European Power had even contemplated the occupation of any part of the interior. In the north the Ottoman Empire held suzerainty over Tunis, Tripoli and Egypt. France was established on the west coast from the River Gambia northward to Cape Blanco. Portugal held the shores of Angola and Mozambique, as well as the Cape Verde Islands and the coastline of Portuguese Guinea. Spain was represented by the island of Fernando Po. Britain claimed small areas of territory at the River Gambia, Sierra Leone, and on the Gold Coast. The Dutch had formed a small settlement at the Cape. Besides these, there were many trading stations, belonging to various nationalities, scattered along the west coast, and situated principally at the mouths of the great rivers; these were engaged chiefly in the slave trade, and their importance declined when that traffic was made illegal in 1807. Thus the coast of Africa was thinly settled, here and there, by European peoples. But except for the lines of the principal rivers in their lower courses, the map of the interior was a blank.

Three-fourths of the nineteenth century had passed away before the partition of Africa became a serious question. By wars, lasting from 1830 till 1847, France had conquered Algeria, and her power had continually extended further inland in the region of Senegambia. The independence of the republic of Liberia was recognised by the Powers in 1847. Britain's interest increased; her hold on the Gold Coast was confirmed by the acquisition, in 1850 and 1871, of the Danish and Dutch settlements there; her colony of Lagos was founded in 1861, and her influence became established in Nigeria. Cape Colony, a British possession since 1815, had given rise to the Transvaal in 1852, the Orange Free State in 1854, and Natal in 1856. Finally, British influence was powerful both in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar and in Egypt. Not very much had been done towards the partition of Africa during the first three-quarters of the century, but the great explorations of Burton, Speke, Grant, Baker, Livingstone.

Stanley, and other intrepid men had revealed during these years most of the unknown interior of the continent.

Up to this time France had been the only European Power pursuing a deliberate colonising policy in Africa; she had already practically marked out for her own all that vast area which she now controls. The Portuguese possessions remained from a time when that nation was inferior to none in energy and enterprise, but there was no longer either the desire or the power to build up real colonies in Africa, though Portugal was ready, when the time came, to advance vast and indefinite territorial claims, based on supposed treaties entered into with native rulers by her adventurers of long ago. Germany at the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century had learned her strength, established her unity, and was just entering on that marvellous career of efficiency which has since rendered her so formidable. Already the German people were scrutinising the maps of the Old and New Worlds, and wondering how and where their destiny beyond the seas was to be accomplished. The German explorers of Africa had won triumphs of discovery but little less remarkable than those of British travellers, and German traders were searching out every opening on the African coast. But the great struggle with France was too recent for Germany to contemplate political action with regard to Africa; her hands were too full with home affairs. Nor had Britain any designs on African lands; the modern passion for territorial aggrandisement dates from more recent years.

In 1875, therefore, there was no indication of the coming scramble for the partition of Africa among the European Powers. Yet the conditions of modern industrialism, demanding, as they do, the constant opening up of new markets, were bound to bring about the commercial development of Africa. And commercial interests were the predominant, though by no means the only, consideration which led to the Brussels Conference of 1876, and so directly to the partition of Africa.

It was in 1875 that Stanley set out on his epoch-making journey across Africa. It is not too much to say that the attention of the whole world was concentrated with breathless interest upon the expedition. Stanley was



Dr. Livingstone

Sir H. M. Stanley

FAMOUS AFRICAN EXPLORERS

Explorers of the Dark Continent, both men did much to make known its hidden secrets; it was after Stanley's epoch-making journey across Africa, beginning in 1875, that the scramble for territory on the part of the European Powers began.

a great explorer and master of men, but he was an even greater journalist, and the letters which emerged one after another from the unknown heart of the continent took precedence of every other subject in the mind of Europe. There was the romantic interest in the wonderful story

**What Stanley
did for Africa**

of new lands and strange peoples; the strong human interest in the indomitable adventurer himself: but, besides these, a profound religious and philanthropic interest in the heathen populations aroused an extraordinary apostolic fervour, so that, for instance, many Protestant and Catholic missionaries set out at once for Uganda. Lastly, there was a keen commercial and industrial interest in the possible resources of this undeveloped continent, and in the undeveloped needs of its inhabitants. The historical importance of Stanley's journey lay not so much in anything that he discovered as in the mere fact that it drew universal attention to Africa. Attention was really what Africa had lacked.

Leopold II., King of the Belgians, was the first to take hold of this eager interest, and to direct it to his own advantage and to the advantage of civilisation. He was a man of unusual abilities: he had the same kind of lofty and bold imagination as that which characterised Cecil Rhodes; he had vast energy and ambition. He reigned over a little country which is the most densely populated in Europe, and is also at the highest pitch of commercial and industrial development. It was obvious that Belgium had no great political future in Europe, but Leopold realised that she might find in Africa, if not what Britain has found in North America or India, or what Portugal and Spain had in former times found in South America, yet at least a great and inexhaustible commercial estate. He was also not unwilling to turn his pre-eminent business abilities to the advantage of his private fortune. But there is no reason to doubt that his motive in summoning the Brussels Conference was primarily what it professed to be—the desire to discuss internationally what means should be taken to open up the continent to the commerce of all civilised nations alike, and especially what means should be taken to extirpate the terrible slave trade which was devastating the interior of Africa.

For although the transatlantic slave trade was successfully crushed quite early in the nineteenth century, having been made illegal in 1807, and having been branded as piracy in 1817, the same abominable traffic, in even more horrible forms, was still rampant over vast areas of the African interior, and was the cause of incessant unrest, continual massacre, and unimaginable suffering. The so-called Arab traders would come down with armed force, establish themselves in a populous region, and leave it an uninhabited waste. The stories of their depredations are found in the records of every explorer of the interior.

The conference summoned by the King of the Belgians opened on September 12, 1876, and was attended, not by delegates from the respective Governments, but by men chosen for their interest in or knowledge of Africa, such as the most eminent explorers and the representatives of the European geographical societies. Among the Britons who took part in its deliberations were Sir Rutherford

Alcock, Sir Fowell Buxton, Commander Cameron, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Leopold Heath, Sir John Kennaway, Sir William Mackinnon and Sir Henry Rawlinson. The German representatives included the eminent names of Baron von Richthofen, Dr. Nachtigal and Dr. Schweinfurth, and M. d'Abbadie was one of the French members of the conference.

The discussions of the conference resulted in the establishment at Brussels of an International African Association, to which a National Committee of every nation interested should send representatives. The object of the International Association was to be the exploration and development of Central Africa.

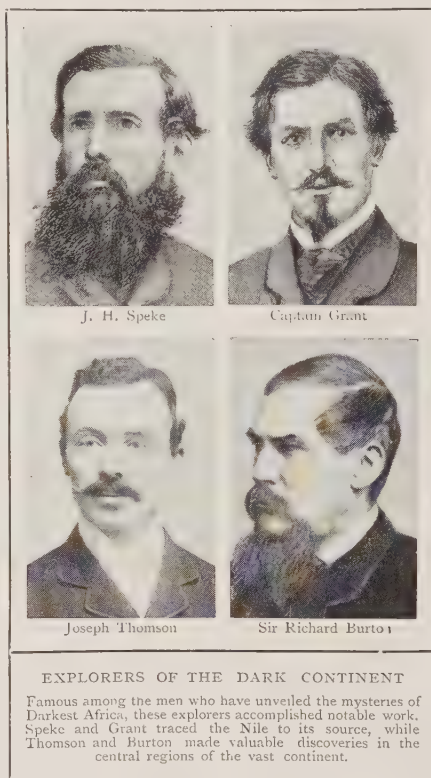
National Committees under this scheme were soon at work in Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Russia, and the United States of America. No committee, on the other hand, was formed in Britain to co-operate with the International African Association; the refusal to join in the movement was due to no want of sympathy in its

aims, but to the fear of political complications. The Royal Geographical Society of London founded, in 1877, an enterprise of its own, under the name of the African Exploration Fund, having the same object as that of the International Association, and sent out to the work of African research the successful expedition under Keith Johnston and Joseph Thomson.

Unfortunately, the undertakings of the International Association were not so successful. The first expedition, which it promoted in 1877, was designed to found a line of stations between Lake Tanganyika and the Indian Ocean, with the object of opening up the surrounding country, and of affording a base for further explorations. Almost every possible mistake was made by the Belgian officers in charge of the work, who succeeded only in founding one station, Karema, on the border of Lake Tanganyika. The lavish expenditure of life and money was frustrated by ignorance of the difficulties which had to be overcome, and by general inefficiency. King Leopold had to step in and subsidise the association, which almost immediately lost its international character and became in fact, though not in name, his private agency.

But the International Association, by suggesting the organisation of National Committees, had started the process by which Africa soon came to be divided up among the European Powers. The National Committees of France, Germany, and Italy set to work on the exploration and development of those regions with which each of these nations had already some connection, and ceased to support the parent organisation. King Leopold's association, on the other hand, limited its attention at an early date to the region of the Congo river, and to Belgian interests there, and thus departed altogether from its original purpose.

Having completed his momentous journey across the heart of Africa, in which he discovered the course of the River Congo from its head waters to the Atlantic Ocean, Stanley arrived in Europe in January, 1878, and was met by emissaries from King Leopold. Henceforth the King of the Belgians and Stanley were to work together in



EXPLORERS OF THE DARK CONTINENT
Famous among the men who have unveiled the mysteries of Darkest Africa, these explorers accomplished notable work. Speke and Grant traced the Nile to its source, while Thomson and Burton made valuable discoveries in the central regions of the vast continent.



NATIVE RACES IN EGYPT AND NORTH AFRICA OVER WHOM KING EDWARD RULED

1. Camel boys and camels near the Pyramids; 2. Family travelling through the desert; 3. Caravan guard; 4. Bedouins; 5. Arab sheik; 6. Sudanese; 7. Fuzzi-Wuzzies; 8. Damaras; 9. An Arab school; 10. Donkey barrow with Arabs; 11. Water-carriers filling their skins; 12. Ovambos; 13. Bedouin.

promoting the partition of Africa. By November of that year, when Stanley was summoned to meet King Leopold and several authorities on Africa from various European countries, the conception of the Congo Free State had probably germinated in Leopold's mind. At that meeting a new committee was formed, for the investigation of the Upper Congo, and "with the ultimate intention," says Stanley, "of embarking on a grander enterprise if the

Stanley's Mission of Investigation

reports from the Congo region were favourable." But the grander enterprise was for a time kept in the background, and Stanley was sent out to Africa on what he terms "the very modest enterprise of studying what might be made of the Congo river and its basin. This body of gentlemen," he continues, "desired to know how much of the Congo river was actually navigable by light-draught vessels. What protection could friendly native chiefs give to commercial enterprises? Were the tribes along the Congo sufficiently intelligent to understand that it would be better for their interests to maintain a friendly intercourse with the whites than to restrict it? What tributes, taxes, or imposts, if any, would be levied by the native chiefs for right of way through their country? What was the character of the produce which the natives would be able to exchange for European fabrics? Provided that in future a railway would be created to Stanley Pool from some point on the Lower Congo, to what amount could this produce be furnished? Some of the above questions were answerable even then; others were not. It was therefore resolved that a fund should be subscribed to equip an expedition to obtain accurate information, the subscribers to the fund assuming the name and title of 'Comité des Etudes du Haut Congo.' A portion of the capital, amounting to £20,000, was there and then subscribed for immediate use." Thus was the Congo Free State originated. Stanley went out to Africa in the service of this "Committee of Studies," which soon assumed the title of "The International Association of the Congo."

Stanley founded Leopoldville and other stations on the Congo, entered into many treaties with native chiefs, carried out much useful exploration, and then returned to Europe to press on the committee the necessity of two primary measures—the building of a railway to connect the lower with the upper river, which are separated by a long series of cataracts, and the securing of recognition by the great European Powers of the International Association of the Congo as a political and governing institution. He then returned to his work in Africa in the end of 1882.

Meanwhile, the descriptions which Stanley had published of the greatest of African rivers had inflamed the imagination of other explorers and the cupidity of other nations. Leopold's project was threatened by the rivalry of France and of Portugal. Count de Brazza, an Italian by birth, but by profession a French naval officer, had spent some years in exploring the River Ogové before Stanley discovered the secrets of the Congo, and when these came out he lost no time in making use of them. As the emissary of the French National Committee of the International Association, De Brazza appeared upon the Congo in 1880, entering into treaties with chiefs, persuading them to accept the protection of France, and founding stations along the river. He was obviously poaching upon the Leopold-Stanley preserves, yet his action was not illegal, since the land was as yet a no-man's land. Yet such an acutely dangerous situation could not be suffered

to last. The agents of the Powers were already disputing the Congo.

And now Portugal put in a claim, founded on historical considerations, and not upon present occupation, to regions about and to the north of the mouth of the Congo. There was a great deal to be said for the claim, and Portuguese Ministers had urged it long before and often; but Britain had repudiated it as often. It went back to the year 1484, and now, when the value of the Congo was known, Portugal conceived the project of uniting her African colonies of the west and east, and presented it once more. This time, but for a moment only, it was successful, and Lord Granville entered into an Anglo-Portuguese "Congo Treaty," in February, 1884, by which the Lower Congo passed under the Portuguese flag. But African affairs had now become too important to allow of the decision of so fateful a matter as this by an agreement between Britain and Portugal without consultation of the other Powers interested. There was an outcry of indignation, in which the British public fully shared, against the handing over of this grand waterway to a reactionary and feeble State like Portugal. Bismarck let it be known that Germany must have a voice in the matter, and secured the support of the French Government to his objection. The

pressure was too strong to be resisted, and Lord Granville, unsupported even in Britain, announced in June, 1884, that the Congo Treaty would be abandoned.

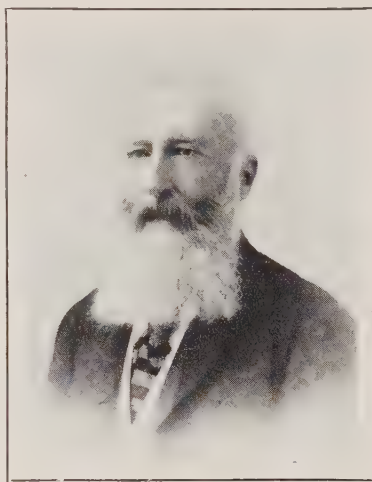
The struggle for the possession of Africa had now begun in earnest. An International Conference was proposed by Portugal and agreed to by the Powers. Germany and France together prepared a provisional scheme, to be laid before the conference, under which a free State should be established on the Congo; and Britain approved of the proposal. The conference was also to come to a decision with regard to conflicting interests on the River Niger, and in general to define the principles on which annexations of African territory would be authorised by the Powers in concert.

The meetings of the conference extended from November 15, 1884, till the end of January, 1885, and were attended by delegates from every European Power, with the single exception of Switzerland, and from the United States of America. Stanley

was present as an American representative, though his interests in the conference were really those of King Leopold. A General Act, including all the findings of the conference, was signed by the delegates on February 14, 1885.

The most important provisions which the conference laid down referred to the conditions under which annexation would be recognised by the Powers. No occupation of any part of the African coast was to be regarded as valid unless it was an effective occupation, and unless it had also been formally notified to the Powers, in order that any one of them having a previous claim over the region in question might have an opportunity of presenting its claim. The hitherto very vague conception termed "spheres of influence" was sufficiently defined, together with the duties of a European Power towards its sphere of influence.

The creation of the Congo Free State as an independent Government was not the work of the Berlin Conference, though it was proceeding at the same time and place and in private and informal conclaves. As is often the case with conferences, the most important work was done outside the conference hall, and went unnoticed in the official



THE KING OF THE BELGIANS

Leopold II., King of the Belgians, founded in West Africa, with the assistance of Sir Henry Stanley, the Congo State, which was formally recognised by the Great Powers in 1885. Many terrible abuses subsequently marked his rule there.



TYPES OF SOUTH AND EAST AFRICAN PEOPLES WHO ACKNOWLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO KING EDWARD

1. Kaffir women carrying grass, Natal; 2. Natives of British South Africa; 3 and 5. Rhodesian warriors; 4. Makalakas; 6. Makalaka boy; 7. Kaffir women, Natal; 8. From Fort Rosebery; 9. Mashona girls; 10 and 12. Natives of Uganda; 11. Kaffirs in compound, Kimberley; 13. Damara man and woman; 14. Kisinga chief; 15. Mashona girl; 16. Kaffir chief, Natal; 17. Kaffir woman, Natal; 18. Basuto chief; 19. Water carrier, East Africa; 20 and 22. Matabele Majakas; 21. Berg Damara girl; 23. Danaras; 24 and 25. East African women; 26. Zulu chief; 27. Zulu maiden.

records. The International Congo Association was already playing the part of an independent State, under the governorship of Sir Francis de Winton, and backed by the private purse of the King of the Belgians. Seven months before the conference met, the Government of the United States had recognised the gold star on a blue field of the Congo Association as the flag of a friendly Government, and the example of the United States was soon followed

King Leopold's new Sovereignty

in this respect by Germany and then by all the other Powers independently. Shortly after the Berlin Conference, the Belgian Government consented to the arrangement by which King Leopold became the sovereign of the new State, the connection between Belgium and the Congo State being merely personal and existing only through the King. The last step in the founding of the State was taken on August 1, 1885, when King Leopold formally notified all the Powers of his new sovereignty, and declared the absolute neutrality of the Congo Free State. The final delimitation of its boundaries, by separate agreements with France and Portugal, gave to the new principality an area of over 860,000 square miles, with a native population of between ten and fifteen millions.

The partition of Africa, beginning with the Berlin Conference in 1884, was practically completed by 1892; the great scramble for territory was accomplished within eight years. At the earlier date, only about 2,500,000 square miles out of Africa's total of 11,500,000 square miles were in the possession of European Powers; at the later date over 9,500,000 square miles had been thus appropriated.

German East Africa, the most valuable of German possessions in the continent, owes its existence to the indefatigable Karl Peters, who arrived in Zanzibar in 1884, being then only twenty-eight years old. He had lived in England, where he had learned to admire the British colonising power, and on returning to Germany he founded a Society of German Colonisation, and proceeded at once to effect annexations by exceedingly simple methods. These consisted in signing treaties with unsuspecting native chiefs, by which the rights of colonisation over their respective territories were ceded to the society which Peters represented. The business was conducted with extraordinary celerity; between November 19 and December 17, 1884, a region extending to 60,000 square miles was thus acquired. Peters then returned to Germany; the territories which he had secured were transferred to the German East Africa Company; and at the same time, on February 27, 1885, a charter was granted by the German Emperor extending Imperial protection to all the lands acquired by the Society of German Colonisation. In May of the same year Lord Granville indicated to Prince Bismarck that Britain would acquiesce in the establishment of the new German colony, informing him at the same time of our occupation of British East Africa. The territories included under the name of German East Africa extend to about 353,500 square miles.

The colony of Togoland, extending over an area of 16,000 square miles, became a German protectorate on July 5, 1884, being won for Germany by Dr. Nachtigal, who proceeded, in the following month, to annex the Kamerun, of 130,000 square miles. The sphere of German influence in South-West Africa was delimited by an Anglo-German commission in 1885, and again by an Anglo-German agreement in 1890. This region, which extends to 340,000 square miles, is almost a desert, and has cost the German people far more than it is ever likely to repay.

Unless Egypt be considered a British possession (which Britain has no right to consider it) France has the largest share in Africa, exceeding three million square miles; on the other hand, more than half of that area is included in the Sahara desert, and is at present worthless. It does not follow that it will always be worthless; there is everywhere plenty of water below the parched surface, and with sufficient energy and expenditure the Sahara may yet be a garden. With the exception of Algeria and Tunis, the French occupation of her African possessions has not advanced beyond the purely military stage, and is consequently exceedingly expensive to the mother country, and can hardly be called colonisation at all.

Britain has been fortunate above all other nations in the partition of Africa, in the fact that she possesses those portions of the continent in which it is possible for a European population to bring up children, and effect a genuine colonisation. The whole of British South Africa is a country eminently suitable for white peoples, although the physical labour will always be chiefly in the hands of natives. Even within the tropics, where true colonisation of this kind is out of the question, the highlands of British Central Africa and of British East Africa afford large areas where Englishmen may live for many years without suffering in health.



CECIL RHODES

As an influential politician of the Cape, he devoted himself to a vast scheme of colonial expansion, and successfully founded Rhodesia.

The extension northward of the British power in South Africa, which was limited in 1884 by the Orange River, was due principally to the individual genius of Cecil Rhodes, whose vast imagination had formed the conception of a confederation of British South African States, extending northward through the heart of the continent to meet the British advance southward from Egypt. Having concluded, by means of his agents, a treaty with Lobengula, the chief of Matabeleland, Rhodes secured, in October, 1889, a charter for the British South Africa Company. In spite of great trouble with the native population in the country, with the Boers on the south and the Portuguese on the east, the Chartered Company succeeded in occupying a region of 100,000 square miles, consisting of an elevated and healthy plateau. The town of Fort Salisbury was built, and Rhodesia was opened to agriculture

and the mining industries. The further regions of Northern Zambesia and Nyassaland were placed under a British Commissioner in 1891, and have since made great progress.

In East Africa, Britain had certain indefinite interests long before Germany came there; the Sultan of Zanzibar was friendly to the British Government, and at last, in 1890, came under its protection. The British East Africa Company, incorporated by Royal Charter in 1888, administered a vast area, extending to about 200,000 square miles, which had been declared a British sphere of influence.

Nigeria, also, was principally the work of a chartered company. This first originated in 1879, as the United African Company, which in 1881 became the National African Company, and, with greatly increased capital, entered on a forward policy. An agreement between the British and German governments, in 1886, secured the British rights over Nigeria, and the National African Company was changed into the Royal Niger Company, under charter from the British Government.

The partition of Africa can hardly present any further problems of any great political importance in the immediate future. But it has presented Europe with a problem of enormous complexity and difficulty, the problem of the civilisation and education of the African negro. And the future of that problem no one can foresee.

A Problem of the Future



THE FREEMASONS CELEBRATING QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE AT THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL

One of the largest gatherings of Freemasons ever witnessed was held at the Royal Albert Hall, June 23, 1887, six thousand members of the ancient order, representing nineteen hundred lodges, assembling on this occasion to present an address to Queen Victoria upon the fiftieth anniversary of her reign. King Edward, then the Prince of Wales, presided over this great gathering, and after signing the address, as Grand Master, his Royal Highness called for three cheers for her Majesty, these being most enthusiastically given.

Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.



CHAPTER LIV

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1885-90

A Narrative of Events in Bulgaria, Servia, France, and Germany, including the deaths of the Emperors William I. and Frederick III., the Fall of Bismarck, and the Franco-Russian Alliance

PRINCE BISMARCK may be said to have enjoyed the fruits of his long term of labour in the cause of Germany for eight years—from the signing of the Triple Alliance in 1883 to his fall in 1891. During that period the isolation of France was maintained, Russia was rendered almost impotent, and the peace of Europe was preserved. It was only in the Near East that any national eruption was to be discovered. In the year 1886 the newly constituted kingdom of Servia attacked Bulgaria

on the grounds that the union of the two Bulgarias disturbed the equilibrium in the Balkans. King Milan invaded the territories of the neighbouring principality with his army, and by this act of aggression attempted to extend the dominions of his parvenu sovereignty. His imprudent throw with fortune ended justly. At the battles of Slivnitza and Perot he was utterly defeated by Prince Alexander of Battenberg, and on March 8, 1886, peace between the two new Powers was made at Bucharest. But the triumph of Prince Alexander of Battenberg was shortlived. At one time he had been a *persona grata* to the Tsar, but the exigencies of international politics had changed this feeling towards him.

For a long time Alexander III. had resented the attempts of Austria to increase her influence in the Baltic, though, by the Treaty of Reichstadt (July 6, 1876), his father had conceded her this right. By that treaty it was provided that, if Russia should liberate Bulgaria by arms, Austria should enter into possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Treaty of Berlin, which seemed to have

snatched from Russia the fruits of her victory over Turkey, had, however, altered the view of the Russian Government. They now sought a pretext of interfering in the affairs of Bulgaria, and thereby breaking through the fence by which Bismarck, through the Triple Alliance, hampered their actions. The Tsar's policy was carried out with a violence so extraordinary that the history of his actions reads more like an episode from mediæval times than from the matter of fact years of the nineteenth century. Acting on his instructions, Russian agents actually

kidnapped Prince Alexander and carried him away by force out of the country to which, by the voice of the people, he had been elected ruler (August, 1886). The Bulgarians retorted upon this outrage by inviting their Prince to return. Prince Alexander endeavoured in vain to propitiate the Tsar, and, though he returned to his dominions for a few weeks, he returned only to abdicate. For several months an interregnum prevailed in Bulgaria, while the Powers quarrelled among themselves as to who should be selected for the vacant throne. It was at this juncture that the mother of Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, herself the daughter of Louis Philippe, the ex-king of France, undertook an adventure that was strikingly daring.

During the interregnum in Bulgaria a regency had been created under the presidency of Stamboulov. This statesman, the son of an inn-keeper, had distinguished himself, after the kidnapping of Prince Alexander, by forming a Liberal party which had for its battle-cry, "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians." He foresaw that the only hope remaining for his country was



THE GERMAN EMPRESS IN 1888

The eldest of Queen Victoria's family, she married the German Crown Prince in 1858, becoming Empress thirty years later, a position which, owing to the death of her husband, she held for only three months.

From a photograph by W. & D. Downey



THE PASSING OF THE FIRST GERMAN EMPEROR: THE DEATH-BED OF WILLIAM I.

to rescue her from the influence alike of the Tsar and of the Sultan. It was natural, therefore, that he should endeavour to thwart the Great Powers and secure for his country a Prince of his own selection. In the person of the mother of Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha he found a woman daring enough to fly in the face of Europe, and ready enough to undertake such an adventure. Bringing her son to the Bulgarian capital, she, with the support of Stamboulov, had him elected Prince of Bulgaria. When the news became known all Europe was taken by surprise. Russia refused to have anything to do with the new Prince, and the Sultan likewise for some time withheld his recognition.

Stamboulov, however, understood that his safety lay in the disunion of the Great Powers. The antagonism of Russia meant the support of the Triple Alliance. Austria gave her approval to the new Prince, who rendered his dynasty more firm by marrying Mary Louise, a Princess of the Hapsburg family. All internal discontent was suppressed by Stamboulov, who showed great administrative ability. Secret plots against the Prince were discovered, and those responsible were either shot or sent to the convict prisons. The Bulgarian Prime Minister organised the police and set up a system of national education. An army was raised on the basis of compulsory service, and under his guidance Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, was turned into a modern city. Stamboulov remained in power in Bulgaria until 1894. During the whole of that time he carried out a Liberal policy and showed himself strongly anti-Russian. In 1894 he fell, and was assassinated in

the following year as he was leaving his club. The Conservatives then came into power and an *entente* with Russia was the immediate result. The Tsar consented to act as godfather of the infant Prince Boris, and Ferdinand allowed his son to be brought up in the faith of the Orthodox Church. But, prior to the fall of Stamboulov, Russia exercised no influence in Bulgaria, and the policy of Bismarck reduced the Tsar to the position of having to treat Nicholas of Montenegro as his only reliable friend in Europe.

The state of Serbia was less fortunate than that of

Bulgaria. Although the Treaty of Berlin had assured to them a system of national self-government, the people bitterly resented the occupation of Herzegovina, largely Serbian in population, by Austria. King Milan, on account of his pro-Austrian policy, became unpopular. This hostility was enhanced by the failure of his war with Bulgaria and the divorce of his wife (1888). Shortly after this latter event, he promulgated a new Constitution, bowed before the anger of his people, and abdicated in favour of his son, Alexander I., then only twelve years of age. The subsequent history of Serbia may with advantage be related here out of its proper sequence of events. In spite of a law of exile, Milan returned to Serbia in 1894, and for the next eleven years the country existed under a system of *coups d'etats*. By one the Constitution and the liberty of the Press were destroyed; by another, Milan was made Commander-in-Chief, governed in the name of his son, and compelled the electors to support his



THE EMPEROR FREDERICK III.

The brother-in-law of King Edward, his tenure of the German Imperial throne lasted for only three months. Succeeding his father, William I., in March, 1888, his death occurred at Potsdam, on June 15 of the same year.



THE YOUNG GERMAN EMPEROR AND HIS SON

This youthful portrait of the German Emperor, William II., shows him as he was when he ascended the Imperial throne in 1888. Though only twenty-nine years of age, he displayed much ability and masterfulness, and it was not long before friction arose between him and his famous Chancellor, Bismarck.

authority by their votes at the point of the bayonet. In 1900 Alexander seized the power from his father's hands and once more drove him into exile. Three years later he and his wife were brutally assassinated in their palace by some military officers, and the Assembly proclaimed as king a descendant of Karageorgevitch.

Meanwhile, France, who suffered with Russia from the isolation which the policy of Bismarck enforced, continued on her course of colonial adventure. The elections of October, 1885, had given the Chamber 382 Republicans and 202 Conservatives. Unfortunately for the stability of the Government, the Republicans were divided into two almost equal parts, known respectively as Moderates and Radicals. There were thus actually three parties in the House, and the union of any two placed the third in a hopeless minority. Political crises occurred with alarming frequency, and in four years no fewer than six Ministries were turned out of office. Finally, a climax was reached in the latter months of 1887, when President Grévy's son-in-law was accused of having sold his influence in order to secure the bestowal of the Cross of the Legion of Honour for one of his friends. Grévy supported his son-in-law, and was compelled to resign, and Carnot became head of the Republic. It was then that Boulangerism began to exert an influence on the fortunes of the country.

Irritated by the iron circle that had been drawn round France and by the repeated failures and expenses of the forward colonial policy, the people showed a disposition towards a return to Caesarism. The leader of this movement was General Boulanger, and he was helped in his projects, which so nearly succeeded, by an organisation which,

formed purely for commercial purposes, employed the funds supplied by the public for political ends. This organisation was the Universal Inter-Oceanic Canal Company, founded in 1880 by M. de Lesseps, the famous engineer who had constructed the Suez Canal.

The object of the company was to construct a canal across the Isthmus of Panama to link together the Atlantic and the Pacific. For nine years the company remained in existence. During that time some twelve miles of the canal, from Colon to Behio, was actually cut at a cost of £53,000,000 sterling. Of this sum, however, only some £33,000,000 was actually spent in the work on the isthmus, the rest being wasted in expenditure of various kinds in France. Some of this money was employed, directly or indirectly, to further the cause of General Boulanger. Deputies were bribed and money was distributed freely to subvene Boulangist newspapers. In 1888 an attempt to secure more capital for the company by the issue of lottery bonds was opposed by the Government. Three hundred thousand francs were distributed among the Deputies; the Government fell, and the new Ministry passed the necessary Act authorising the issue of the bonds.

It was amidst such scenes of political corruption that Boulanger came to the



"DROPPING THE PILOT"

The great debt which Germany owes to Bismarck has been told in preceding chapters; the above, reproduced by permission of Messrs. Bradbury, Agnew & Co. from the famous "Punch" cartoon by Sir John Tenniel, illustrates the dismissal of the "Iron Chancellor" by the youthful and impetuous Emperor, William II., on March 20, 1890.

front. In 1886 he had been made Minister of War, and with the support of the Radical Republicans had maintained himself in office. In 1887, however, the Moderate Republicans gained a brief tenure of power, and one of their first acts was to send him to command an army corps at Clermont, to keep him out of the way. But he was not lacking in partisans in Paris, and he returned secretly to the capital to consult with them about the political situation. His absence from Clermont was discovered, and he was at once placed on the retired list.

He was now able to take a free hand in the political game. Supported by a powerful faction, he issued his programme of "dissolution, revision, and construction," which advocated the revision of the Constitution and the election of a new Assembly, which should be empowered to draw up a Constitution with a president elected by universal suffrage. In order to rally France to his programme, and to make his name known to the people, Boulanger made a tour through the country, visiting especially those places where an election was about to take place. He appealed to all Frenchmen, Republicans or Conservatives, to found what he called the "Open Republic." The Conservatives, hoping to overturn the Parliamentary Republic, exercised their influence in his behalf.

An enormous amount of literature, advocating the Boulangist views was scattered throughout France, and portraits and biographies of the General were given away in the remotest corners of the country. Everywhere he went he was followed by a band of paid agents, who organised the necessary warmth of his reception. The Orleanists, believing that it was his intention to reinstate the Comte de Paris on the throne, opened their coffers and scattered money freely on his behalf. Boulanger, as a result of this electoral enterprise, was returned by several departments; but, not content with this, he presented himself in Paris, and was chosen on January 27, 1889, by a majority of 77,000 votes. On the evening of the poll it was generally believed that he would march on the Elysée. The regiments in Paris were favourable to his design, and it was thought that, had he taken the plunge, he could have repeated the performance of Napoleon III. in 1851. Instead, however, he chose to wait for the General Election, which was due to take place within a few months, confident that he could then, with more security, carry out his projects. The delay proved fatal to him. In the interim the Government showed unexpected vigour. A new Ministry was formed in February, 1889, and their first act was formally to charge Boulanger before the Senate with being party to a plot against the safety of the State. Boulanger refused to face his judges and fled from France.

His cause was ruined, and with his downfall the last hope of the enemies of the Republic disappeared. The brilliant success of the International Exhibition of 1889 served to distract men's thoughts from politics, and the General Elections of September of the same year gave the

Republicans an overwhelming majority. Since that time the Conservatives have been gradually reduced in number. In 1891 the directors and promoters of the Panama Canal Company were arrested, and two years later were found guilty of misappropriating public funds. M. de Lesseps was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and a fine of three thousand francs, and the tragic scene was witnessed of the world-famous engineer, so old and senile that he could not understand the charge brought against him, standing in the prisoner's dock. While these triumphs served to establish

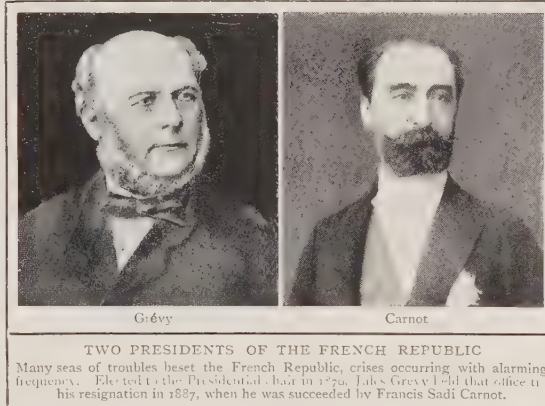
more firmly the Third Republic, there was yet another and more powerful factor at hand. The Triple Alliance had isolated France and Russia, and France, having quarrelled with Great Britain over the Egyptian question, was unable to make an alliance with the Island Power. It was inevitable, therefore, that Russia and France should come together. Only the policy of Bismarck seemed capable of keeping them apart, and the German Chancellor was nearing the end of his long term of power.

In 1888 the Emperor William I. died. He was succeeded by his son Frederick III., the son-in-law of Queen Victoria. His reign lasted scarcely three months, at the end of which period he died. He was succeeded by his son, William II., the present German Emperor. Though he had been one of the greatest admirers of Bismarck, though he preserved the Chancellor in his office, he surrounded himself with new counsellors and took steps without consulting the man who for so long had ruled the destinies of the Empire. Bismarck protested. He was, he said, responsible to the Reichstag, and therefore it was necessary that he should be consulted before any State business was transacted.

Friction thus arose from the first. At length the inevitable crisis was reached. One day Prince Bismarck received at his house the leader of the Catholic centre in the Reichstag. Early the next morning the Emperor sent for Bismarck and inquired the meaning of this meeting with the leader of one of the political parties. The Chancellor replied that he had a right to receive anyone he chose, and that "the orders of my Sovereign expire at the threshold of my wife's drawing-room." Two days later the Emperor asked his Chancellor to send in his resignation. Bismarck refused, declaring that his Imperial master had the right to dismiss him when he pleased. The Emperor renewed his command, promising him at the same time a Dukedom and an endowment. Bismarck retorted with crushing frankness that he "would not accept a *pourboire*," and immediately sent

in his resignation (1891).

Shortly after the great statesman left Berlin, amidst the acclamations of the crowd, to retire to his country seat, where he lived until 1898, an event took place which was a fitting reply to his dismissal. France and Russia, so long rendered powerless in Europe by his diplomacy, came together, and formed a Dual Alliance, which, like the Triple Alliance, has tended to conserve the "armed peace" of Europe.



TWO PRESIDENTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

Many seas of troubles beset the French Republic, crises occurring with alarming frequency. Elected to the Presidential chair in 1879, Jules Grévy held that office till his resignation in 1887, when he was succeeded by Francis Sadi Carnot.



GENERAL BOULANGER

Minister of War. General Boulanger was for some time a great public favourite; but, charged with conspiring against the constitution, he feared condemnation, and died by his own hand in 1891.



CHAPTER LV

THE LAST GLADSTONE ADMINISTRATION

Including a Review of the long Home Rule Battle in the House of Commons, the Resignation of Gladstone, the Rosebery Administration, and the Liberal Defeat at the Polls in 1895



ON October 6, 1891, Parnell died at Brighton. In the summer of the following year Parliament was prorogued, and the Conservative Government, which had so successfully opposed the Home Rule aspirations of the National League, went to the country for confirmation of their attitude and their policy. The verdict, like the utterances of the Delphic oracle, was couched in uncertain language, opinion in the United Kingdom on great constitutional questions being seemingly always given with hesitation. The verdict, however, as far as it went, decided against Lord Salisbury's Administration. While England declared by a majority of seventy-one against the destruction of the legislative union, Wales, Scotland and Ireland showed clear and large majorities in favour of the policy of Home Rule. Altogether, the complete majority for Irish Home Rule, as declared at the hustings in 1892, was fifty-seven. The statesman called upon to employ the utterly inadequate instrument with which he had been entrusted at the election was in his eighty-third year. At the close of a long life, spent almost entirely in the exhausting labours of the political field, he was asked to defend and promote one of the most contentious measures that had ever been brought up for discussion in Parliament.

For over six years, as leader of the Opposition, he had struggled for the cause of Ireland, as he understood it, and struggled with difficulties that seemed to increase every year.

Already this vexed question had broken up his party and caused the departure of some of his most able supporters. Parnell's death, with its close clouded by an unhappy scandal, seemed to have cast a blight over the Home Rule cause. The Liberal party in England who followed Mr. Gladstone was composed partly of the Nonconformists, and the spokesmen of this section, in their utterances regarding the Irish leader, used language which caused the bitterest feelings of animosity in Ireland. The result was a manifesto from Parnell denouncing Gladstone, the Nonconformist party, and the whole English people. Its effect was to cause disruption in the Irish ranks. Parnell was deposed from his place as leader, and the Home Rule party was broken up into Parnellites and anti-Parnellites.

The task entrusted, therefore, to Gladstone was one to try the powers of a man at the zenith of his career; for one at the age of eighty-three it seemed an impossibility. It has sometimes been a matter of blame to those who have written of Mr. Gladstone's life of his great leader, that his old age and infirmities were not a hindrance to the task of government, but a source of strength. It is true that Gladstone's old age was a source of strength to the Liberal party, but it was also a source of weakness to the Conservative party.



SETTLING THE GREAT COAL STRIKE IN 1894. MR. GLADSTONE IS SEEN IN THE BACKGROUND.

or two short observations on this would seem to be enough. How could he refuse to try to work his Irish policy through Parliament, after the bulk of the Irish members had quitted their own leader two years before in absolute reliance on the sincerity and good faith of Mr. Gladstone and his party?

"After all the confidence that Ireland had shown him at the end of 1890, how could he in honour throw up the attempt that had been the only object of his public life since 1886? To do this would have been to justify indeed the embittered warnings of Mr. Parnell in his most reckless hour. How could either the refusal of office or the postponement of an Irish Bill after taking office be made intelligible in Ireland itself? Again, the path of honour in Ireland was equally the path of honour and of safety in Great Britain. Were British Liberals who had given him a majority, partly from disgust at Irish crookedness, partly from faith that he could produce a working plan of Irish government, and partly from hopes of reforms of their own—were they to learn that their leaders could do nothing for their special objects?"

On August 11 a vote of want of confidence, carried by a majority of forty, compelled Lord Salisbury to tender his resignation to the Queen. On the 15th Mr. Gladstone kissed hands at Osborne as First Lord of the Treasury and Lord Privy Seal. Shortly afterwards he constituted his Cabinet as follows:

Lord Chancellor . . .	Lord Halsbury
President of the Council and	
Indian Secretary . . .	Earl Kimberley
Chancellor of the Exchequer . . .	Sir W. V. Harcourt
Home Secretary . . .	H. H. Asquith
Foreign Secretary . . .	Earl Rosebery
Colonial Secretary . . .	Margaret Ryden
Secretary for War . . .	H. Campbell-Bannerman

First Lord of the Admiralty . . .	Earl Spencer
Chief Secretary for Ireland . . .	John Morley
Secretary for Scotland . . .	Sir J. T. Trowan

President of the Board of Trade . . .	A. J. Mundella
President of the Local Government Board . . .	H. H. Fowler
Postmaster-General . . .	Arnold Morley
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster . . .	James Bryce
First Commissioner of Works . . .	G. J. Stanley
Vice-President of the Council . . .	A. H. D. Vane

The attitude of the new Government towards Ireland was shown almost immediately. On September 14 a proclamation was issued by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the Privy Council suspending the operation of the Crimes Act throughout Ireland. A subsequent



MR. GLADSTONE SPEAKING IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON FEBRUARY 18, 1891.
The photograph was taken by the photographer, Mr. J. H. & Co., Ltd., of London, and is reproduced by permission of the Hon. Mr. J. H. & Co., Ltd., of London.

proclamation revoked the one by which, under the Salisbury Administration, the National League had been declared an unlawful association. A fortnight later the Chief Secretary, Mr. Morley, announced that Clause 13 of the Land Act of 1887, which Mr. Ballour had passed in consideration of the evicted tenants, having failed, the Government proposed to appoint a small Royal Commission to report promptly on the means to be adopted for restoring those who had been evicted. When this Commission met early in November the difficulties which it had to expect in performance of its task were clearly foreshadowed. At the very first sitting counsel representing the landlords withdrew after an altercation with the chairman, Mr. Justice

Matthew, and the meeting was incontinently abandoned. This alteration of their policy was not likely to be passed over by the leaders of the Conservative party without strenuous opposition. On November 8, Mr. Balfour made his first public appearance as leader of the Opposition at the annual conference of the Scottish Conservative Association, and in a vigorous speech started once more the campaign against Home Rule. Two days later, Lord

Drafting the new Home Rule Bill Salisbury underlined his statements in a fighting speech, in which he declared that the separatist policy pursued by Gladstone was full of dangers to the civil and religious liberties of the country at large. Meanwhile, the Prime Minister, in spite of his growing infirmities—he had at that time practically lost the use of one eye, while the sight of the other was defective, and his sense of hearing caused him great anxiety—busied himself with the drawing-up of his new Government of Ireland Bill. The preparation of the Bill was carefully and elaborately worked by Mr. Gladstone through a committee composed of Lord Spencer, Lord Herschell, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Bryce and Mr. Morley, and it is recorded that the aged statesman displayed an energy and adroitness which were the astonishment of everybody. “He was acute, adroit, patient, full of device, expeditious, and the art of construction; now and then vehement and bearing down like a three-decker upon craft of more moderate tonnage.” The Bill, as it was finally drafted for presentation to Parliament, differed in several particulars from the measure first advocated by Gladstone in 1886. It entirely threw over the principle of an absolutely separate Irish Parliament, which had been the fundamental theory of the former scheme.

In making this change, Mr. Gladstone was influenced by his past experience. In 1886 several of his most ardent supporters, who were soul and body supporters of the Home Rule principle, had withdrawn their allegiance from their leader when he proposed that the Irish members should be banished entirely from Westminster. In the new Bill eighty representatives from Ireland were to have seats at Westminster, but, among other limitations, they were not to vote upon motions or Bills expressly confined to England or Scotland. What to do with the Irish members once they had been given Home Rule was to prove, indeed, the crux of the whole matter. It was found, when the subject came to be discussed in the House of Commons, that the idea of having in their assembly a body of men who could only be called upon to exercise their votes on certain occasions was regarded as impossible. To exclude them altogether was considered unwise; to limit their legislative powers at Westminster impracticable, and in the result Mr. Gladstone was compelled to change Clause 9 of his Bill, the clause which advocated partial inclusion, and substitute in its place a clause empowering the eighty Irish members who were represented at Westminster to vote on all purposes. As Lord Morley points out, this plan constituted a paradox, “for whenever the British supporters of a government did not suffice to build up a decisive majority, then the Irish vote, descending into one or other

scale of the Parliamentary balance, might decide who should be our rulers.”

The other principles of the Bill briefly proposed to set up in Ireland a new Parliament consisting of two chambers. The Upper House, which was to be called the Legislative Council, was to be elected by voters who had a rating qualification of £20; the Lower House, or Legislative Assembly, was to be composed of representatives returned on the ordinary franchise which pertained in the election of a member of Parliament. Among the supporters of the Bill, the property qualification at first gave rise to much discussion, but the desire of the Irish members to have the principle of Home Rule embodied in any Bill at all costs, decided them against offering any active opposition to the measure.

But, before the Home Rule Bill was introduced, there were signs unmistakable that other complex problems would have to be faced by the new Administration. The Trade Unions had yearly been gathering force, and were now able to press upon the Government of the day the measures which had long been the aspiration of the class they represented. As early as September, 1892, their influence had been clearly demonstrated. On the 5th of that month the Trade Union Congress met at Glasgow, under the Presidency of Mr. John Hodge, the organiser of the Scottish railway strike of 1890–1. In his presidential address, Mr. Hodge laid down the policy which should guide the working classes. Briefly, he urged upon his audience the necessity of giving their political support only to those candidates who would undertake to forward the measures which they advocated.

The unemployed question had also raised its head. On November 3 Mr. Fowler, the President of the Local Government Board, received a deputation, headed by Mr. John Burns, which demanded from the Government some active interference on behalf of those men who were unable to find employment in the ordinary labour market. In his reply, Mr. Fowler made it quite clear that, in the opinion of the Ministry, it was not the business of the Government to provide work for the unemployed. Something, however, was done to meet the needs of the

working classes in the following January, when the President of the Board of Trade announced his intention of establishing a Labour Department. An Eight Hours Bill was also under consideration. At a Miners' Conference at Birmingham in January, 1893, which was attended by delegates representing 350,000 miners, such a measure was advocated, and in the following March Mr. Gladstone received a deputation from the federation.

The Fate of the Eight Hours Bill Though he expressed himself as generally unfavourable to interference with adult labour, an Eight Hours Bill was introduced in the following session, and in May great demonstrations were held throughout the country in its support.

To anticipate the sequence of events, it may be here mentioned that the Eight Hours Bill, though read a second time in the House of Commons, by a majority of seventy-eight votes was not placed on the Statute Book. But it was the Home Rule Bill on which public attention was centred during the year.



QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1893

From a photograph by Messrs. Hughes & Mullins



PRINCESS MARY OF TECK, NOW QUEEN MARY, IN A FAVOURITE RÔLE
From a photograph by Messrs. Francis Byrne & Co.

On February 13, then in his eighty-fourth year, Mr. Gladstone introduced this famous measure "to amend the provisions for the government of Ireland." After four nights' debate, it was brought in and read the first time without division. Immediately the political forces settled down to a long and bitter fight. Led by Mr. Balfour in the Commons, the debates were conducted with a zeal and closeness almost without parallel. Obstruction was freely practised and without remorse. Every clause in turn was made the excuse for almost limitless discussion, and every foot of the progress of the Bill was fought. The aged Prime Minister, refusing to abandon the Bill to any younger member of his Administration, conducted the campaign against this strenuous opposition from the first moment to the last. Nothing seemed to exhaust him, and, though the committee stages lasted for sixty-three sittings, and the whole proceedings occupied eighty-two, his energy never flagged. Lord Morley, in the life of his leader, recalls an incident of these times which illustrates admirably the extraordinary energy of Mr. Gladstone.

"One day, when a tremendous afternoon of obstruction had almost worn him down, the adjournment came at seven o'clock. He was haggard and depressed. On returning at ten, we found him making a most lively and amusing speech upon procedure. He sat down as blithe as dawn. 'To make a

speech of that sort,' he said, in deprecation of compliment, 'a man does best to dine out; 'tis no use to lie on the sofa and think about it.'"

Till the end of June the debates dragged on. It then became obvious that there was no hope of carrying the Bill through Committee within a reasonable time unless some drastic procedure was resorted to. On June 28 Mr. Gladstone announced his intention of adopting the same system which had been resorted to by the late Govern-

ment in the case of the Crimes Act of 1887. The debate was to last for one more month, and the Bill was to be carried through by an extensive use of the closure. On July 12 Mr. Gladstone abandoned his original proposal of a partial inclusion of the eighty Irish Members at Westminster for their complete inclusion for all purposes. Meanwhile, feeling in the country was running high. Deputations besieged the Prime Minister. Tremendous scenes had been witnessed at Belfast at a meeting addressed by Lord Salisbury. In several places rioting had taken place as a result of political animosity. But the climax was reached when, on July 27, the last schedule of the Home Rule Bill was passed through Committee by means of the closure. Partisan passion had been excited to such a pitch that the Conservatives and Irish Nationalists came to blows. It seemed that the Mother of Parliaments was to witness



PRINCESS MARY OF TECK IN 1881

something approaching an *emute*, and the Speaker had to be sent for in haste to restore order. It is worth recording, in contrast to this episode, another which affords an admirable illustration of the amenities of political life.

In the midst of the passions of this session, **Home Rule Bill** Mr. Gladstone's eighty-fourth birthday **Sent to the Lords** arrived. On that day Mr. Balfour rose in his place. "Before putting a question," he said, "perhaps the right honourable gentleman will allow me, on my own part and on that of my friends, to offer him our most sincere congratulations." "Allow me to thank him," retorted Mr. Gladstone, "for his great courtesy and kindness."

The Home Rule Bill was carried on September 1, after eighty-two nights of discussion, by a majority of thirty-four on the third reading, and was immediately sent up to the House of Lords. There it was read for the first time on September 2. On September 8, after a four nights' debate, the second reading was rejected by the enormous majority of 378. From that moment may be said to have begun the attack of the Liberal party upon the Upper House. A fortnight later Parliament, after passing an Appropriation Bill, adjourned for six weeks. When the members again assembled the remainder of the Liberal programme was proceeded with, the House sitting from November 2 till March 5, with the exception of a short holiday at Christmas. In the course of that time two important measures were sent up for the acceptance of the House of Lords—the Employers' Liability Bill and the Parish Councils Bill. Into the first the Lords introduced such changes that, on its return to the House of Commons, the Ministry were compelled to abandon the entire measure. The Parish Councils Bill, which set up elected bodies for certain purposes in parishes, had forced back into it certain provisions which the Commons, after full deliberations, had decisively ejected. This was the climax to the friction that had already arisen between the two Houses. Several other Bills had been mutilated or defeated, but the rejection of the Home Rule Bill and the amendment of the Employers' Liability Bill and the Parish Councils Bill seemed to render all hope of carrying Liberal measures an impossibility.

According to his biographer, Mr. Gladstone, who was at Biarritz at the time, advocated an immediate appeal to the country. He argued that, upon the whole, it was not too much to say that for practical purposes the Lords had destroyed the work of the House of Commons. "I suggested a dissolution," he wrote, "to my colleagues in London, where half, and more than half, the Cabinet were found at the moment. I received by telegraph a hopelessly adverse reply." The appeal to the country was not made, and the question of the House of Lords was removed from the stage of militant politics for some fifteen years. But though the Government did not resign, it became known unofficially by the end of January that the Prime Minister was about to quit the scenes where he had been distinguished for more than half a century. His hearing and his sight had deteriorated. For some time he had sought a reasonable

opportunity for retiring; the closing of the parliamentary session of 1893-4 "offered a natural break between the cessation and renewal of engagements." There were other reasons which confirmed him in his decision. In the previous December the naval estimates had been considered, and the provision made had been regarded by the Prime Minister as largely in excess of the real needs of the country. The Cabinet was disunited, and everything seemed to point to the suitability of the time for resignation.

Except the unofficial rumour which was circulated and hardly believed, that momentous step was kept a profound secret. On February 28 he had an audience with the



PORTRAIT STUDY OF THE FUTURE QUEEN MARY TAKEN IN 1885

From a photograph by Messrs. Francis Byrne & Co.

Queen, and indirectly conveyed to her that she might soon expect his resignation. To the Prince of Wales he wrote of the approaching event in a letter which has been preserved. Its conclusion is worth recording.

"In thus making known to your Royal Highness, I desire to convey, on my own and on my wife's part, our fervent thanks for the unbounded kindness which we have at all times received from your Royal Highness and not less from the beloved Princess of Wales. The devotion of an old man is little worth; but if at any time there be the smallest service which my information or suggestion your Royal Highness may believe me capable of rendering, I shall remain as much at your command as if I had continued to be an active and responsible servant of the Queen."

The Prince was clearly moved by this communication from the aged statesman, whom he had regarded with great veneration and affection for many years. In his reply he expressed his sincere regret, and declared how greatly the Princess and he had valued, for a long number of years, his friendship and that of Mrs. Gladstone. To Mr. Balfour the news was also communicated in confidence, and the leader of the Conservative party—the man who had led the bitterest opposition to his measures which he had ever encountered—expressed his deep and sincere regret. On March 1 the aged statesman held his last Cabinet Council. Kind words of acknowledgment and farewell were spoken by Lord Kimberley and Sir William Harcourt on behalf of their colleagues. Then, records his biographer, he replied "in a little speech of four or five minutes, his voice unbroken and serene, the tone low, grave, and steady. He was glad to know that he had justification in the condition of his senses. He was glad to think that, notwithstanding differences upon public questions, private friendships would remain unaltered and unimpaired. Then, hardly above a breath, but every accent heard, he said, 'God bless you all.' He rose slowly, and

Gladstone's Farewell went out of one door, while his colleagues, to his Colleagues with minds oppressed, filed out by the other." That same afternoon he made his last speech in the House of Commons. The Parish Councils Bill, as amended by the House of Lords, was under discussion. Mr. Gladstone had decided that, rather than allow the whole measure to be abandoned, it would be better to accept the amendment. At the same time he struck the first decisive note of challenge to the Lords. He had already desired an appeal to the country; that appeal had been rejected by his colleagues; he was about to resign, and before the resignation was actually accomplished, with his rare political insight, he showed to his party the difficulties that must beset their path, and forecast their struggle with the House of Lords. In accepting the Parish Councils Bill with its amendments, he declared:

"We are compelled to accompany that acceptance with



ANOTHER PORTRAIT OF PRINCESS MARY TAKEN IN THE SAME YEAR
From a photograph by Messrs. Francis Byrne & Co.

the sorrowful declaration that the differences, not of a temporary or casual nature merely, but differences of conviction, differences of prepossession, differences of mental habit, and differences of fundamental tendency, between the House of Lords and the House of Commons appear to have reached a development in the present year such as to create a state of things of which we are compelled to say that, in our judgment, it cannot continue. Sir, I do not wish to use hard words, which are easily employed and as easily retorted—it is a game that two can play at—but without using hard words, without presuming to judge of motives, without desiring or venturing to allege imputations, I have felt it a duty to state what appeared to me to be an indisputable fact. The issue which is raised between a deliberative assembly, elected by the votes of more than six million people, and a deliberative assembly occupied by many men of virtue, by many men of talent, of course with considerable diversities and varieties, is a controversy which, when once raised, must go forward to an issue."

He sat down amidst thunders of applause from his eager followers, only a few of whom knew that it was the last speech that he was ever to make. Then, when the business was at an end, he rose, and for the last time walked away from the House of Commons. He had first addressed it sixty-one years before. Two days later he tendered his



PRINCESS MARY OF TECK IN 1891
From a photograph by W. S. Stuart

resignation to the Queen. The farewell affected him not a little, and the Queen showed by her manner as well as her words the regret she felt at parting with a servant whose service extended over fifty-two years. When that last audience was over, he found the Empress Frederick waiting in the corridor without to wish him a kind and warm farewell. The audience, besides being memorable as the last Mr. Gladstone was to have with the Queen in his official capacity, was noteworthy also for another reason. It had been customary for the departing Prime Minister to suggest to the Sovereign his successor. Such suggestion, however, had always been made at the request of the Sovereign. On this occasion the Queen refrained from asking Mr. Gladstone's advice. There was no hint in the course of their conversation that she desired him to put forward the name of any one of his colleagues, and Mr. Gladstone, with his usual punctiliousness, carefully avoided any reference to the subject. The same morning, Sir H. Ponsonby, the Queen's private secretary, had endeavoured to obtain his views on the question of his successor, but Mr. Gladstone had informed him that, while he was quite prepared to tender his advice, if he asked it in the Queen's name, his lips must remain sealed if the question was put privately.

Who was to succeed him? That was the question which excited the country. There were four men who had some claim to take up the reins of office—Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. John Morley, and Mr. Asquith.

Candidates for the Premiership

Of the last two, however, it was agreed that they had been too short a while in the House of Commons to justify their accession to the office of Prime Minister. Sir William Harcourt, on the other hand, was looked upon as having the foremost claims to the position. He was a strong man, of an energetic and strenuous temperament, a man who could lead, "a commanding, intrepid, undaunted figure in politics." His candidature possessed only one disadvantage—he had made enemies in his own party. It was thought that were he to take Mr. Gladstone's place several

members of the party would secede, and at that moment it was imperative in the interests of Liberalism that the Government should show a united front. By a process of elimination, therefore, the Ministry agreed that Lord Rosebery must be recommended to the Queen. The nomination did not meet with the full approval of the Liberals throughout the country. His great intellectual gifts were recognised; as an orator he was

Lord Rosebery as almost without a peer; his artistic and Prime Minister literary gifts were appreciated, and his sporting proclivities endeared him to a large section of the people. But he was a peer, and, though an ardent admirer of Mr. Gladstone personally, he was thought not to be quite sound on such questions as Home Rule and the problem of the House of Lords, which Mr. Gladstone had left as a legacy to the party.

On March 8 Lord Rosebery definitely constituted his Ministry. It was composed entirely of the members of Gladstone's Administration, with certain changes in their respective offices. The new Ministry started its career under the most gloomy auspices. The internal discords with which even Mr. Gladstone was unable to cope were accentuated, and the philosophic detachment of the Prime Minister, who declared that Home Rule was not likely to be carried until England, "the predominant partner," had been convinced of the merits of the scheme, was unsuitable to the violent partisan feeling that existed in the country. Divergence of views was seen for the first time when Sir William Harcourt, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought forward, on April 16, his Budget for the year 1894-5. It was designed to meet an estimated expenditure of ninety-five and a half millions. Sir William Harcourt proposed to obtain this sum by the usual variation of the old methods—an appropriation of the sinking fund, an increased beer and spirit duty, and an income tax with



ANOTHER PORTRAIT OF THE SAME PERIOD
From a photograph by W. S. Stuart

graduated reductions. The one new feature of his proposals was the death duties. It was a scheme opposed to the prevailing theory that a man ought to be taxed according to his relative liability. He argued that the man who has £50,000 a year, or the man who succeeds to a property of £50,000 a year, ought to pay more in proportion than the man who owns or succeeds to a property of £200 or £500 a year. This was the principle underlying the Death Duties, which have since

Rosebery's Unstable Administration then been employed by every Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Rosebery disapproved of the principle, and, though his objection was overruled, the fact that it had existed tended to undermine the stability of his Administration.

Mr. Gladstone, in his last speech, had said that the question of the House of Lords was one "that will demand a settlement, and must at an early date receive that settlement from the highest authority." Lord Rosebery, however, did not press the question, but outside Liberal opinion tried to force him to the contest. On August 26 a demonstration was held in Hyde Park calling on the Government to abolish the "mischievous and useless" hereditary chamber. At the same time the Labour party advocated, by meetings and speeches, the introduction of Old Age Pensions and the unification of the government of London. Towards these social and political aspirations the Ministry remained apathetic. The Liberal Government drifted on, it being felt that the solution of these, as of the many other problems which Labour was pushing to the front, must be left to the next General Election. The introduction of a measure to disestablish the Church of England in Wales, which was introduced by Mr. Asquith, was the one Bill of importance brought forward in 1894. On August 25 of that year Parliament was prorogued. It met again on February 5, 1895.

The new session was remarkable only for the introduction of Mr. Morley's new Irish Land Bill, Sir William Harcourt's Local Veto Bill, and the resignation by Mr. Arthur



PRINCESS "MAY" IN 1886

From a photograph by W. S. Stuart

Peel of the Speaker's chair. For the vacant office Mr. William Court Gully was put forward, and, though he was practically an unknown member of the House, was duly elected. To many it seemed that the Rosebery Administration would linger out its ordinary period of power, but in June its fate was decided unexpectedly. On the 21st of that month Mr. Campbell-Bannerman brought forward a scheme of Army reform which included, among other matters, the resignation of the Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chief. The scheme was not a contentious one, and no general objection to it had been raised in the House. The Conservative party, however, had prepared a mine for the Government. To only a few of the leading members of that party was the nature of the blow they intended to deliver discovered. Suddenly, at the appointed

Liberal Defeat at the Polls

time, while the House was listening apathetically to the Army reform scheme, Mr. St. John Brodrick brought forward a motion censuring the Government for its inadequate supply of cordite to the Army. The motion was pressed to a division, and the Government found itself defeated by a majority of seven.

Under ordinary circumstances the Ministry would have disregarded this adverse vote had not Mr. Campbell-Bannerman looked upon it as a censure on himself and the administration of his department, and declared that he could not continue in office any longer under such conditions. His attitude determined Lord Rosebery. The Prime Minister resigned on June 24, and a General Election took place. In the appeal to the country it was discovered that the Local Veto Bill was unpopular throughout the land, and it was this measure, perhaps, more than any other which decided the battle at the polls in favour of the Conservative party.



THE FUTURE KING AND QUEEN IN 1894

From a photograph by Messrs. Francis Byrne & Co.



KING GEORGE AND QUEEN MARY SHORTLY AFTER THEIR MARRIAGE IN 1893
From a photograph by W. S. Stuart



From a photograph by Layton & Co.

KING GEORGE V AND QUEEN MARY ON THEIR WEDDING DAY

Only a few days after this pleasing episode anxiety came to the Royal Family, and in a few hours alarm had spread far and wide through the country. Prince George was ill. While shooting at Sandringham he had complained of feeling unwell, and the Prince, knowing that his son was not one to give in for a trifle, promptly hurried

Death of the Duke of Clarence

him back to Marlborough House, where he could have the very best medical attendance. When it became known that the illness was a form of enteric fever public anxiety deepened; but, fortunately, the disease had been dealt with in time, and before very long the Royal patient was out of danger. Soon after Prince George's recovery the announcement was made of the betrothal of his elder brother, Prince Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence, to Princess Mary of Teck—Princess May.

Few episodes are more pathetic than the story of this engagement. There are many families in England who have private cause to remember the terrible visitation of influenza that smote Europe in 1892. In London the doctors were busy night and day, and the nurses were never at rest. The death-rate increased alarmingly.

While the epidemic was at its fiercest, a thrill of dismay ran through the nation when it became known that the Prince of Wales's elder son was stricken down. Regarded as a future king of Great Britain, the young Prince was a favourite with all classes, and the announcement of his engagement to the English Princess Mary of Teck, received by the nation with the liveliest interest, had added not a little to his popularity. From the very first moment of his illness it was obvious that the influenza had taken a firm grip of its victim, and that the life of the Royal patient was in great jeopardy. But still there was hope, for the Prince was receiving the most devoted nursing and the best medical skill. Even these, however, failed to stem the steady progress of the disease. On January 14, 1892, less than a week after the first public intimation of his illness, the Duke of Clarence—to give him the title by which he was better known—passed away, leaving his Royal parents crushed and overwhelmed under the terrible bereavement.

"The overwhelming misfortune . . . renders it hard for his sorely stricken parents, his dear young bride, and his fond grandmother, to bow in submission to the inscrutable decrees of Providence."

Thus wrote Queen Victoria in a letter addressed to her subjects a few weeks after the melancholy event, and the sentiment expressed by her Majesty found an echo throughout the entire Empire. In the tragic suddenness of the calamity every heart beat in sympathy with the Prince and Princess of Wales, who, with touching humility and resignation, bore their cross without one murmur of complaint.

"The ways of the Almighty are inscrutable," wrote the heartbroken father, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "and it is not for us to murmur, as He does all for the best, and our beloved son is happier now than if he were exposed to the miseries and temptations of this world. We have also a consolation in the sympathy not only of our kind friends but of all classes. God's will be done."

The funeral of the Prince was of a very simple character. The coffin was removed from Sandringham to Windsor on a gun-carriage, the procession being headed by the 2nd Life Guards, followed by the 10th Hussars, the Prince of Wales's Own. Behind the coffin came the Prince of Wales with his son, Prince George, the Dukes of Connaught, Edinburgh, and Fife, with the Marquis of Lorne and Prince Christian of Schleswig-

Holstein. Then came Prince Henry of Battenberg, the Grand Duke Alexis, the Crown Prince of Denmark, the Duke of Oporto, and Prince Frederick Leopold of Prussia; and after these a deputation of the Blucher Hussars, of which regiment the young Prince had been an officer. The coffin, covered with a silken Union Jack, on which was placed the Prince's busby, was borne by the men of the 10th Hussars, while the pallbearers were the late Prince's brother officers. The Burial Service was conducted by the Bishop of Rochester, assisted by the Canons of Windsor and the Rev. Frederick Hervey.

At Sandringham an even greater simplicity marked the obsequies, but they were none the less impressive. To the Prince of Wales, bearing the great grief of the loss of his firstborn, the day was one of strain and trial, and after the funeral was over he and his family retired into the strictest privacy until such time as he had recovered somewhat from the severity of the blow.

Within six months after this sorrowful event, filial affection and duty called the Princess of Wales to Denmark for the celebration of her

parents' golden wedding, and with her went her husband and Prince George. But, though all Copenhagen was *en fete*, the Prince and Princess of Wales took no part in the festivities or processions.

"The year 1893 brought to King Edward," it has been said, "a very fortunate distraction—his appointment as a

King Edward and the Poor

member of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor." Few were better qualified than the Prince of Wales to have a seat on such a Commission, for already he had given a similar service to the cause of the poor, and had carefully studied the subject by personally visiting the slums and seeing things with his own eyes. Taking up the work with enthusiasm, he attended all the sittings, and was able to give much practical advice and assistance on the subject. The same year witnessed the marriage of



QUEEN MARY AND HER MOTHER, THE LATE DUCHESS OF TECK

From a photograph by Messrs. Russell & Sons

Prince George, Duke of York, to Princess Mary of Teck, after a short engagement, the wedding ceremony being celebrated in the Chapel Royal, St. James's, on July 6. All the Royal Family were present, and among other distinguished guests were the Emperor of Russia and the King and Queen of Denmark.

The loss of H.M.S. Victoria, the greatest disaster that has ever befallen the British Navy in times of peace, was perhaps the most tragic event of the year.

The Tragic Loss of H.M.S. Victoria The fleet was steaming in two parallel lines off the coast of Tunis, the leading vessel of the one being H.M.S. Victoria (Admiral Sir George Tryon), and of the other, H.M.S. Camperdown (Admiral Markham). An order was given from the Victoria for the execution of a manœuvre which entailed the two lines in a manner doubling back on themselves inwards. To carry out such a manœuvre effectively a certain space is necessary. In this case the space was insufficient, and the danger of the manœuvre was so obvious that Admiral Markham ventured, as far as was compatible with the discipline of the Service, to suggest a protest; but the order was repeated, and there was nothing for it but to obey. The inevitable happened. The ram of the Camperdown entered the hull of the Victoria forward, and in an incredibly short time the flagship turned over and went down, carrying with her the gallant commander and 338 officers and men. Sir George Tryon was standing on the bridge as the vessel disappeared in the deep, and the men faced death unflinchingly. The news of the disaster came upon the nation with all the shock of a national calamity. Other nations also shared in the sorrow, and the German Emperor paid a graceful compliment by flying the British flag at the main, with the German flag at half-mast. A Victoria



KING GEORGE AND QUEEN MARY AT THE TIME
OF THEIR MARRIAGE IN 1893

After a short engagement, the Royal lovers were married on July 6, 1893. The wedding ceremony is illustrated on the following page.
From photographs by Messrs. Hughes & Mullins

Fund was inaugurated to assist those who had been left unprovided for by the disaster, and to this the country gave ungrudgingly.

If the year 1893 brought disaster to the Navy, it gave glory to the British arms and great possessions to the Empire. In South Africa a collision, long felt to be unavoidable, occurred between the colonists and the Matabele, with the result that the standing menace of the most powerful and warlike of the tribes was overthrown.

Simultaneous with the beginning of the following year was the municipal opening of the Manchester Ship Canal. Indeed, 1894 was a year of the waterways, as during the twelve months were completed the three great works of the new Richmond Lock, the Manchester Ship Canal, and the Tower Bridge. Of these the Ship Canal is commercially and nationally the most important. Its cost was enormous—over £15,000,000—but the necessity for such a scheme had indeed become imperative. The construction of a canal was therefore undertaken with results that have since been beneficial to the city, and the opening ceremony being performed by Queen Victoria, the occasion was one of great public rejoicing.

Important also in many respects was the opening of Richmond Lock, the ceremony in connection with which was graced by the presence of the Duke and Duchess of Fife. And shortly afterwards the new Tower Bridge across the Thames was opened by the Prince of

Opening of the New Tower Bridge Wales. At a given signal his Royal Highness pressed the silver knob that set the machinery in motion, and gradually the great bascules, actuated by hydraulic pressure, rose into the air, slowly shutting out the view of the other bank enframed in the archways. A procession of vessels, all in gala dress, then passed up the tideway, and as soon as they were in order the Prince and his party descended by steps lined by the Queen's watermen, and, embarking on a steam yacht, passed through the double line of vessels, and the ceremony was over.



MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK AND PRINCESS VICTORIA MARY OF TECK (NOW KING GEORGE V. AND QUEEN MARY), JULY 6, 1893

In presence of all the members of the Royal Family and of many distinguished guests, including the Emperor of Russia and the King and Queen of Denmark, the present King George and Queen Mary were married at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, on July 6, 1893. King Edward himself superintended all the arrangements for the ceremony, and was much pleased at the interest taken by the public in the event.

From a drawing by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

On this occasion the honour of a baronetcy was conferred on the Lord Mayor, and of knighthood on the sheriffs, in honour of the opening of the Tower Bridge and of the birth of a direct male heir to the throne, which happy event had occurred about a week before.

The early months of 1894 were rich in domestic happiness to Queen Victoria and her family. The chief event was, of course, the birth of Prince Edward; but earlier in the year, Queen Victoria, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and other members of the family, had travelled to Coburg to assist at the nuptials of the Grand Duke of Hesse and of Princess Victoria Melita of Coburg. The Tsarevitch was also present on that occasion, and the opportunity was taken by him of declaring his affection for the beautiful Princess Alix of Hesse. Scarcely was the one wedding over when the betrothal of the Tsarevitch and the Princess was made public.

Towards the close of the year a little cloud that had been slowly gathering in the East assumed gloomy proportions. The health of the Tsar Alexander III. had been known to be indifferent for some time, and when he was ordered

south to Livadia, in the Crimea, anxiety became acute. Becoming gradually worse, the Tsar passed away on November 1, and not many days later was buried with great pomp at Moscow.

The opening of the great naval canal at Kiel in the following year marked the completion of a noteworthy achievement on the part of Germany, and the presence of the Prince of Wales and a fleet of British vessels at the ceremony showed the friendly interest of this country in the undertaking.

This is not the place to discuss that amazing blunder in South Africa, the Jameson raid, which took place in 1895, its inglorious conclusion for the raiders, and its ultimate consequences to that territory. Neither need reference be made to the congratulatory letter sent by the Kaiser to President Kruger on that occasion. The fact is that just about this period Great Britain was rather unpopular among Continental Powers, and careful diplomacy was necessary to navigate the ship of State through the numerous shoals.

Late in 1895 the Duke of Cambridge retired from the post of Commander-in-Chief, which he had so long and honourably filled, and he was



HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY IN 1892

From a photograph by W. S. Stuart.

succeeded by Viscount Wolseley, a veteran soldier who had seen much service.

Peace has her victories no less renowned than war, and the year was a particularly busy one for the Prince of Wales, presiding at gatherings and opening congresses and institutions, the most important of which were perhaps the new United Service Institute buildings and the International Railway Congress. He also entertained the German Emperor, who paid England a friendly visit, with results that went far in creating a pacific and more kindly international feeling.

In the East, Japan had brought China to her knees, and was afterwards robbed of the fruits of victory by being induced to surrender Port Arthur. On the north-west a brilliant little campaign had been brought to a successful close. In the West the extraordinary attitude taken up by Mr. Cleveland with regard to the Venezuelan Question nearly brought about a rupture between the United States and Great Britain. Happily, the commonsense of both great nations prevailed, and the threatened trouble was averted. The year 1895 closed happily for the Royal Family. In the middle of December another son was born to the Duke and Duchess of York, and thus the succession to the throne in the direct male line was doubly secured.

On the west coast of Africa the warlike tribe of the Ashantis had always been troublesome neighbours. Some years before they had come into collision with the British, and had waxed defiant, with the inevitable result that their capital was taken and their king dethroned. There had been hard fighting before the end was accomplished, but the overthrow was crushing and complete. Late in 1895 the then King Prempeh became obsessed with a sense



ANOTHER GROUP OF FOUR GENERATIONS

Like the other group on this page, the above illustration represents four generations of Royalty, but in this case the line of descent is from Queen Alexandra's side of the Royal house. The figures represented are the King and Queen of Denmark, Queen Alexandra, the Duchess of Fife and her daughter, Lady Alexandra Duff.

From a photograph by Messrs. W. & D. Downey



FOUR GENERATIONS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

This interesting group, showing Queen Victoria, her eldest son, grandson, and great-grandson, was taken in 1894 at the White Lodge, Richmond Park, on the occasion of the baptism of the present Prince of Wales.

From a photograph by Messrs. W. & D. Downey.

of his own importance. He seems to have been afflicted with a bad memory, a lack of appreciation of proportion, and a bloodthirsty temperament. This combination induced him to run counter to the British Empire, with disastrous consequences to himself. The campaign was short and brilliant, but not wholly without disaster. Prince Henry of Battenberg had joined the expedition, partly to represent the great white Queen and partly from the hope of sharing in some active service; and to him the expedition proved fatal. On the way back to the coast he was attacked by malarial fever, and though he was conveyed safely on board ship, and rallied somewhat, he died at sea before the vessel reached the latitude of Sierra Leone. The body was conveyed to England and buried with full military honours at Whippingham, in the Isle of Wight.

In the spring the Duke and Duchess of Connaught travelled to Russia to represent England at the Coronation of Tsar Nicholas II., which was celebrated at Moscow with great pomp and ceremony.

In June, 1896, the Prince of Wales took part in a function of much public interest and importance—his installation as Chancellor of the University of Wales.

England, Scotland, and Ireland all possessed their Universities, but up till the close of the nineteenth century Wales had been without such academic centres. There were university colleges, it is true, but no great centre of education; and Wales, as the Prince observed at the ceremony, was very capable of looking after her own education. This same idea had already been maturing for some time, and had at length taken shape in the University of Wales at Aberystwith. As soon as the



AN IMPOSING MEMORIAL OF THE JUBILEE: THE OPENING OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE

The formal opening by Queen Victoria on May 10, 1893, of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington was the visible consummation of a scheme projected in 1887 to commemorate the Jubilee of her Majesty's prosperous reign, and the completion, in its principal parts, of a stately and imposing building to accommodate the Institute. The object of the Institute was to focus in a common centre the various branches of knowledge, inquiry, and discussion concerning the national resources and industrial prospects of the British colonies and the Indian Empire. As President of the Imperial Institute, King Edward received her Majesty and read an address from the Governors of the Institute.

From a photograph by Messrs. Russell & Sons

university was established it was essential to find a Chancellor, and one man—and one man only—was clearly marked for that position, if he would only accept the appointment in addition to his other innumerable duties. It is hardly necessary to say that the Prince, when approached, willingly consented, and he was duly installed as Chancellor in 1896. The ceremony was marked by a unique feature, an honour which no other university can claim—a salute from the guns of H.M. warships.

The installation ceremony, which was



THE OPENING OF THE NEW TOWER BRIDGE

Begun in 1886, this great engineering achievement was completed eight years later at a cost of over £830,000. King Edward performed the opening ceremony on June 30, 1894, and the above illustration shows the raising of the bascules, which weigh a thousand tons, on the opening day.

From a photograph by Thiele.

attended by a large number of distinguished people, including Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, began with the reading by the registrar of the deed of appointment, and after an address from the University Court had been read, the key of the University seal, together with a copy of the charter and statutes, was handed to his Royal Highness. In his new capacity of Chancellor, the Prince of Wales read an eloquent and interesting address. Other addresses followed, and then came the presentation of honorary degrees. This ceremony

was particularly interesting owing to the fact that the first degree conferred—that of Doctor of Music—was bestowed upon the Princess of Wales amid a scene of intense enthusiasm. Presented by the Vice-Chancellor, her Royal Highness gave her hand to the Chancellor, who pronounced the formal Latin speech conferring the degree. The degree of Doctor of Civil Law was then given to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Herschell, and Lord Spencer. Later in the same day the Princess of Wales opened the Alexandra Hall for women students, and on the following day the Prince and Princess of Wales paid their first visit to Cardiff, where they were most enthusiastically received, and where they took part in several public functions.

It had been known since the previous October that the Princess Maud was betrothed to Prince Charles of Denmark, and now the date of the marriage, July 22, had been fixed. It was rumoured at the time that the engagement of the Princess was something of a disappointment to her father, it being said that the Prince of Wales had cherished great expectations for his daughter, and had hoped that she might marry some crowned head. But still, he was



BRINGING HOME THE BODY OF PRINCE HENRY OF BATTENBERG

Volunteering for the expedition to Kumasi in the autumn of 1895, Prince Henry of Battenberg was taken ill with malarial fever on the march and died on the way home. The body was brought back to England, and buried with full military honours at Whippingham, in the Isle of Wight.

From a photograph by Messrs. Hughes & Mullins

willing to sacrifice position for affection; and, after all, the crown came later, an unforeseen revolution bringing Prince Charles to the throne of Norway.

The marriage was attended by the members of both the Royal Families, including Queen Victoria. Prince Charles, who wore the uniform of the Danish Navy, was supported by the Princes Harold and Christian of Denmark. The bride had for her supporters her father, the Prince of Wales, and her brother, the Duke of York, with a long array of bridesmaids—the Princesses Ingeborg of Denmark, Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, Thyra of Denmark, Patricia of Connaught, Margaret of Connaught, the Lady Alexandra Duff, and the Princess of Albany. The service was conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London and Winchester. For the Prince and Princess of Wales the close of the year was saddened by the death of their old friend and counsellor, Archbishop Benson.

The year 1896 closed in mellow evening, and with 1897 came the dawn of the Diamond Jubilee.



THE LOSS OF H.M.S. VICTORIA: THE ILL-FATED FLAGSHIP FOUNDERING AFTER THE COLLISION

The greatest disaster that has ever befallen the British Navy in times of peace occurred off the coast of Tunis on June 22, 1893, when, during the execution of a series of manoeuvres, H.M.S. Victoria was rammed by H.M.S. Camperdown. In an incredibly short time the flagship turned over and went down, carrying with her the gallant commander, Sir George Tryon, and 338 officers and men.



QUEEN AND PARLIAMENT: THE LORD CHANCELLOR PRESENTING THE ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS TO QUEEN VICTORIA AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE ON THE OCCASION OF HER MAJESTY'S DIAMOND JUBILEE

From a drawing by S. Begg



CHAPTER LVII

THE DIAMOND JUBILEE

Being a Picturesque Description of the Historic Pageantry with which the Sixtieth Year of Queen Victoria's Reign was Commemorated



On September 23, 1896, Queen Victoria surpassed the achievement of George III. His reign of fifty-nine years and ninety-six days had been the longest in English history; but hers was now longer. Moreover, she had worn her crown almost twice as long as any reigning monarch in the world, with the exception only of the Emperor of Austria-Hungary, and he had ascended his throne more than eleven years after her accession. So on June 22, 1897, the commemoration of the sixtieth year of her rule was the occasion of an Imperial pageant far surpassing in significance and splendour the Jubilee celebrations of 1887.

Much of the superiority of the later festival was due to the fact that the task of organising the Diamond Jubilee was entrusted to King Edward. He was quick to appreciate the extraordinary increase of power and influence which had accrued to the Crown through the wonderful growth of the English dominions over-sea. By reason of the fact that the five great nations of Canadians, Australians, Cape Colonists, Natalians, and New Zealanders were now really independent states, jealous of any interference in their affairs by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, the Crown had become the veritable bond of union between them and the Mother Country. The title of Empress, given rather grudgingly to Queen Victoria in relation to India, had slowly acquired a new meaning as our free colonies grew into great democracies; and by an evolution in politics, unperceived by the ordinary politician, the fundamental constitution of the Empire had been completely changed. The House of Commons was no longer the real seat of power. Its relative importance in the Empire had been diminished by the development of representative assemblies in the Empire, independent of it, and owing allegiance only to

the Sovereign. There were millions of free men and women in the world who were but slightly interested in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, but who were passionately devoted to the person of Queen Victoria, because she was the ruler of their native land as well as the monarch of Great Britain and Ireland.

It was this remarkable change in the power and the position of the Crown which King Edward proceeded to illustrate in the festival of the Diamond Jubilee. But before bringing together in a magnificent and incomparable pageant all the forces of the Empire, he began the commemoration by one of those wise, kind, and thoughtful acts which made him the most beloved of rulers. He resolved that the hundreds of thousands of poor sufferers who depend on the hospitals of London for relief in sickness

should chiefly benefit by the spirit of loyalty evoked by the Diamond Jubilee. Having ascertained from his mother that she had no wish to express a preference for any one of the many proposals suggested for commemorating the sixtieth year of her reign, he felt himself free to bring to the notice of the inhabitants of London a project lying, as he said, very near his heart. He had recently reorganised the finances of Guy's Hospital, and the great care and labour which he had expended on this task had convinced him that some scheme of a large sort must at once be carried through it all the London hospitals were to be properly equipped for their work. None of them had sufficient money. King Edward, therefore, asked for an annual contribution of one hundred thousand pounds to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, in order to secure the efficiency of the hospitals.

It is now thirteen years since King Edward's Hospital Fund was inaugurated as the chief commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee, and the successful manner in which the fund has been



QUEEN VICTORIA IN THE YEAR OF HER DIAMOND JUBILEE

From a photograph by Messrs. W. & D. Downey



THE DIAMOND JUBILEE: THE ROYAL PROCESSION IN PALL MALL

From a photograph by Valentine

collected and administered has ceased to excite any surprise. It is quite forgotten that when King Edward announced his scheme, on February 5, 1897, considerable opposition was raised to it. Newspapers of the greatest weight and authority tried to dissuade him from it, saying that the undertaking was too heavy and formidable for a man of even his immense influence to carry through. It was, in fact, generally apprehended that King Edward would bring a certain discredit upon himself by setting out on an enterprise so gigantic that it was bound to fail. But at the present day King Edward's Hospital Fund remains a glorious monument to the practical organising genius of its founder.

Of all the ideas born of the vast and deep wave of enthusiasm that swept over the British Empire at the time of the Diamond Jubilee, three only have been transformed into great achievements and become a permanent part of the national life. In each of these three great achievements is seen the hand of King Edward. They are the Hospital Fund, the extraordinary increase in the influence of the Crown, and, consequent thereon, a surprising growth of Imperial sentiment, bringing closer together the Mother Country and her great daughter States.

Only a few years before the Diamond Jubilee was celebrated, English politicians of all parties had resigned themselves to the notion that a day would soon come when the British Colossus would be broken up into fragments, each of which would want to live a life of its own. This was probably in the mind of King Edward on February 2, 1897, when he received at Marlborough House the great officers of State, in order to discuss with them the

plan for the great festival in June. In some respects he took as his model the Jubilee of 1887, but even here he planned the pageant on a far more magnificent scale. Every characteristic of an Imperial sort was magnified and enhanced. Asiatic, African, and other foreign elements were designed to take a greater part in it than they had taken in any State festivity in Europe since the days of Rome's ascendancy. Indeed, the racial diversity of the pageant of the latter Jubilee was calculated to outvie that of the greatest triumphs of the Roman emperors; but, in addition to this, King Edward arranged to include in the procession of June 22, 1897, with the help of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, eleven men whose presence there was of tremendous significance. They were the eleven Premiers of the self-governing colonies. So pleased was Queen Victoria with the work done by her eldest son in organising her Diamond Jubilee that she created a new, and special dignity for him; and on the event-

ful morning of June 22 it was announced: "The Queen has been graciously pleased, on the occasion of her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee, to appoint Field-Marshal his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, K.G., G.C.B., to be Great Master and Principal Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath."

Queen Alexandra nobly co-operated with her husband in making the Diamond Jubilee a memorable day in the annals of the London poor. At a time when everything seemed to have been done to make the great festival as popular as well as an official success, she thought out another simple, kindly project, which she explained in the following letter to the Lord Mayor:

"My Lord Mayor,—In the midst of the many schemes



THE COLONIAL PREMIERS AND TROOPS PASSING OVER LONDON BRIDGE

From a photograph by Valentine



THE CELEBRATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S DIAMOND JUBILEE: HER MAJESTY'S ARRIVAL AT ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
From a photograph by Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode

and preparations for the commemoration of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, when everybody comes forward on behalf of some good cause—when schools, hospitals, and other charitable institutions have been so wisely and liberally provided for—there seems to me but one class that has been overlooked—namely, the poorest of the poor in the slums of London! Might I plead for these that they also should have some share in the festivities of that blessed day, and so remember to the end of their lives that great and good Queen whose glorious reign has, by the blessing of God, been prolonged for sixty years?

"Let us, therefore, provide these poor beggars and outcasts with a dinner or substantial meal during the week of June 22. I leave it to your kind and able organisation to arrange that the very poor in all parts of London should be equally cared for. I myself will, with pleasure, head the subscription list with one hundred pounds. You are at liberty to make any use you think best of this letter, and believe me, yours truly,

ALEXANDRA."

The appeal was not made in vain. A handsome sum was subscribed in London; the sheep farmers of New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland contributed the equivalent of twenty thousand sheep; and the Diamond Jubilee dinner to the outcasts of the richest city in the world made one day, at least, in darkest London a radiant and happy event.

The morning of June 22, 1897, broke dull and gloomy, and it seemed as though all the wealth and care spent in transforming the highways of London

into vistas of glittering beauty had been spent uselessly, and that the long and splendid procession would wind through London in a downpour of rain. Nevertheless, the people cheerfully began to assemble at dawn at the points of vantage along the route. Nothing could disturb them in their belief that Queen Victoria was certain to be favoured with fine weather on the most glorious day in her career.

"She is such a good Queen that the sun is sure to shine upon her" was a general saying. So, in spite of the menacing skies, the people came forth in millions, dressed in their lightest and gayest attire, to acclaim the progress of their aged and revered ruler. Dark rain-clouds still floated above Buckingham Palace as the procession—a vast blaze of scarlet and gold—was being

Queen's Message to her People

marshalled outside the Royal residence. But the strange, touching, and widespread belief in "Queen's weather" was yet again justified. As Queen Victoria entered her carriage the sun burst through the clouds in midsummer pomp, and dried them up, and made the wide blue heavens above London a splendid roof for the most brilliant pageant ever seen in the vast and ancient metropolis of the Empire.

Just before her Majesty entered her carriage a telegraphic instrument was handed to her; she pressed the button and flashed to all the ends of her Empire the message, "From my heart I thank my beloved people. May God bless them. Victoria, R. and I." It was sent to forty-three of the great towns and fortresses in her dominions overseas, and it was sent so rapidly that the answers to it were waiting for her when she returned to Buckingham Palace.

Two hours before this the first part of the immense procession had formed and set out to St. Paul's Cathedral. It was composed of men who had come thousands of miles in order to make the Diamond Jubilee a far more significant ceremony than the Jubilee of 1887. Each of the great Premiers of the independent States of the Empire rode in an open carriage, preceded by his own soldiers. Behind the fine, tall, picturesque figures of the Canadian mounted troops was Sir Wilfred Laurier. The Hon. G. H. Reid, Premier of New South Wales, and the Hon. Sir George Turner, Premier of Victoria, were escorted by the Lancers and Rifles of New South Wales and the Rifles of Victoria. Then came the mounted troops of New Zealand and

Queensland, with the great "Dick" Seddon sitting beside Sir H. M. Nelson, the Premier of Queensland. The Cape of Good Hope mounted troops and the South Australian Rifles guarded Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, the Premier of Cape Colony, and the Hon. Charles Kingston, Premier of South Australia. The Hon. Harry Escombe, Premier of Natal,

**Notable Figures
in the Procession**

was surrounded by his carabinieri, and by his side was Sir John Forrest, the Premier of Western Australia, and behind them wound a long and imposing array of colonial forces of all kinds, cavalry, infantry, miners, engineers, artillery, and volunteers. They were for the most part tall, wiry men on rakish horses, with broad-brimmed hats pressed over their keen, strong faces, and the innumerable multitude of the London populace gave them as they passed a full-throated welcome. The plain attire of the colonial Premiers was not calculated to please the eye or stir the imagination, but in their persons was symbolised the realisation of the greatest political idea in the history of the world—the idea of the close union between the United Kingdom and the great British democracies established in the four ends of the earth.

The military nations of the Continent could no doubt put on their parade grounds five soldiers for every one that Britain could put on hers. Here, however, was a display, not of the number of Englishmen who bore arms, but of the sublime immensity and the picturesque variety of the dominions of the British Empire. The colonial forces were followed by a motley pageant representative of the racial diversity of the subjects of the English Crown. Curious little Chinamen from Hong-Kong, with pigtailed, red coats, and white helmets, marched with tall, black, deep-chested Hausas from the Niger and the Gold Coast; there were Dyaks from North Borneo, little wiry fellows in drab uniforms and small caps; Cingalese; Zaptiehs

from Cyprus, mounted on the little ponies of their historic island; handsome negro Zouaves from the West Indies; and lithe, dusky Malays from the Straits Settlements—men of all colours, all sizes, all races, and all owing allegiance to the Queen of a little island off the coast of Europe.

But the finest sight of all was undoubtedly the Imperial Service troops of India. In commemoration of the Jubilee of 1887, the rulers of the chief native states of India had raised and equipped, at an annual cost of six hundred thousand pounds, a force of twenty thousand men recruited from the finest races in India, and ready for active service at twenty-four hours' notice. In recognition of their loyal and valuable co-operation in the maintenance of law and order throughout Britain's vast Asiatic dominions the officers of the Imperial Service troops were assigned a high place of honour in the procession. At some distance from them a host of bronzed Indian footmen, with gleaming eyes and swarthy skins, turbaned and brilliant in scarlet coats, marched along with the precision of machines and the picturesqueness of the Orient. The Indian Princes themselves, mounted on splendid war-horses and arrayed in gorgeous attire, excited the loud enthusiasm of the innumerable multitude of spectators, and their leader, Sir Pertab Singh, the Regent of Jodhpur, received, in the

**Happy Princes
and Princesses**

proper sense of a much misused word, an ovation. Behind him came the long cortège in which were seated envoys from the great Powers of the world. Here extremes met, as the Papal Nuncio in his purple robes sat by the side of the envoy from the Emperor of China, who was clad in Chinese costume and further distinguished by his fan.

They were followed by the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the venerable Queen, little princes and princesses who made no secret of the fact that they were



THE LAST GREAT SCENE IN THE DIAMOND JUBILEE FESTIVAL: ILLUMINATION OF THE FLEET AT SPITHEAD

Mr. E. Wingfield, Permanent Under-Secretary
 Mr. J. Anderson, Secretary
 Earl of Selborne, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies
 Sir J. Bramston, Assistant Under-Secretary
 Sir H. M. Nelson, Queensland
 Mr. C. C. Kingston, South Australia
 Sir J. Forrest, West Australia
 Mr. H. Escombe, Natal



THE COLONIAL OFFICE AND ITS DIAMOND JUBILEE GUESTS, THE COLONIAL PREMIERS

From a photograph by Messrs. Elliott & Fry

Sir E. N. C. Braddon, Tasmania
 Sir W. Laurier, Canada
 Sir G. Turner, Victoria
 Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies
 Sir W. Whiteway, Newfoundland
 Mr. G. H. Reid, New South Wales
 Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, Cape Colony
 Mr. R. J. Seddon, New Zealand

greatly enjoying the procession. Other carriages contained the older relatives of the Sovereign, and separated from these by the colonial escort was Prince George and a glittering troop of princely men. Persian, Egyptian, Siamese, and Japanese Princes rode, three by three, with the Crown Princes and the Grand Dukes of the reigning families of Europe. The escort from the regular Indian Army then intervened; Lord Wolseley rode in their rear; and immediately afterwards came a carriage drawn by eight cream coloured horses, and in it sat Queen Victoria.

King Edward, dressed in his uniform of a Field-Marshal, rode on a fine charger by the side of his mother's carriage, a fine, manly figure with a smiling face, and proud, sparkling eyes. Every now and then he bent from his saddle and called the attention of his mother to some object of interest. It was patent that he was exceedingly delighted at the extraordinary success of the marvellous pageant which he had spent months in arranging. It was now the turn of the swarming millions of London to co-operate with him, and it was plain that they were carrying out their part of the work with an unparalleled

London's Tribute to the Aged Queen depth and force of passionate feeling. The streets of London that day rocked with the thunder of their cheers. At times the conclamation of the incomparable multitude seemed to be so physically overpowering, that King Edward tenderly bent down, solicitous for his aged mother.

Far, however, from being overcome by the sonorous and vehement greeting of her subjects, Queen Victoria seemed to draw new life from the frenzy of affection

through which she moved. Her grave, calm face now twitched with suppressed emotion, and now flashed out in smiles; and in some strange, unconscious way she seemed to exercise a hypnotic influence on the largest crowd ever seen in the history of the world. Her womanliness, her extreme age, the sense of terrific power

Queen Victoria's Reign of Love

resting in her venerable hands, endowed her with a mystic, wonderful air. She seemed, indeed, a consecrated figure, reigning over three hundred and fifty million people by something more than constitutional right. And was it not so? By simple goodness and arduous toil, by thoughtful sympathy and affectionate care, by a sense of duty that never faltered under the greatest of sorrows, she had at last won, deep in the hearts of her people, a position greater, stronger, and more miraculous than that gained by any king who claimed to rule by right divine. In a long era of vast changes, violent upheavals, and sudden and tremendous revolutions, she had done incalculably more than any living man to uphold the monarchical idea and broaden and strengthen its foundations. And this marvel she had achieved neither by force nor by intrigue, but by love and loving service.

Queen Alexandra, gracious and beautiful as ever, and Princess Christian sat in the carriage with the revered and beloved Sovereign as she rode forth, on the last and the most glorious occasion in her life, to receive the congratulations of her assembled people. Up Constitution Hill and along Piccadilly, down St. James's Street and Pall Mall, and across Trafalgar Square into the Strand,

Queen Victoria made her progress amid such a display of patriotic pride and devotion as was surely never seen before on this earth. Temple Bar was the first stopping place, and here an historic and dramatic

Historic Ceremony at Temple Bar ceremony was performed, significant of the traditions of free government, from which the marvellous power of England had been developed.

Memories of the liberty won from kings by the great free cities of the Middle Ages were recalled as the Lord Mayor, in his ancient robes of state, met the Queen at the gate of his city, and presented to her the pearl sword, symbolical of peaceful entry into the capital of the Kingdom. Then, as the Sheriffs, in their scarlet robes, proceeded to escort their monarch within their bailiwicks, one was reminded of the origin of the recognition by the Throne of the rights of the citizens in the dark ages of feudal warfare. No doubt it was the picturesque rather than the historic significance of the traditional formalities which touched the majority of the vast multitude of spectators. But Londoners with a large knowledge of the history of their country will always prize and uphold these ancient customs, as a living link between a glorious past and, as they hope, a glorious future.

From Temple Bar the Royal procession, now headed by the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, wound along Fleet Street and up Ludgate Hill to St. Paul's Cathedral, where the Colonial Premiers and their soldiers were already ranged. On the arrival of the Queen at the steps of the Cathedral, the supreme celebration of her Diamond Jubilee began. The storm of thunderous cheers was suddenly hushed. The great massed choirs and bands sang the "Te Deum," and the Bishop of London advanced towards the Queen, with his pastoral staff in hand, and said the special Thanksgiving Prayer.

"O Lord our Heavenly Father, we give Thee hearty thanks for the many blessings which Thou hast bestowed upon us during the sixty years of the happy reign of our Gracious Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria. We thank Thee for progress made in knowledge of Thy marvellous works, for increase of comfort given to human life, for kindlier feelings between rich and poor, for wonderful preaching of the Gospel to many nations, and we pray Thee that these and all other Thy gifts may be long continued to us and to our Queen, to the glory of Thy Holy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

At the close of the brief service the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the Benediction, and then, by an unexpectedly and strangely spontaneous movement, the people interfered in the ceremony and gave to it a far more striking ending than had been planned. As if by common

consent and previous arrangement, the multitude around the Cathedral began to sing the National Anthem. The long miles of crowds extending down the eastern, southern, and western streets took up the air, and London became one vast chorus. The effect was stupendous. When the titanic city had sounded forth its joy, the Archbishop of Canterbury, moved like everybody else by the magnetic feeling sweeping through the innumerable multitude and quenching in it everything except the common emotion and the common purpose, stepped forward, and asked for three cheers for the Queen. It was really a strange way for the reverend Primate to conclude a solemn and majestic religious service; but he was now possessed by the spirit of the crowd, and, without knowing it, he was merely acting as the crowd, by its curious

hypnotic influence, directed him. He had become, by a process that modern psychology at last has enabled us to understand, the veritable spokesman of the people; and when he had expressed their wishes they gave vent to the enthusiasm which had been working in them in explosion after explosion of sound, reverberating, like the roll of thunder, far away into the distance.

The Diamond Jubilee was certainly the most popular festival ever inaugurated. This was principally due to the fact that King Edward, with his thoughtful feeling for the poorer classes, had made the procession different from any other, by extending its route through South London. King Edward was a statesman with a wide knowledge of human nature, as well as a man with a large fund of human kindness. He undoubtedly wished to give a surprising pleasure by bringing to the doors of the working population of London the most impressive pageant ever seen in any country, ancient or modern, but he also wished to give a surprising lesson. He wished to instil the sentiment of Imperialism into the great English Democracy; he wished the working classes to see in a vivid and unforgettable way what a great and noble work they had almost unconsciously been

carrying on by their steadfast industry at home and their enterprising emigrations to the colonies. And his wishes were fulfilled. For it is now clear that the Diamond Jubilee procession, in which for the first time Queen Victoria passed over London Bridge and went through South London, returning to Buckingham Palace by Westminster and Whitehall, produced a deep and permanent effect on the popular mind. The inhabitants of South

The Procession in South London

London were profoundly touched by the honour accorded to them, and in their welcome to their Sovereign they displayed a passionate loyalty which was far more demonstrative than that shown elsewhere. Their behaviour, too, was admirable. They were not merely good-humoured and



QUEEN VICTORIA AS SHE APPEARED IN THE
DIAMOND JUBILEE PROCESSION



QUEEN VICTORIA'S DIAMOND JUBILEE DINNER PARTY: PRINCE OF WALES PROPOSING THE TOAST OF HER MAJESTY'S HEALTH
 On the night of June 27, the eve of the Jubilee Day celebrations, Queen Victoria gave a dinner party at Buckingham Palace to her Royal guests, and in the above illustration specially drawn for this work by the only artist present on that historic occasion, the Prince of Wales is seen proposing the toast of Her Majesty's health.
 Specially drawn by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

orderly, and careful of each other's comfort, but kind-hearted and willing—as well-dressed crowds seldom are—to surrender to old and feeble persons the best sight-seeing positions. They enjoyed to the full the pleasure prepared for them by King Edward, and they took to heart the lesson contained in it.

It may seem a rather sad reflection on human nature that men are apt to learn from a pageant more than they can be taught by books. But this apparent weakness can be transformed into a source of strength. It was the origin of many of the finest monuments of art in mediæval

The Lessons of the Pageant

Europe and in the ancient world. In order to stir the popular intellect, one must first touch the popular imagination. Splendid pageants are one way of doing this, and every great race, when it is deploying its full energies, has a natural love of pageantry, and it is out of this delight in the picturesque side of power that its love for the more permanent forms of national art is born. The series of Royal processions which marked the latter part of the reign of Queen Victoria, and which occurred still more frequently in the age of King Edward the Peacemaker, were, like the famous progresses of Queen Elizabeth, profoundly significant. They showed that the nation had become so joyously conscious of its great destiny that it desired to have its joy translated into one of the most primitive, but still one of the most effective, forms of popular art—the art of the pageant.

Queen Victoria was so deeply moved by the general affection manifested towards her that she wrote a letter to her subjects, saying:

"I have frequently expressed my personal feelings to my people, and though on this memorable occasion there have been many official expressions of my deep sense of the unbounded loyalty evinced, I cannot rest satisfied without personally giving utterances to these sentiments.

"It is difficult for me on this occasion to say how truly touched and grateful I am for the spontaneous and universal outburst of loyal attachment and real affection which I have experienced on the completion of the sixtieth year of my reign.

"During my progress through London on June 22 this great enthusiasm was shown in the most striking manner, and can never be effaced from my heart.

"It is, indeed, deeply gratifying, after so many years of labour and anxiety for the good of my beloved country, to find that my exertions have been appreciated throughout my vast Empire.

"In weal and woe I have ever had the true sympathy of all my people, which has been warmly reciprocated by myself.

"It has given me unbounded pleasure to see so many of my subjects from all parts of the world assembled here, and to find them joining in the acclamations of

loyal devotion to myself, and I would wish to thank them all from the depth of my grateful heart.

"I shall ever pray God to bless them and to enable me still to discharge my duties for their welfare as long as life lasts.

VICTORIA, R. I."

London on the night of June 22, 1897, was an even more beautiful and tremendous spectacle than it had been by day. The principal streets were illuminated in an exquisite manner. At last in the Victoria era the possession of wealth and the love of art seemed to be reconciled. Thousands of rich men had not only spent their money lavishly, but had shown fine taste in the way in which they had spent it. The City of London was a dream of beauty, and the West End a fairyland of coloured lights, festoons and garlands. In some of the thoroughfares the light that streamed down from the illuminations was as pure and strong as the rays of a tropical moon. But more wonderful than the spectacle were the spectators themselves. They formed a broad, densely packed, and slowly moving river of humanity, more than sufficient to have populated the whole of Great Britain in the age of Shakespeare. And for hours and hours this human river flowed on, increasing instead of diminishing in volume, for tributaries poured into it from every street giving on the line of route. So tremendously overpowering was the multitude that no police could have controlled it.

But it did not want controlling. It was an example on the vastest of scales of that English instinct for law and order on the foundation of which the greatest and most powerful democratic Empire in the world has been built.

In ancient Athens and in ancient Rome the people of the lower classes would, had they been able to assemble in a mighty and unchecked multitude, have given way to wild and violent revelry. The London crowd, however, was not a mob, but a self-disciplined host. Naturally, it was in a light-hearted, merry humour; it sang, it laughed, it shouted; but the rough element seemed to have been

civilised out of existence since the night of the 1887 Jubilee. Perhaps it was a newly awakened sense of power and the responsibilities of power which steadied the great democracy of the Imperial city; perhaps it was merely an increase in urbanity, following on the popular education of the last quarter of a century, which produced so remarkable an effect. Or may it not be said that it was due to the interaction of three causes—the popular instinct of orderliness, popular education, and, above all, the impression made earlier in the day by the pageant in which the mighty power and the majestic destiny of the race were indicated by a magnificent symbolism?

On the night of the Diamond Jubilee London was not the framing scene of the greatest festival in history, but only the centre of it. All Great Britain was illuminated. At ten



KING EDWARD AND OFFICERS OF THE QUEEN'S OWN OXFORDSHIRE HUSSARS

Photographed in 1897 by Messrs. Hills & Saunders



KING EDWARD PRESENTING THE JUBILEE COMMEMORATION MEDALS TO THE INDIAN AND COLONIAL TROOPS AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

o'clock in the evening a rocket was sent up from Windsor Castle. This was the signal for the lighting of a line of two thousand beacon fires stretching from Land's End to Caithness, and making in the high places of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales such a chain of far-shining lights as was not seen since the Druids of Erin, Albion, and Caledonia last lighted their Beltane fires.

But neither the fairy radiance of nocturnal London, nor the wild and savage splendour of the great fires on the beacon heights scattered all about the dark countryside, equalled in beauty and significance the strange night scene with which the superb festivities of the Diamond Jubilee closed. It was on the sea that Britain brought to a grand conclusion the commemoration of the sixtieth year of reign of the greatest of her Queens—on the sea from which she had derived the power that enabled her to expand in less than two hundred years from a small island into an Empire established on the five continents of the earth. On June 26, 1897, four lines of warships, stretching over a course of thirty miles, were drawn up at Spithead. The Queen's age of seventy-eight years prevented her from attending this magnificent naval pageant, so the delightful and interesting work of reviewing the greatest fleet ever assembled for a pacific purpose was undertaken by King Edward.

In many respects the naval review was the culmination of all the superb ceremonies of the Diamond Jubilee. It may be doubted if there has been any pageant as splendid as the procession of the Colonial and Imperial forces, but the

A Magnificent Naval Pageant

matter is not certain. Some of the reviews of the Grand Army held by Napoleon at the height of his power were perhaps more wonderful from a purely military point of view, although their political importance was far below that of the last and greatest progress of Queen Victoria. But none of the famous conquerors of the world, from Rameses to Bonaparte, could command so gigantic a display of warlike force as that which was assembled before the eyes of King Edward the Peacemaker. One hundred and seventy-three warships were gathered together between Bembridge Point and the shore of Cowes; and this armada had been collected without weakening the squadrons in

the Mediterranean, in Chinese and African waters, in the North and South Atlantic, in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and in Australasia. "I guess, sir, this makes for peace," said the United States Special Ambassador to the First Lord of the Admiralty, as he gazed at the vast fleet which had been brought together merely for the purpose of jubilation.

Partly in grateful recognition of the fact that the stability and influence of the English throne form a chief source of strength to all monarchical governments, and partly in a just and true appreciation of the good work done by the Sovereign and people of the British Empire in the cause of liberty and civilisation, all the Great Powers of the world—monarchies, republics, and despotisms—sent their finest warships to Spithead to take part in the memorable review. Cape Colony, however, celebrated the great Jubilee in another way. She presented to the Mother Country the magnificent gift of an ironclad.

The naval review was held on June 26, 1897. The shores on either side of the great roadstead of Spithead were bright with flags and bunting, and dark with the immense crowds of spectators who began to gather in the early dawn of the long summer day. Even then the sight was worth coming, as many of them had come, from the ends of England to see. All the one hundred and seventy-three English vessels of war were dressed in rainbow fashion; a line of flags rose from stern to foremast, and crossed above the funnels from fore to mainmast, and then dropped abaft. Ranged in four divisions, ten leagues long, with no bowsprit protruding a foot in front of its neighbour on either side, and with all the masts and funnels as far as possible in line, the splendid fleet produced a curious effect on the beholders. There was a strange and unexpected beauty in the vast concourse of vessels built wholly for destructive purposes, and beneath the sense of their outward beauty was an awesome impression of stupendous force directed by thirty-eight thousand trained men ready for instant action.

As the church bells of Portsmouth chimed two o'clock, King Edward set out from the harbour on the Royal

yacht. He was dressed in the uniform of an Admiral of the Fleet, and by his side was Prince George, in a naval dress, and Queen Alexandra and Princess Victoria of Wales arrayed in yachting attire. The Victoria and Albert, with the Royal Standard glittering in the brilliant sunlight, steamed towards the fleet, followed by the Carthage, carrying the Indian Princes, and the Enchantress,

Welcome to the containing the Colonial Premiers. The
Royal Admiral House of Lords and the House of Commons sailed on the Danube and the Campania, and on the Eldorado were the foreign Ambassadors.

As the Royal yacht reached the head of the lines the guns of the first division saluted the Royal Admiral, and the terrific welcome was repeated as he passed each station. King Edward did not want any cheering to take place during his first passage up the lines, but as soon as he appeared he received from the steamers, foreign warships, and yachts an acclamation that rang over the waters far into the land. In the second traverse the English sailors tried to cheer; but, great as was the sound made by them, it was drowned in the enormous detonation of the cannon of the great armada. At three o'clock King Edward anchored off the Renown, and graciously signalled to all the flag officers to come and have tea with him. The waves were at once dotted with barges and pinnaces racing to the Royal yacht, for every man in the fleet was anxious to show how smart and quick he was. King Edward was always a charming host, but on this great occasion he received his eager guests as a kind, proud, and happy father would receive his sons. The mighty fleet had been handled in a way that impressed every foreign observer, and enhanced the prestige of the Empire, so King Edward did not stand on state ceremony, but welcomed all the officers in a hearty and affectionate manner, and made them

glow by the way he praised their efforts. Before returning to Portsmouth he commanded a general signal to be made to the fleet, congratulating it on the perfect manner in which the magnificent display had been carried out; and then, as the Royal yacht steamed away, three simultaneous cheers were given in a tumult of acclaim by the men on every warship.

In the evening they prepared for King Edward, who again sailed out to the fleet at about nine o'clock, the loveliest spectacle ever given to man to see. Every ship was silhouetted in the delicate flame of myriads of electric lamps. Five miles of enchanted vessels were ranged six deep, and set in glistening beauty against the sombre background of the cloudy and lowering nocturnal sky. In the foreground were the torpedo-boats, low on the water-line, but very brilliant; the destroyers, larger, but less bright; and behind these was the tremendous array of cruisers and battleships. Every vessel was seen in a golden outline, and all its barbettes, funnels, and masts glowed with a rich, full light; while above all these shimmering loops and lines and curves shone in glorious radiance the colours of the Admiral's flags. All below the water gleamed like a fairy sea of liquid gold, and high in the dark clouds rockets sent up from the foreign men-of-war burst and fell in showers of many coloured jewels of light.

Last Great Scene of the Jubilee

A deep breath of admiration came from the immense multitude of spectators along the shore. Then, in a wild outburst of enthusiasm, they sang "God Save the Queen." So, with the hymn chanted in the darkness by the people of England, as they gazed out to sea where the terrible force on which their Empire rested had been transformed into a vision of ethereal loveliness, the last great scene in the festival of the Diamond Jubilee was concluded.



AT THE DIAMOND JUBILEE BANQUET GIVEN BY THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON ON JUNE 25: THE PRINCE OF NAPLES (NOW THE KING OF ITALY) REPLYING TO A TOAST

From a drawing by S. Begg



CHAPTER LVIII

THE RE-CONQUEST OF THE SUDAN

A Graphic Account of the Brilliant Campaign under Lord Kitchener that ended the Mahdi's Desolating Reign and restored the Sudan to Peace and Prosperity



THE fall of Khartoum and the death of General Gordon, on January 26, 1885, created great excitement in England, where at headquarters it was at first determined to operate against the Mahdi from Suakin, and a British force was sent thither with a large contingent of navvies to construct a railway across the desert to Berber. However, in June, 1885, the policy of the British Government was altered, and it was decided to withdraw the whole forces from the Sudan, and leave the country unoccupied south of Kosheh.

Shortly after the Salisbury Government came into power, in 1895, the phenomenal economic and social advance of Egypt, as exhibited in Sir E. Baring's (Lord Cromer) reports, and Sir Alfred Milner's (Lord Milner) work on "England in Egypt," seemed to justify an attempt being made to gradually recover the Sudan provinces abandoned by Egypt in 1885. The reorganisation of the Egyptian Army, strengthened by Sudanese black battalions, began by Sir E. Wood, the first British Sirdar, continued by General Grenfell, was completed by Colonel Kitchener, who was appointed Sirdar in 1892, and made it a formidable military machine. The Intelligence Department was put into the hands of Colonel Wingate, who had for many years devoted his life to the acquisition of a complete knowledge of the geography and climate of the country, but, above all, of the character of the various tribes in the Sudan.

It was an extraneous incident which gave practical effect to this determination. On March 1, 1896, the Italian army in the East African colony of Eritrea was disastrously defeated by the army of the Emperor of Abyssinia; and the Khalifa's Dervishes threatened Kassala, then occupied by Italian troops. The British Government determined to assist Italy in her extremity in East Africa by making a demonstration on the Wady Halfa frontier. An Egyptian army consisting of four brigades—three of Infantry, commanded by Colonel A. Hunter, one of cavalry, and a camel corps commanded by Major Burn Murdoch—was organised by Colonel Kitchener, who had with him Colonel Rundle as Chief of Staff; and the old railway, from Wady Halfa towards Dongola, was repaired for some distance. Everything was ready for an attack on the

Dervish position by the beginning of June, and on the seventh of that month, after a long, fatiguing night march, the Dervishes were surprised on broken ground between Firket Mountain and the river. A desperate action ensued, lasting from 5 till 7 a.m., and the enemy were utterly broken and routed.

At one point 300 of the Dervishes were surrounded, and, refusing to surrender, they were all shot down. The total losses of the enemy were 800 dead, 500 wounded, and 600 prisoners, including their leader Hammuda. The Egyptian losses were 1 British officer wounded, 20 native soldiers killed, and 83 wounded. After the battle the railway was

pushed on to Kosheh, seven miles beyond Firket, to which the parts of a new fleet of seven gunboats were brought by rail, put together, and drawn up the second cataract by cables manipulated by 2,000 men. Notwithstanding an outbreak of cholera and a terrific sand and rain storm more violent than had been experienced in the Sudan for fifty years, Kitchener's organising ability overcame all difficulties, and by September 9 his army, now strengthened by the Staffordshire regiment from Wady Halfa, and the flotilla of gunboats, was concentrated at Dulgo, and advanced on the 19th to Kerma. There the Dervish garrison, under Wad Bishara, had been transferred to the opposite side of the river, and strongly entrenched, and their artillery mounted in screened batteries. These defences were attacked by the gunboats, some of which were badly hit by Dervish shells, and Commander Colville, in command of the flotilla, was severely wounded. As the gunboats could not silence the Dervish batteries, the Sirdar ordered the fleet



LORD KITCHENER

Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army in 1892, he devoted several years of strenuous labour to the training of the Egyptian Army, and when his plans were complete struck a blow that totally destroyed the power of the Khalifa.

From a photograph by Bassano

to run past them on to Dongola; while three batteries of artillery under Major Parsons were brought into action against the Dervish entrenchments and a rocket battery engaged the Dervish riflemen who had concealed themselves on the tops of the palm trees. During the night Wad Bishara withdrew his forces to Dongola, which was unceasingly bombarded on September 21 and 22 by Lieut. Beatty, R.N., in the gunboat Abu Klea. The Dervish commander retired his forces from the town to Metemma, with the exception of 900, who were taken prisoners.

The Sirdar and his army having made the passage of the Nile on the 21st, occupied Dongola on the 22nd without

resistance, and captured six brass cannon, a great quantity of spears, swords, flags, and large stores of grain. The losses of the Egyptian army were less than one per thousand of the 15,000 engaged; while the Dervishes had 200 killed, and an unknown number wounded. The capture of Dongola ended the campaign of 1896. A strong force, under the command of Colonel Hunter, was established at Debba, Korti, and Merawi.

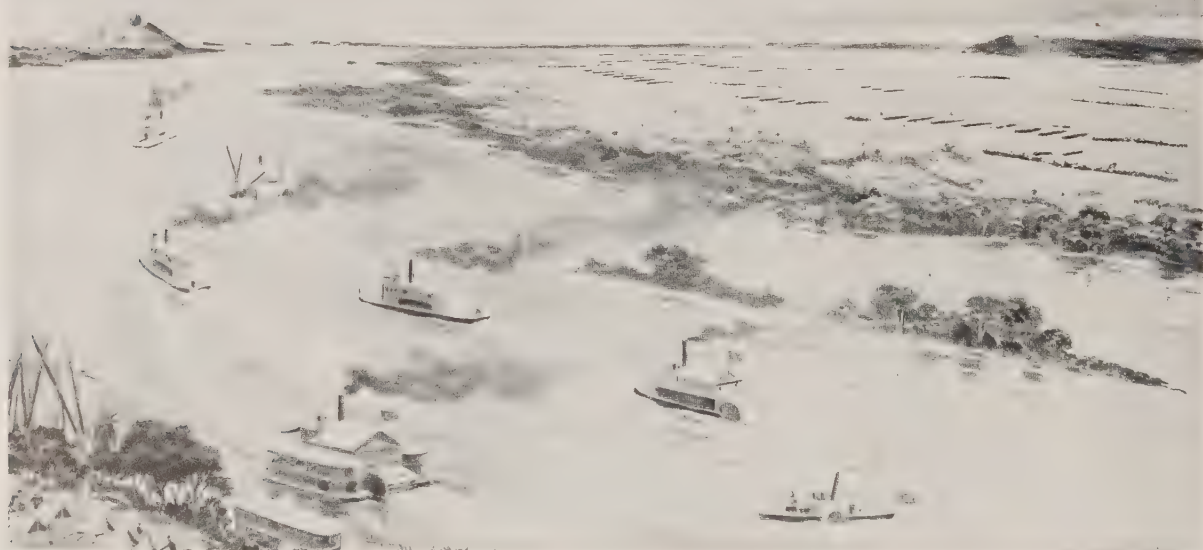
A Railway across the Desert

The success of these operations was received with great satisfaction in England. The Sirdar was promoted to the rank of major-general, as were Colonels Hunter and Rundle, and a special medal was struck for the army.

If the re-conquest of the Sudan was to be accomplished in a moderate time and at a moderate expenditure it became necessary to devise a shorter line of communication than by the long bend of the Nile between Wady Halfa and Abu Hamed. The Sirdar conceived the bold idea of taking a railway line direct across the Bayuda desert, a distance of 230 miles. This proposal met with considerable opposition. Eminent railway authorities in England said it

irregular friendly Arabs reported to Hunter on September 2 that Zeki Osman, the Dervish emir, had evacuated Berber. It was then determined by the Sirdar to occupy that important strategic point, and four gunboats, with 350 Sudanese troops, were sent up the river. At daybreak on September 5, the infantry landed, and the Egyptian flag was hoisted over the town. The gunboats steamed south, overtook the retreating emir, whose forces were in great disorder, drove them into the desert south of the Atbara, and captured a dozen grain-boats, which were brought back to Berber. The Sirdar arrived at Berber after a rapid ride across the Monassir desert from Merawi on September 10, devised new defences, and arranged for increasing its garrison. An outpost was established at Dakhila at the confluence of the Atbara with the Nile, which afterwards was developed into the great Atbara fort, with high walls, deep entrenchments, and quays for the armoured river fleet.

The effect of these operations was to destroy Osman Digna's influence on the Red Sea littoral, especially round Suakin. Osman retired along the left bank of the Atbara with all that remained of his once formidable force—viz.,



THE BRITISH IN THE SUDAN: THE ARMY'S RIVER ADVANCE FROM SHABLUKA TO OMDURMAN

was impossible to construct such a line. Distinguished soldiers declared the scheme not only impossible but absurd. Others, not consulted, insisted that the whole idea was that of a lunatic. However, a beginning was made with the track laying on May, 1897, under the practical direction of Lieut., now Sir, E. Girouard, though Sir H. Kitchener never lost touch of every detail, from the quality of the rails, and the design of the locomotives, down to the merits of nuts and bolts. The pace of construction was remarkable, especially after the discovery of water, by sinking 80 or 90 feet in the desert, and as much as 5,300 yards of track were surveyed, embanked, and laid in a single day.

On August 7, 1897, General Hunter, with a brigade of Egyptian troops, marched from Merawi along the river bank, attacked, and took Abu Hamed. This was not the least brilliant of the many minor actions in the war, because it involved not only an attack upon Dervish entrenchments, but a considerable amount of street fighting; and in it two British officers, Major H. M. Sidney and Lieutenant Fitzclarence, besides twenty-one native soldiers, were killed, and sixty-one wounded. A reconnoitring force of

2,000 Hadendoa Arabs—and reached Shendi, opposite Metemma. The gunboats under Commander Keppel patrolled the river from Atbara fort to Metemma, which had been strongly fortified by Mahmud, the Khalifa's ablest general, who had played an active part in Kordofan. These forts were repeatedly bombarded during the months of October, November, and December. At this period the desert railway was extended towards Berber, and the Sirdar went to Kassala to take over that place from the Italians, and establish there an Egyptian garrison under Colonel Parsons. Towards the end of December, 1897, Abdullah, from Omdurman, preached a new Jihad, in which he summoned

Abdullah's Call to his Followers

his followers to destroy not the Egyptians alone, but the Christians; and news came to the Sirdar that the Khalifa, Mahmud, all the emirs, and the whole Dervish army were about to march north. Kitchener's answer to that was a concentration of the Egyptian troops along the bank of the Nile from Abu Hamed to the Atbara fort. A British brigade under General Gatacre, for which he had asked, consisting of the first battalions Royal Warwicks,

Lincolns, and Cameron Highlanders from Cairo, and the First Seaforths from Malta, were hurried up the river and quartered at Abu Dis by the beginning of February. There General Gatacre brought his brigade into magnificent condition by constant drill in the adjoining desert, and so secured for himself the humorous name of "General Backacher." No alcoholic liquors were allowed to the men, but plenty of coffee and double rations.

Disputes arose amongst the Dervish leaders as to the command of the whole force, and the camp at Kerreri, some distance from Omdurman, was broken up, the Khalifa returning to his principal stronghold. Mahmud, with Osman Digna, was ordered with all the troops at Metemma along with reinforcements which had been sent from Kerreri, amounting in all to 12,000 fighting men and 7,000 followers, to cross the river to Shendi, and march on Berber. The plan suggested by Osman Digna was to traverse the desert, circle round the Atbara fort, and then attack Berber. Accordingly, Mahmud and his army clung to the river till they reached Aliah, from which, on March 18, they struck north-east into the desert towards the village and ford of

Egyptian army were covered by the cavalry and horse artillery under Colonel Broadwood, and he and General Hunter, in a series of reconnaissances, thoroughly placed and surveyed Mahmud's entrenched camp. Simultaneously, the gunboats under Keppel, with some Egyptian infantry, made a dash up the Nile to Shendi, and captured it with much loot and 650 women and children,

The Sirdar on the March though the wives of the most important emirs escaped to Omdurman. On April 4, Kitchener's whole force moved to Abadar, and on the 6th to the deserted village of Umdabia, where there was a convenient deep pool of the now generally dry Atbara River, and only seven miles from Mahmud's zeriba.

On the evening of the 7th, the Sirdar's army, in splendid array, marched in squares away from the river-scrub where they had been camped, and, with as much quietness as consistent with the movement of such a large body of troops, they stepped across the sandy plain and rocky ridges, through straggling bush, till nine o'clock, when they halted two miles from the bank of the Atbara. Meat



AT THE BATTLE OF OMDURMAN: THE ROYAL WARWICKSHIRE AND THE SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS IN ACTION

Nakheila on the Atbara, where the Dervish general strongly entrenched himself, constructed a high stockade and zeriba of camel-thorn.

Kitchener ordered the concentration of his whole army, which now amounted to 14,000 men of all arms, at Kunnür, between Berber and the Atbara fort. The composition of the British division has already been described. The Egyptian division, which was under the command of General Sir Archibald Hunter, consisted of three brigades of Egyptian and Sudanese troops, commanded respectively by Colonels J. Maxwell, Hector Macdonald, and Lewis, a cavalry brigade under Colonel Broadwood,

The British Army a camel corps under Colonel Tudway, and an artillery brigade under Colonel Long.

Ready for Action The concentration was accomplished by March 16, and on the 20th, after being reviewed by the Sirdar, the army marched across the angle of the desert to Ras-el-Hudi, during which they encountered a fearful dust storm, owing to which the distance of ten miles was only covered in five hours. At Hudi, a strong zeriba was constructed before night. The movements of the Anglo-

and biscuits were served out to the men. The transport animals went by relays to the pool to drink and replenish the tanks for the troops, whose water bottles were filled up. The men lay down on the gravelly desert for a brief rest and possible slumber. At one o'clock on the morning of the 8th the order to rise from their uneasy couch was whispered round the squares, and the march was resumed in dim moonlight. Absolute silence was enforced, and smoking was prohibited. At three o'clock the watch fires of the Dervish camp were visible, and the troops assumed under the Sirdar's own eyes and direction a semi-circular formation of attack on a plateau overlooking Mahmud's zeriba, only 800 or 900 yards distant. The British brigade under Gatacre was on the left, Macdonald's Egyptians were in the centre, Maxwell's curling round on the right. Behind them, in a solid square, was the transport, guarded by Lewis's Sudanese brigade. Broadwood's cavalry was on the left flank. The artillery, Maxims, and rocket detachment, manned by sailors, moved between the infantry.

There was scarcely anything to indicate the presence of a determined and fanatical foe within the circular

camel-thorn zeriba and its stockades with gun emplacements and seemingly countless straw huts, except the fluttering of Dervish banners of every colour and device planted all over the Dervish camp. At 5.45 a.m., Colonel Long, with his Krupp and Maxim-Nordenfolt batteries, opened fire, and at ten minutes to eight o'clock the Sirdar ordered a general assault. The Cameron Highlanders had been chosen to lead in tearing down the thorn fence of the zeriba. They advanced in line, the piper in front playing his best and his last, for he fell pierced by eight bullets. General Gatacre himself was amongst the first to drag at the camel-thorns to make a breach. The pipes of the Seaforth's, the bugles of the Lincolns and the Warwicks, the bands of Hunter's Sudanese regiments, were the accompaniment of the continuous rattle of the charging lines of the British and Egyptian troops, and the shrill shrieks of the shells of the artillery on both sides, and the strange, sharp whizz of the explosive bullets which many of the Dervishes fired from elephant-hunting rifles. Hunter, ever in front, led his division with romantic heroism. In advance of his brigade, he doffed his helmet and cheered them on.

The Dervishes Put to Flight

The zeriba was torn down, the stockade was overcome; but behind that was a triple row of trenches and hundreds of pits, from which sprang thousands of Dervishes, who fought desperately with sword and spear. The battle now became practically a hand-to-hand fight.

At 8.20 the whole Anglo-Egyptian force had swept completely through Mahmud's zeriba, had shot or bayoneted every Dervish in their path, because they were infuriated by finding in the numerous pits women and children killed, blacks chained, or slaughtered in their chains, and stricken Dervishes sneaking a treacherous shot when a merciful hand was stretched out to help them. Mahmud himself, who had taken refuge in an underground hut or casemate, was found hiding under an angereib, and would have been torn in pieces by the Sudanese soldiers, but for the interference of a British officer. A few hundred Dervishes escaped from the zeriba down into the dry bed of the Atbara, and those not shot found a refuge in the dense scrub. The cavalry and camel corps crossed the dry bed of the Atbara, and plunged into the bush in pursuit of the fugitives, but so dense was the shrubby tangle, that after a few miles they abandoned the attempt, and the routed Arabs fled towards Kassala, where they were met and killed or captured by Colonel Parsons' garrison. Four thousand Dervishes in small scattered bands reached Gedaref. Wad Bishara, who had slunk away early in the engagement with Osman Digna, reached, with him, Omdurman. The losses in the assault, which lasted more than half an hour, were

three British officers killed: Major Urquhart and Captain Findlay of the Cameron Highlanders, who fell at the stockade, and Second-Lieutenant Gore, a young officer fresh from Sandhurst, who fell between the thorn fence and the stockade. Major Napier, of the Cameron Highlanders, and Captain Bailie of the Seaforth's, received wounds from which they afterwards died. Twenty-two men of the British division were also killed, and two officers and eighty-two men wounded. Of the Egyptian division,

fifty-seven men were killed, and five British, and sixteen native officers and 365 men were wounded. The Dervishes lost over forty emirs, and 3,000 killed.

After the Battle of the Atbara the Khalifa concentrated his forces at Omdurman, and preparations were made by the Sirdar for an attack on his stronghold. Both British and Egyptian troops went into summer quarters along the banks of



THE BATTLE OF OMDURMAN: THE FORCES OF THE MAHDI ADVANCING TO THEIR DOOM

the river from the fort at the junction of the Atbara and the Nile to Berber. The railway was pushed on across the Atbara, and reinforcements, both British and Egyptian, were forwarded from Cairo. The total strength of the army was nearly 26,000, of which 8,200 were British, and 17,600 Egyptians, with 44 guns and 20 Maxims on land, and 36 guns and 24 Maxims on the river. A force of friendly Arabs under Major Stuart Wortley cleared the enemy on the right bank of the river as far as the Blue Nile, and on September 1 the gunboats bombarded the enemy's forts on both sides of the river, breached the great wall with which the Khalifa had surrounded his capital, and incidentally destroyed the Mahdi's tomb with lyddite shells.

Kitchener, on the left side of the river, met with no opposition till Egeiga, eight miles from Omdurman, where he constructed a zeriba, which, on the morning of September 2, was attacked by the Khalifa's army, 40,000 strong. The Dervishes were repulsed with great slaughter. The Anglo-Egyptian army then moved out of the zeriba, and marched towards Omdurman. The Khalifa's main force occupied a position on the slopes of Surgham Hill, where Abdullah's black flag had been planted. The attack on this position was made by the British and Egyptian divisions in echelon, and, being delivered with great determination and gallantry, the Khalifa's front was broken, and his

army was soon in full retreat, though Yakub, Wad Bishara, and other less-famous emirs who had to the last gathered to the defence of the black flag, disdained to fly, and perished where they stood.

In the meantime, the 21st Lancers had been despatched to the east side of Surgham Hill to head off the fugitive Dervishes from Omdurman, and force them into the desert. The Lancers, in which Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill, now Home Secretary, led a troop, numbered 320, but 2,700

Mr. Winston Churchill in Action

Dervishes who had been concealed in a khor, jumped up to oppose them. The command rang out, "Charge!" It was a wild ride—two living walls crashed together. "The Dervishes fought manfully," says Mr. Winston Churchill, in his account of the engagement. "They tried to hamstring the horses. They fired rifles, pressing the muzzles into the very bodies of their opponents, they cut reins and stirrup leathers. They flung their throwing spears with great dexterity. They tried every device of cool, determined men practised in war, and familiar with cavalry, and, besides, they swung heavy sharp swords which bit deep. In 120 seconds five officers, 65 men, and 119 horses out of fewer than 400 had been killed or wounded."

Lieutenant Grenfell, nephew of General Grenfell, was among the killed. Immediately after the charge of the Lancers the Sirdar saw Macdonald's brigade halt and deploy. What appeared to be an entirely new army was, in fact, observed coming down from the Kereri hills to attack Macdonald's flank as well as his rear. But that veteran brigadier so accurately timed and altered the formation of his brigade, that each face of it was able to sustain exactly the repeated attacks of the enemy. And, by a series of difficult manoeuvres under a heavy fire, and in face of determined assaults of the enemy, who outnumbered him by seven to one, he finally repulsed them. This practically closed the battle.

Thereafter, the Sirdar's army marched into and captured Omdurman with very little resistance. The Khalifa fled a few minutes before the Sirdar entered his house. The

The Capture of Omdurman

Anglo-Egyptian losses were: British—3 officers and 24 men killed; 8 officers and 125 men wounded. Egyptian—2 officers and 27 men killed; 15 officers and 286 men wounded. The dead bodies of 10,560 Dervishes were counted on the battlefield, and 5,000 prisoners were captured. The Khalifa's black flag was taken, and sent home to Queen Victoria. The European prisoners in Omdurman—Charles Neufeld, Joseph Ragnotti, Sister Teresa Grigolini, and thirty Greeks, were released. It was not for some hours

after he had left the field of battle that Abdullah realised that his army was in retreat. He faced the disaster that had overtaken him with singular composure, rested till 2 o'clock, ate some food, then repaired to the Mahdi's tomb, and "in that ruined shrine, amid the wreckage of the shell fire, the defeated sovereign appealed to the spirit of Mohammed

Ahmed to help him in his sore distress. It was the last prayer ever offered over the Mahdi's grave, and at 4 o'clock, hearing that the Sirdar was already in the city, he mounted a small donkey, and, accompanied by his principal wife and a few attendants, rode leisurely off towards the south. Eight miles from Omdurman a score of swift camels awaited him, and on these he reached the main body of his routed army."

On Sunday morning, September 4, the Sirdar, with

representative detachments of all the regiments engaged in the battle, crossed the river to Khartoum. The troops paraded in front of the ruins of Gordon's Government House in three sides of a square—the British on the right and facing the building, and the Egyptians on the left. The 11th Sudanese battalion formed a guard of honour.

At a signal from the Sirdar, who had taken up a position in the centre, the Union Jack was hoisted on the broken roof of the palace, together with the Khedival flag. The bands

played "God Save the Queen" and the Khedival anthem, and the gunboats fired a royal salute. The Sirdar called for three cheers for the Queen, and afterwards for the Khedive, and these were followed by a brief religious service in memory of Gordon. The British bandsmen played the Dead March in "Saul," the Egyptian bands a funeral march, the Highland pipers wailed a lament, and the service was concluded by the three chaplains offering up prayers invoking the Divine mercy and blessing on the Sudan. The Sudanese band concluded the ceremony by playing Gordon's favourite hymn, "Abide with me, fast falls the eventide."

Five days after the Battle of Omdurman (September 7), a small Dervish steamer arrived at Khartoum from the south. A month before, in company with another steamer and a force of 500 men, it had been sent by the Khalifa up the Nile to collect grain. The emir in command reported to the Sirdar that when his vessels arrived at Fashoda, 600 miles south of Khartoum, they were fired upon by black troops, commanded by white officers, and had turned back. On September 10 the Sirdar started up the White Nile for Fashoda, with a fleet of five gunboats in which were two battalions of Sudanese troops, two companies of the Cameron Highlanders, Peake's battery of artillery, and four Maxim guns. Five days later the flotilla destroyed a Dervish force of 700 at Renk, and steamed on to Kodok, where General Kitchener found Major Marchand, of the French Sudan, with 120 Senegalese soldiers, entrenched, and flying the French flag. Two years before, this expedition had started from the Atlantic coast, and after great sufferings

against natural and savage obstructions, with the loss of one-fifth of their number, they had reached Fashoda on July 10, 1898. On August 25 they had been attacked by a body of Dervishes in two steamers, but had repulsed them, and were waiting a second attack when the Sirdar's gunboats arrived, and probably saved them from annihilation.

The Sirdar warmly complimented Major Marchand on his splendid exploration feat, quietly ignored the French flag, hoisted the British and Egyptian colours with due ceremony, and saluted them from the gunboats. He established a garrison at Fashoda consisting of the 11th Sudanese, four guns of Peake's battery, and two Maxims—the whole under the command of Colonel Jackson, who was appointed civil and military commandant of the Fashoda district.



RESTORING THE SUDAN TO CIVILISATION: THE BOMBARDMENT OF KHARTOUM

After the failure of the Gordon relief expedition, the Sudan had been abandoned to the desolating reign of terror under the Mahdi. Eleven years later General Kitchener, advancing by land and river, captured Khartoum, the capital, and restored it to civilisation.

On the afternoon of the same day (September 19) the Sirdar and his flotilla resumed the voyage south, and on the following day they reached the mouth of the Sobat, where the British and Egyptian flags were hoisted, and a garrison left of half a battalion of Sudanese soldiers with the remaining two guns of Peake's battery. General Kitchener, having despatched a gunboat under Major Peake up the Bahr-el-Ghazal to hoist the joint flag at a point a few miles north of Meshra-el-Rek, returned with the remainder of his flotilla to Khartoum, from which the British regiments were despatched to Cairo as fast as the steamers could take them; and by the end of September most of them had returned to Lower Egypt or been despatched home to England.

The Sirdar, who had now been created a Baron in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, turned his attention to the stamping out of the remaining Dervishes and reducing the country to something like order. A plan of campaign having been arranged, Lord Kitchener, leaving Sir Reginald Wingate in command, paid a flying visit to England, where he arrived on October 27, 1898, and was received by Queen Victoria at Balmoral on October 31. His visit to the City of London on November 4, when he received the freedom of the City, was a perfect triumph. In the following June (1899), after a three days' debate in the House of Commons, during which fierce attacks were made by the extreme Radicals and the Irish Nationalists upon the Sirdar for having desecrated the Mahdi's tomb and scattered his remains on the waters of the Nile, a vote of thanks was carried to the Army in the Sudan and a grant of £30,000 made to Lord Kitchener.

Meanwhile the Fashoda incident, as it was called, made a great stir both in Great Britain and France, but it was finally settled by diplomacy. Major Marchand and his companions evacuated Kodok on December 11, 1898, proceeded to Jibuti, via Sobat and Abyssinia, finally reaching France in May, 1899, after political pourparlers had peacefully compromised the situation.

In the meantime vigorous and successful efforts had been made by means of separate expeditions to break up the scattered forces of the Khalifa—by Major-General Sir A. Hunter in Sennar and other territories 400 miles south of Khartoum, by Colonel Parsons, who conducted a brilliant little campaign at Kassala, by Colonel Lewis on the White Nile. The Khalifa himself had gathered the remnants of his great army near Sherkeila, in the heart of the Baggara country, 130 miles west of the Nile. Two abortive attempts were made to catch him down to the autumn of 1899, and the Khalifa, emboldened, resolved to make one last desperate effort to recapture Omdurman. Accordingly on November 12, with all his forces, and accompanied by his most faithful general, Ahmed el Fedil, he struck the Nile opposite Abba Island, where Mohammed Ahmed had first received his vision that he was the Mahdi. "It is surely," says Mr. Winston Churchill, "a curious instance of the occasional symmetry of history that final destruction should have befallen the last remains of the Mahdist movement so close to the scene of its origin."

Lord Kitchener had gone down to Cairo, and when he

heard the news he hurried back to Khartoum, where he arrived on November 18. On the 22nd contact was established with Ahmed Fedil's force at Abu Aadel. The column attacked and seized his camp, inflicting an estimated loss of over 400 killed, and capturing all the grain which he was bringing to the Khalifa. A night march followed to Gedid, where there was water, and the Khalifa's position was located at Um Debreikat, seven miles to the south-east. Another midnight march brought the column

through wooded country, a path having to be cut for the artillery and infantry to within two miles of the Khalifa's camp, where the column rested. After repelling a furious attack in the semi-darkness of the early morning, Wingate's column drove the enemy with great slaughter through the trees, back on their camp. "On one space, not more than a score of yards, lay all the most famous emirs of the once far-reaching Dervish domination. The Khalifa Abdullah, pierced by several balls, was stretched dead on his sheepskin.

"On his right lay Ali-Wad-Helu, and on his left Ahmed Fedil. Before them was a line of lifeless bodyguards, behind them a score of less important chiefs, and behind these again a litter of killed and wounded horses. Such was the grim spectacle which in the first light of the morning met the eyes of the British officers, to some of whom it

meant the conclusion of a perilous task prolonged over many years."

"At Omdurman," continues Mr. Winston Churchill, "Abdullah had remained mounted behind the hill of Surgham, but in this, his last fight, he had seated himself in the forefront of the battle. Almost in the first discharge his son Osman Sheikh-ed-Din was wounded, and as he was carried away he urged the Khalifa to save himself by flight. But the latter, with a dramatic dignity sometimes denied to more civilised warriors, refused. Dismounting from his horse, and ordering his emirs to imitate him, he seated himself on his sheepskin, and there determined to await the worst of fortune. And so it came to pass that on this last scene of the struggle with Mahdism, the stage was cleared of all its striking characters, and Osman Digna alone purchased by flight a brief ignoble liberty, soon to be followed by a long ignoble servitude." In the engagement 600 Dervishes were killed, 29 emirs, 3,000 fighting men, and 6,000 women and children surrendered themselves prisoners. The Egyptian loss was four killed and 29 wounded. This victory finally stamped out the Dervish domination in the Sudan, and the captured sons of the Mahdi and Khalifa are now being educated in Egypt.

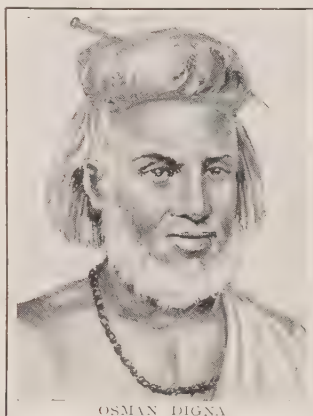
The political reconstruction of the Sudan followed immediately upon its conquest. By the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of January 19, 1899, the Sudan has been re-organised under the joint control of Great Britain and Egypt, this vast territory becoming a condominium in which Great Britain is the dominant partner.

Lord Kitchener was appointed the first Governor-General of the Sudan, but in December, 1899, when he was summoned to be Chief of the Staff to Lord Roberts in the South African War, he was succeeded by Sir Reginald Wingate as Sirdar and Governor-General.



SIR REGINALD WINGATE

Associated with Lord Kitchener in the re-conquest of the Sudan, he succeeded that distinguished soldier, in 1899, as Sirdar and Governor-General. From a photograph by Mauli & Fox



OSMAN DIGNA

Leader of the Sudanese troops that defeated the Egyptian army in 1898, he was again prominent in the later campaign, and in the re-conquest of the Sudan was captured and imprisoned.



CHAPTER LIX

THE CLOUD IN SOUTH AFRICA

A Survey of the Relations between Boer and Briton from 1884 till the Eve of the Great War, including an Account of the Disastrous Jameson Raid



DURING the ten years which passed after the modification of the British Convention with the Transvaal, or South African Republic, in 1884, the Dark Continent was parcelled out among the nations of Europe into colonies, or protectorates, or spheres of influence. The partition was completed by the settlements following on the Fashoda incident. In this last case Britain had very nearly found herself involved in hostilities with France. But in the meantime events in the South had been tending towards a situation which was actually to involve Great Britain in a severe and prolonged war.

Explicitly the Convention set a definite boundary to the South African Republic, and precluded that State from entering without British sanction upon any agreement with any foreign Powers whatever except the Orange Free State. Limitations were thus set upon the aspirations of the Transvaal, which was prohibited from any expansion. It became the primary object of the Republic to free itself from these limitations. Had the attitude of the Imperial Government and the Government of Cape Colony been the same during the eighties and nineties as in the fifties and sixties, the methods adopted by President Paul Kruger would probably have been successful, for the simple reason that during the earlier period there was no movement towards British expansion, and the Boers would have been allowed to absorb fresh territory by gradual occupation.

But a dreamer of Imperial dreams found his way to Cape Colony; and his dreams materialised. Mr. Cecil Rhodes with his Chartered Company, in effect, set a ring fence round the Transvaal, after the first attempts of the Boers to establish themselves in Bechuanaland had been checked in 1885 by Sir Charles Warren's expedition, and Bechuanaland itself had been turned into a British Protectorate. Some years later, when President Kruger would have made arrangements of his own with

Dutch and British in South Africa the Matabele King, Lobengula, the move was decisively checked. It was not long afterwards that the Chartered Company found it necessary to take Lobengula himself in hand, put an end to his dominion, and assume the complete control of Rhodesia.

One other attempt at expansion was made with similar results when the Transvaal endeavoured to extend itself eastwards to the coast. The conditions under which the British Government was ready at the time to assent to this design were rejected by the Transvaal Government; and the territory between the Transvaal and the sea was con-

sequently taken under direct British control. No one can say that the Boer aspirations expressed by these events were illegitimate; but they could not be carried out without contravening the Convention, unless with the assent of the British Government, asked and obtained; and since these aspirations came in direct conflict with British interests, it followed that the assent of the British Government was refused.

Meanwhile, within the Transvaal itself an important change was developing. The discovery of gold mines in 1885 had the inevitable result of importing into the Witwaters Rand district a large number of gold-seekers of every nationality, of whom, however, the bulk were British. The Transvaal Government had no objection to Uitlanders out of whose operations it could make a very substantial profit, eminently desirable for its own exchequer. But it had the strongest objection to admitting the Uitlanders to citizenship.

The Uitlanders would not probably have cared greatly about political rights if the Government had given them what they would have considered fair play; but the Government took what may be called a mediæval view of the situation. If aliens chose to come into the Transvaal, they must come in under the Transvaal's own terms. If they did not like those terms they might stay away. They might work the gold mines; but the gold mines were the property of the Boers, and the aliens must pay the Boers' own price for the privilege. That price was the heaviest which the Transvaal thought it would pay to exact. It had to be paid, not in cash only, for the Uitlanders were required to take part in military service just as if they had been free citizens, while in other respects they were treated as an inferior subject population who receive consideration as a matter not of right, but of grace. When the Transvaal Government persisted in its illiberal methods, the Uitlander began to perceive that his grievances would not be remedied until he acquired political power. Political power began to be demanded as the only means by which the grievances could be removed.

It must be observed, moreover, that the basis of the Boer argument against the admission of the Uitlanders' political privileges was directly repugnant to British practice. The Boer could pass into Cape Colony or Natal and become a full citizen with very little delay within British dominion; but the Briton who passed into the Transvaal territory became a political outcast. In the British colonies British and Dutch stood on an absolutely equal footing, and nothing whatever was done to secure a British predominance; in the Transvaal practically none

but the Dutch had any political footing at all. The Briton in his colonies reckoned that the men of foreign descent would become assimilated to his own race, or that, if they did not, the two races could live side by side without being any the worse. The Boer, on the contrary, was determined that there should be no chance of assimilation or of living side by side on an equality. To the Briton in the Transvaal, therefore, the sense of injustice was greatly aggravated by the comparison of his own position with that of the Boer in a British colony. And the Uitlander began to lift up his voice and to call upon the Imperial Power to intervene for his protection.

Another aspect of the position now demands attention. Nearly sixty years had passed since the Great Trek. But the President of the South African Republic could remember that event. As a

boy he had taken part in it, and had shaken the dust of the British Empire off his feet as he departed with his companions into the wilderness. He had grown up in the creed of the men who had marched away to the north to set up for themselves a State free from British interference. That creed comprised an unqualified conviction that South Africa was the rightful property of the Dutch who, without their own consent, had been robbed of their inheritance by the British.

The British ascendancy was maintained not by their greater strength in South Africa, but because of the reserve strength in Great Britain. No

The Dream of a Dutch South Africa great number of the Boers were actual survivors, like their President, of the original band of trekkers; but they were the sons of the trekkers, and had been brought up in their tradition. They looked round them, and saw in the Orange Free State another community of their own blood who, more particularly under their late great President, Brand, had developed what might fairly be called a model Republic. They looked further, and saw in the Cape Colony itself a State in which the Dutch counterbalanced the British. From generation to generation it was the British who had thwarted their aspirations; and it was easy to forget, or to minimise, or even to deny their own obligations to the British power. Given this starting ground of hostility to the British ascendancy, it would have been almost incredible that they should not look forward to a time when the Dutch ascendancy should be recovered, and the paramount power in South Africa should be not British, but Dutch. There is no escaping the conviction that in President Kruger's mind there was the conception of a United Dutch South Africa, in which, *mutatis mutandis*, the South African Republic would stand as Prussia stands in the German Empire.

The idea of a federated South Africa had been put forward somewhat prematurely in the days of the Disraeli Ministry, when Lord Carnarvon was at the Colonial Office. The

idea of South African unity, of a South African nation, had taken full possession of the mind of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Premier of the Cape Colony. But in this conception the Union was to be under the British flag, and was to form part of the British Empire. It involved primarily not the ascendancy of British over Dutch, but their fusion or partnership, as in the great example of French and British in Canada. The aim was to produce not an English or a

Dutch, but a South African nationality and a South African patriotism. It was very largely through Dutch support that Mr. Rhodes was Premier of Cape Colony, and the most conspicuous plank in his platform was the reconciliation of Dutch and British interests. The Orange Free State presented no insurmountable difficulties; but it was otherwise with the



THE "JAMESON RAIDERS" AS CAPTIVES, ESCORTED BY BOERS

The extraordinary action of Dr. Jameson, whose portrait is inset in the above picture, in making a dash for Johannesburg in 1895 alienated official sympathy from the Uitlanders, who had genuine grievances against the Transvaal. For a long time the Uitlanders had agitated in vain for political rights, and at last they rose in revolt. Entering Transvaal territory on December 30, the raiders suffered defeat by the Boers at Krugersdorp on January 1, and again at Vlakfontein on the following day, when they surrendered.

fundamental hostility of the Transvaal Government.

Mr. Rhodes stood in the way of a Dutch South Africa with the British element eliminated; Mr. Kruger stood in the way of a South African Union which should recognise the British flag.

Between 1892 and 1895 what was called the Reform Movement—in other words, the demand for enfranchisement—was growing among the Uitlanders. Broadly speaking, that demand meant that residence for a reasonable period, usually put at five years, should qualify an alien for citizenship and full electoral rights, and that the representation of the Johannesburg district should be approximately proportionate to the white population. In that year, 1895, the President made a false move. Prohibitive rates for carriage were imposed on the Johannesburg railway from the Cape; and when the railway was deserted and the goods were imported by the driits, or fords, he forbade the use of the principal driits for that purpose. This was in direct contravention of one of the clauses of the Convention. Mr. Chamberlain, who was now at the Colonial Office, supported by the Cape Ministry, remonstrated in terms which caused Mr. Kruger to withdraw his proclamation. The President's action had been too much even for the Cape Dutch.

But the blunder of the Transvaal Government was more than counterbalanced by a blunder on the other side. The

Dr. Jameson's Historic Blunder Uitlanders of Johannesburg, despairing of obtaining redress of grievances in response to petitions and arguments, had begun to contemplate the feasibility of employing force; and Mr. Rhodes was contemplating the feasibility of helping that design. With that end in view, he induced Mr. Chamberlain to obtain the cession by some native chiefs to the Chartered Company of some territory bordering on the Transvaal, from which Dr. Jameson would be able when the time came to effect an invasion in aid of a Uitlander revolution. Dr. Jameson was the administrator of the Chartered Company's territory; the purpose of the cession

escaped the penetration of the Colonial Office. The Uitlanders, exasperated beyond endurance, were at last to make a desperate appeal to arms; Dr. Jameson, with a generous scorn for red tape, was to hurry to the assistance of his countrymen in their hour of peril, and everyone would have said that the moral justification was complete.

Unfortunately, Dr. Jameson, to adopt a phrase which Mr. Rhodes himself applied to the incident, "upset the apple-cart." He thought and said that he had the Home Government behind him, which was not the case. He imagined that the Uitlanders were ready to rise in arms, which was not the case. On December 30, with a force of mounted police at his back, Dr. Jameson made a sudden dash over the border and a headlong rush for Johannesburg. For the Uitlanders to rise at that moment could have produced nothing but sheer, unmitigated disaster. They did not rise. A Boer commando, on the other hand, was dispatched to meet the raiders, who rode straight into a trap, and found themselves obliged to surrender ignominiously, having, indeed, no alternative but to be shot down.

England was provided with a sensation. For a moment there was an impression that the raiders, with magnificent daring and scorning to count the cost to themselves, had rushed to rescue their countrymen, and especially their countrywomen, from Boer brutality. Also the German Kaiser dispatched one of those impulsive telegrams which seem so much more portentous than they actually are. But the excitement cooled down when the facts began to be realised, and a sense of helpless irritation took its place. The raid was absolutely paralysing.

Kruger in a Strong Position It was an act of war committed by a responsible official against a State which had provided no sort of excuse for any such act. There was no saying who had stood behind Dr. Jameson, and there were some of the raiders who were prompt to disclaim any personal responsibility for their action when it was revealed as a piece not of heroism but of folly. Mr. Kruger had been provided gratuitously with a reply to every criticism. He was shrewd enough to strengthen the position which his antagonists had fortified for him by a display of magnanimity when he handed over the raiders

to be tried by the British and commuted the penalties for treason imposed by the Transvaal courts on Uitlanders found guilty of complicity. If the burghers armed and went on arming, here was their unanswerable excuse. If the Uitlanders clamoured for citizenship, they had demonstrated their disloyalty. If the British Government was free from blame in the matter, it could surely clear itself by an open and frank inquiry. It was not enough that both Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Rosemead, the High Commissioner in South Africa, repudiated the raiders and expressed themselves with perfect propriety.

The Inquiry into the Raid Unfortunately, that open and frank inquiry was precisely what the Government did not provide. There was a public inquiry; but first it was delayed lest the trial of the raiders should be prejudiced by it. When the raiders had been duly sentenced, without any undue severity, the general inquiry proceeded; but, very unfortunately, an impression was produced that important evidence was suppressed with the concurrence of the leaders of both political parties. Even in England the proceedings did not relieve an uneasy sense that the authorities knew of awkward facts which they were determined to hush up. As a matter of course, what was in England only an uneasy suspicion became in the Transvaal a rooted conviction, which was shared by the great majority of foreign observers, who are accustomed to putting their own interpretation on the conscious rectitude of the British.

In effect, President Kruger had the ball at his feet. Even the success which had attended the efforts of Mr. Rhodes to win over the Cape Dutch, a success to which President Kruger had contributed by the drifts affair, was more than cancelled by the complicity of the Cape Premier in the scheme which had been spoilt by the raid. The Transvaal Government had a magnificent chance of silencing Uitlander complaints by very small acts of grace, which in the circumstances would have had the air of generous concessions, and could not possibly have been mistranslated into admissions that the British Government was warranted in intervening. If the Boer policy meant nothing more than that the Boers declined to have their



JAMESON'S LAST STAND BEFORE THE SURRENDER OF THE RAIDERS TO THE BOERS AT VLAKFONTEIN, JANUARY 2, 1896
From the painting by R. Caton Woodville, by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co.

own internal administration interfered with, this would seem to be the course which would certainly have been adopted. But Mr. Kruger made another use of his position. He made the altered situation an excuse for encroaching upon the Convention, and in the view of most Englishmen he seemed determined to go as far as he could in the

direction of treating the Convention itself as a dead letter. The treatment of the Uitlanders became more instead of less severe. Missions visited Europe with a view to obtaining the sympathy of foreign States. Treaties were made with Portugal and Holland, as though the South African Republic had been an independent sovereign State,

in spite of the fact that all treaty-making without the authority of the British Government was expressly and admittedly barred by the Convention. In the time of President Brand, the Orange Free State had declined overtures for an alliance, but that shrewd and able ruler had now been dead for some years, and in 1896 the presidency was given to Mr. Steyn, who in the following year required no persuasion to enter on an offensive and defensive alliance with the Transvaal.

The British Government was cramped and fettered by the raid. But in 1897 it took a step which was hailed with warm approbation by every public man and every newspaper in the United Kingdom, when Mr. Chamberlain appointed Sir Alfred Milner to the Governorship of the Cape in succession to Lord Rosmead. Sir Alfred was then known as a man who had held high administrative posts with distinction; as level-headed and liberal-minded; as sympathetic without risk of sentimentality. It was felt on all sides that he was emphatically the right man for the place. He went to South Africa,

without prepossessions, determined to make up his own mind on the spot at first hand concerning the intricate problems which statesmen at home, however able they might be, could judge only at second hand. Arrived in South Africa, he set himself to study the situation thoroughly, to form his opinion on the facts as he found them, and to express no opinion prematurely. Nevertheless, many months had not elapsed before he had come to a definite conclusion that the Uitlanders' grievances were real and serious; that the administration of the Transvaal was corrupt and oppressive; that the enfranchisement of the Uitlanders was the necessary condition of reform; and that the time had come for the British Government to bring pressure to bear to that end.

At Johannesburg matters were brought to a head, as often happens, by an incident of no great moment in itself. An Englishman named Edgar was shot by a policeman, and the policeman was acquitted. Excitement ran high, and the affair was made the occasion for presenting in England a petition signed by more than 20,000 British subjects in the Transvaal.

The petition was received by Sir Alfred in March and was endorsed by him in an emphatic dispatch. He held that it was time for the British Government to act; that its position as paramount power in South Africa was, in fact, at stake. It was perfectly clear that the Uitlander agitation was absolutely genuine; that the toleration by the British Government of the treatment of British subjects in the Transvaal

was destructive of all British influence and authority in South Africa; that the conception of a Dutch South Africa was gaining ground and was being openly avowed, and that it was absolutely legitimate to demand for British subjects in the Transvaal rights which had never been denied to them in the Orange Free State and were not denied to the Boers within the British colony.

A Conference was opened on May 31 at Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, where Sir Alfred Milner met President Kruger. It was by this time fairly obvious that unless an agreement were arrived at there would be war. No doubt there were in England a considerable number of people who were firmly convinced that there was no adequate case for intervention on the part of the British Government; but this was not the view taken by the immense majority either of the public at large or of the responsible authorities.

The Bloemfontein Conference was a failure. Practically the High Commissioner's demand was for the enfranchisement of the Uitlanders after five years' residence,

President Kruger's counter-proposal required seven years' residence, and was to be submitted for the friendly consideration of the Volksraad only after an unqualified guarantee of non-interference in the future had been given by the British Government. Negotiations

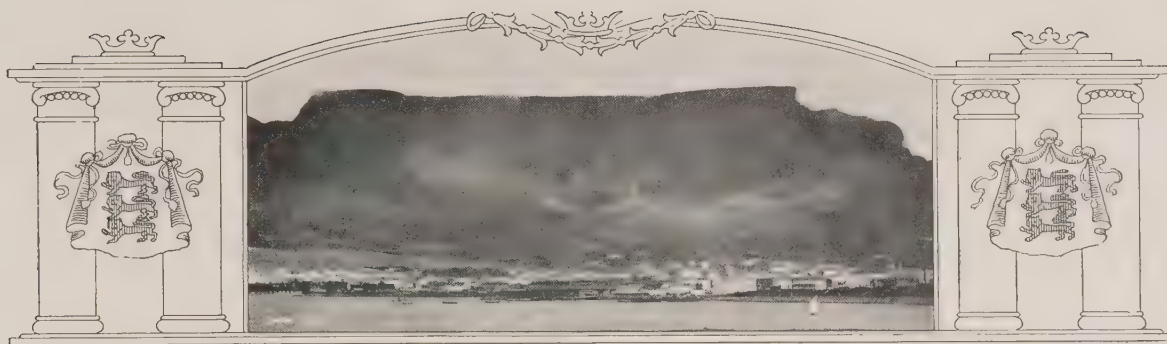
continued, but matters in September were sufficiently threatening to lead to the dispatch of reinforcements to the Cape. The movements of troops led to a protest from Mr. Steyn and a declaration that if the British forced on a war the Free State would take part with the Transvaal. On October 9, the Transvaal took the startling step of handing an ultimatum to the British demanding the immediate retirement of troops. On the 12th the Boer forces entered British territory.



THE PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY ON THE JAMESON RAID

Dr. Jameson's raid into Transvaal territory was the subject of an exhaustive Parliamentary Inquiry. In this illustration, Mr. Cecil Rhodes is seen giving evidence before the South African Committee, and replying to questions put by Sir William Harcourt. King Edward, at the left of the picture, is an attentive listener to the evidence of the famous statesman and Empire builder.

From a drawing by S. Beggs



CHAPTER LX

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR: FIRST PHASE

Describing the opening stages of the Campaign and the series of Disasters that befel the British Arms at Magersfontein, Colenso, and Stormberg



THE declaration of war on October 11, 1899, was immediately followed by Boer invasions of British territory at several widely separated points; and the British campaign, in its earlier stages, was consequently divided into several distinct operations to meet these invasions. On the west, the Boers crossed the Transvaal frontier to invest Mafeking—a small town about 150 miles west of Pretoria and Johannesburg, and situated on the railway line between Cape Town and Bulawayo. At first Cronje, and later Snyman, directed the siege of Mafeking, which was begun on October 16, and was raised on the following May 17; the defence was conducted by Colonel Baden-Powell, with a force of about 900 irregulars all told.

Farther south, but still on the west, the enemy crossed the frontier of the Orange Free State to besiege Kimberley, the centre of the diamond fields, situated on the railway from Cape Town to Mafeking. Here Colonel Kekewich was in command of a garrison of about 4,000 men, including armed civilians; and Cecil Rhodes, who had entered the town after the declaration of war, was among the besieged. The Boers, under Wessels, invested Kimberley from October 15 to February 15, when it was relieved by General French.

In the centre of the theatre of war, two Boer invasions crossed the Orange River, the southern frontier of the Orange Free State, into the northern parts of Cape Colony, where the great majority of the inhabitants were in favour of their cause. One of these forces, entering Cape Colony at Norval's Pont, came into collision, at Colesberg, with the British arms under General French; and the other, crossing the river at Bethulie, was met by General Gatacre at Stormberg. Besides these operations in the west and in the centre, there were others in the east. From twenty to thirty thousand Boers, under Piet Joubert, entered the colony of Natal in the first days of the war, and after the engagements of Talana Hill, Elandsplaagte, Rietfontein, and Ladysmith, enclosed Sir George White and his 12,000 men in the town of Ladysmith, on the railway from Durban to

Johannesburg. The siege of Ladysmith lasted from November 2 until its relief by Sir Redvers Buller on March 3.

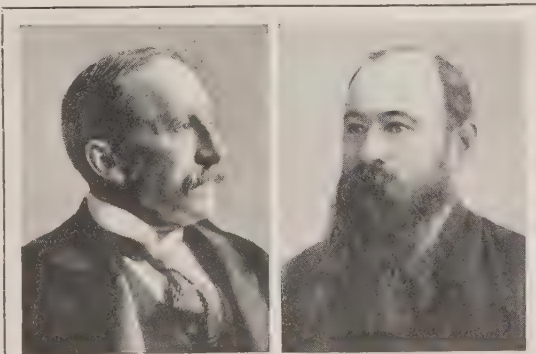
Sir Redvers Buller's advance on the east, for the relief of Ladysmith; Lord Methuen's advance on the west, for the relief of Kimberley; and the operations of Generals French and Gatacre in the centre, are the chief episodes of the first phase of the war, during which Britain learned the peculiar strength of the enemy and the magnitude of her task. This first period concludes with the Black Week of December 10 to 17, and with the appointment, on December 18, of Lord Roberts to the supreme command, with Lord Kitchener as his Chief-of-Staff.

At the opening of the war, Sir George White's forces in Natal were divided, 8,000 men being at Ladysmith, and 4,000 being encamped at Glencoe, forty miles to the north. The Boers, who not unreasonably hoped to drive the British down to Durban, entered Natal on October 12 by the northern angle of the colony, near to the ill-omened Majuba Hill, while other bodies concentrated upon Glencoe from the passes of the Drakensberg on the west and from the

Transvaal province of Utrecht on the east. They were accompanied by corps of Germans, Irish, and Hollanders, and had with them sixteen Krupp guns and two heavy Creusot guns.

After some skirmishes, the main force appeared on the morning of October 20 upon the summit of Talana Hill, whence they began to shell the British troops who had advanced from Glencoe to meet them. In this first engagement of the war the great superiority of the Boer artillery over the British guns, the deadly accuracy of their artillery practice and rifle shooting, and their mobility and skill in taking cover became at once apparent. The hill was at length taken by

the British soldiers, who advanced up its slopes throughout the morning under a terrific fire, and the first battle of the campaign resulted in a success to our arms. But the position at Glencoe had become manifestly untenable; and Colonel Yule, who had succeeded to the command on the fall of General Symons in the battle, decided, in view of the enemy's strength, to retire upon Ladysmith.



Lord Milner (Barnett)

President Steyn

TWO GREAT FIGURES IN SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

Sent out to Cape Colony as High Commissioner, in 1897, Sir Alfred Milner, as he then was, made a careful study of the Uitlanders' grievances, and reported that it was time for the British Government to act. As President of the Orange Free State, Steyn supported President Kruger at the declaration of war in 1899.



READY FOR THE FRONT: KING EDWARD INSPECTING THE COMPOSITE REGIMENT OF GUARDS

Before departing for active service in South Africa, this regiment of Guards, composed of officers and men from the various regiments, was inspected by the Prince of Wales at the Albany Street Barracks, on November 10, 1899, and on the following day Queen Victoria took farewell of the men at Windsor, wishing them, in a few simple and touching words, God-speed and a safe return.

Specialty drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

The retreat was begun on October 23, and by the 26th Colonel Yule had brought his forces into Ladysmith, after marching over nearly seventy miles of road, through a difficult country, thickly infested with the enemy. He was ably assisted by Sir George White, who successfully engaged the Boers at Elands-laagte (October 21), and again at Rietfontein (October 24), in order to keep open the line of retreat. The army of 12,000 men, now united at Ladysmith, was once more to try conclusions with the Boers before settling down to the long siege. The enemy was fast closing round the town, and Sir George White decided to engage with them before the investment should be complete. On the night of October 29, therefore, two regiments were sent out to capture and defend Nicholson's Nek, a ridge a few miles north of Ladysmith, and on the following

morning an attack was made by the main British force upon the Boer position, which extended in a semicircle of eight miles from end to end, converging upon the town. In this straggling and inconclusive Battle of Ladysmith the weight and accuracy of the Boer artillery overpowered the British, and for some time there was danger that the enemy might break through White's scattered lines and seize the town. But while the defenders were retiring upon Ladysmith they received a welcome accession to their force. Captain Lambton and his naval contingent had come up by train from Durban, arriving at the critical moment with their 12-pounder quick-firing guns. These were swiftly brought into action upon gun-carriages devised by Captain Percy Scott, and soon silenced the great Creusot gun, whose 96-pound shells were harassing the British retreat.

Meanwhile, the first of a long series of disasters had occurred. The regiments at Nicholson's Nek had surrendered to the Boers. Arriving the night before, to the number of a thousand men, at the foot of the hill which they were to hold, they were suddenly thrown into utter confusion by a panic among their mules, which were carrying the mountain guns and ammunition. The animals broke away and fled in the darkness. Colonel Carleton, who was in command, determined, however, to defend the ridge, and throughout the next day his men were under a concentrated fire from the Boers, who were led by Christian de Wet.



AT THE BATTLE OF ELANDSLAAGTE: BRITONS AND BOERS AT CLOSE QUARTERS
Hoping to drive the British down to Durban, the Boers entered Natal on October 12, compelling Sir George White to fall back on Ladysmith. On the way into that town he fought the battles of Talana Hill, Elands-laagte, and Nicholson's Nek.

Lying in a hopeless position, unable to communicate with Sir George White, and having exhausted their ammunition, the little force at last held up the white flag, and 800 prisoners passed into the hands of the Boers.

From November 2 Ladysmith was completely shut off from the outer world, and was daily subjected to a heavy fire from Boer artillery on the surrounding hills. By permission of General Joubert, many of the non-combatants were sent to a camp where they were out of danger from the shells, and those who remained were protected by bomb-proof shelters dug in the banks of the river. The British naval guns, though inferior to the enemy's weapons, were of great service. The besieged had

The Siege of Ladysmith

sufficient food and military supplies; and, except for two attacks, on November 9 and January 6, the Boers were content to enclose and harass the town until starvation should have done its work. Sir George White, recognising that his work was to hold Ladysmith, took no avoidable risks, yet his men succeeded, by two gallant night sorties on December 8 and 12, in blowing up with gun-cotton two of the enemy's great guns. Through the trial of long waiting and the ravages of disease, the garrison never faltered; they knew that help was coming, that the Empire was behind them; and they could hear Buller's guns at Colenso, on the Tugela River, twelve miles to the south. On one day only was the issue

doubtful, when the Boers made their great attack on January 6, and were at length driven off by the gallantry of the British infantry.

Sir Redvers Buller had arrived at Chieveley, a few miles south of Colenso, and prepared for an advance across the Tugela to Ladysmith, and the Boers, under Botha, had prepared to contest every mile of his advance. Buller, who had a great reputation for obdurate courage and tenacity, had the heavier guns, and on December 15 he set out from Chieveley with 21,000 men, thirty guns of the Field Artillery, and sixteen naval guns. The assault on the Boer positions at the Tugela river covered a front of seven miles. On the left, the



A HIGHLAND DASH: THE GORDONS GOING INTO ACTION AT ELANDSLAAGTE

Irish infantry was to secure a ford, Bridle Drift; the main attack was to be on Colenso Bridge; and between the two was a brigade to support either force which might need it. Mounted troops, on the right, supported by infantry, were to attack a strongly fortified position—Hlangwane Hill—held by the Boers.

The Battle of Colenso resulted in utter disaster. The

The Unseen Enemy of the British

Irishmen on the left, advancing under a tremendous rifle fire to the river, could find no ford where the ford was supposed to have been, and were at length recalled with a loss of over five hundred. In the centre, the artillery, which had advanced to cover the attack on the bridge, was swept by such a murderous fire that every gunner and every horse were slain, and notwithstanding gallant attempts to recover the guns, two batteries, amounting to ten guns, were captured by the Boers. Everywhere the concentrated fire of the unseen enemy made it impossible to advance on open ground and live. By midday the British forces were in full retreat, having lost 150 killed, over 700 wounded, and 250 missing.

Realising, on this fatal day, the strength of the Boer resistance, and, in general, the enormous advantage which the conditions of this warfare gave to the defence as compared with the attack, General Buller advised Sir George White, by heliogram, to make the best terms he could, and to surrender Ladysmith. Sir George White's reply was one of encouragement to Sir Redvers Buller, and a definite refusal to think of surrender. "If you lose touch of the enemy, it will immensely increase his opportunities of crushing me, and have worse effect elsewhere. . . . Things may look brighter. The loss of 12,000 men here would be a heavy blow to England. We must not yet think of it." Sir Redvers Buller had not considered the larger issues that were at stake. But they were understood in England, as in Ladysmith. On December 18, three days after the Battle of Colenso, Lord Roberts was appointed to the command. In the mean-

time, however, there were other disasters which must now be recorded.

The operations for the relief of Kimberley were promptly begun, but it was not until November 22 that Lord Methuen was able to set out from the Orange River on the sixty miles advance to the beleaguered town. Vast accumulations of military stores had been made at De Aar, where the railway from Cape Town to Kimberley is joined by the line from Port Elizabeth, and a lightly-equipped column of 8,000 men had been got together at Orange River with two batteries of field artillery and a naval brigade.

Lord Methuen's force, designed for great rapidity of movement, assaulted the Boer entrenchments at Belmont on the morning of November 23, driving them from their positions, but with considerable loss. Another battle, with similar results, was fought at Enslin on the 25th. On the morning of the 28th the British force moved down a sloping plain to the banks of the Modder River, where the formidable Cronje was awaiting them, with Delarey. Both banks of the river, over a front of four miles, had been occupied by the Boers in their trenches; and powerful artillery, also hidden in shelter pits, had been placed in advantageous positions. Quite unconscious of the preparations which had been made for them, the British column came down to within a few hundred yards of the trenches.

Then, from the apparently peaceful and deserted fields before them, there burst upon them a fearful storm of shells and bullets. The British troops lay down and returned the fire, but the enemy was invisible. The British artillery, reinforced by a third battery which had hurried after the column, was brought into action, and presently began to get the better of the Boer guns; and the shrapnel was telling on the burghers in the trenches. A British brigade, passing westward down the side of the river, came to the end of the Boer lines and crossed the river by a ford, establishing themselves in a strong position on the Boer



FACING THE ENEMY'S FIRE: THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS CROSSING THE MODDER RIVER

From a drawing by Allan Stewart



SAVING THE GUNS AT COLENSO: A GALLANT DEED UNDER A HEAVY FIRE

right. When next morning dawned it was found that the British had won a victory. The Boers had withdrawn from the Modder River during the night.

Lord Methuen, now twenty miles from Kimberley, had lost altogether about a thousand men, but he was quickly reinforced by the arrival of General Wauchope with the Highland Brigade. Cronje, in the meantime, was fortifying his position at Magersfontein, about half-way between the Modder River and Kimberley. The British guns shelled the Boers, on December 9, without eliciting a sign from the enemy; and next afternoon a strong force was sent ahead to open the way for Lord Methuen's advance. General Wauchope, with the Highlanders in close formation, led the way through a dark night. Suddenly, without knowing it, they were on the trenches: a terrific fire mowed down their serried ranks; and, leaving 600 of their number on the ground, including General Wauchope, the brigade retreated from their dreadful situation. When morning came, the British guns took up the fight, and reinforcements of infantry held the Boers in check. The day was fought through with great gallantry, but by evening Lord Methuen had decided that the enemy was too strong to be driven from their position; and at dawn on the following day the British were retreating to the Modder River, having lost nearly a thousand men.

To the disasters of Magersfontein on December 11, and of Colenso on December 15, must now be added the disaster of Stormberg on December 10. General Gatacre, a soldier of great courage and resolution, was en-

**Heavy Losses at
Magersfontein**

to Molteno on the 9th, and detaining there, advanced the same night against the Boers. The column, having lost its way, marched in close formation throughout the hours of darkness ; and at dawn the Boers, entrenched on the hill beside it, swept it with their fire at short range. The British infantry charged up the hill until they were stopped by impassable rocks ; and some, remaining on the hill, were captured ; while others, descending, were rallied and led back to Molteno. Few were killed or wounded, but 600 prisoners and two British guns were left with the enemy.

In every case—in Sir Redvers Buller's advance, and in Lord Methuen's advance, and in General Gatacre's advance—there had been the same indomitable courage on the part of the British soldiers; but there had also been, on the part of the British generals, the same di-astrous errors—the neglect of scouting, the routine adherence to the close formation of troops, and the direct march on to the positions which the enemy had chosen and fortified, instead of an attempt to circumvent them. At Colenso, Buller's Irishmen were sent to a supposed ford of which they could discover no trace; and at Modder River, Magersfontein, and Stormberg the British columns blundered on to the very trenches of the enemy. In each case the rifles of the Boers found the British massed in dense formation, and the tactics of the British generals hardly extended beyond the elementary conception of a frontal attack.

These disasters, which accumulated so rapidly upon the British arms during the Black Week of December 10 to 17, and were recorded hour by hour in the newspapers at home, moved the heart of England profoundly. Few who were of age at that time have forgotten the hours of darkness, or the haunting question that refused to be silenced. Had the moment come at which the power of Britain was to fall? No one could answer it for certain, and it is not known to this day how near the Empire may have been to a far more dreadful conflict than that which was before it.



CHAPTER LXI

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR: SECOND PHASE

A Graphic Chapter Telling how the Tide of Disaster was Successfully Turned, and how Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking were Relieved

THE situation in South Africa alone was bad enough. Three thousand men and twelve guns had been lost; the Boers had been immensely encouraged, and many colonists of the Cape, whose allegiance had till this moment been doubtful, were flocking to their standards. The British arms had failed all along the line. It was an hour of crisis in which the temper of the British people at home and in the dominions beyond the seas was tried to the utmost, and was not found wanting; and this trial of calamity did more to demonstrate and to confirm the unity of the Empire than could have been done by a generation of prosperity and ease. Wherever the Flag of Britain floated there was a single determination, at every cost, to see the matter through.

The British Government took immediate, and, as the event proved, sufficient measures to that end. On December 18, which marked the turn of the British fortunes, they placed Lord Roberts in supreme command in South Africa, associating with him Lord Kitchener, the great organiser of war, as his Chief of Staff, and arranged for immediate and lavish reinforcements to the Army at the front. These included the Seventh Division, amounting to 10,000 men; eleven battalions of Militia, strong bodies of Volunteers and Yeomanry, and considerable additions to heavy artillery. Further, all Army reserves were called out, and an Eighth Division prepared; the colonial offers of further volunteer contingents were accepted, and it was decided to raise a mounted corps in South Africa. There were already nearly 100,000

British soldiers at the front, and it was intended to increase them to something like double the number. The call for volunteers, at home and in the Colonies, was met by a grand response from the youth of these countries.

For some time to come Sir Redvers Buller in the east, General Gatacre in the centre, and Lord Methuen in the west, attempted no further advance, but strengthened themselves in their respective positions and waited for reinforcements. These were not far off, for Sir Charles Warren, with the Fifth Division, was landing at Durban

and proceeding up the railway to Estcourt; and General Kelly-Kenny and the Sixth Division were on transports at sea. And besides these immediate accessions to the forces at the front, vast preparations were being rapidly pressed forward at home.

The chief military operations during the time of waiting were those of the famous cavalry officer, General French, in the Colesberg district, where a considerable body of the enemy had established themselves, having crossed the Orange River at Norval's Pont. General French, who had been sent out of Ladysmith in the last train which got through the Boer lines, was soon in command of a small force at Naauwpoort, whence he moved up to Arundel, drove the Boers from that village, and encamped his men there before the end of the year. This highly mobile force of mounted men ranged widely over the country, and not only prevented any further advance southward on the part of the enemy, but succeeded in enclosing his front and in pressing him back upon Colesberg, a small town lying among abrupt hills or kopjes.



THE STRATEGIC RETREAT OVER THE TUGELA

General Buller's last, and successful, move in the campaign for the relief of Ladysmith was a flanking operation which involved re-crossing the Tugela, apparently a retreat, but in reality an enveloping movement which compelled the retreat of the Boers investing Ladysmith. Inset is a portrait of General Buller.



KING EDWARD VII. DISTRIBUTING SOUTH AFRICAN WAR MEDALS
Reproduced from the painting by Ernest Crofts, R.A., by permission of the Berlin Photographic Company, New Bond Street, London W.

Here, on January 1, French made a vigorous attack on the front and both flanks of the Boer position, but without driving them from it; and on the 4th, both armies having in the meantime received reinforcements, he won a decided victory against a strong Boer force which had circumvented his position in the night, and had established themselves behind it. But a night attack by the British upon a hill dominating Colesberg was less fortunate. The enemy were quite prepared for the intended surprise, and received the four companies which were ascending the hill with a hot fire; many were killed, and the survivors lay on the ground, unable to advance or retreat, until morning left them no alternative but surrender.

From this time General French extended his lines steadily in a north-eastward direction, with a view to outflanking the left of the Boer position, and the enemy in their turn extended in order to defeat his design. The opposing forces came to extend, by the end of January, over a curved line fifty miles in length; General French, now with 10,000 men, being on the outer side, and the Boers on the inner side of the curve. No considerable engagements, but many isolated skirmishes, took place over this vast area. Neither side could be said to have the better of the struggle; but in the end General French had failed to envelop the Boer left, and the enemy, under Delarey, seemed likely to succeed in turning the British right. Under these circumstances General Clements, who had succeeded French in the command of this force, concentrated his men, by a masterly retreat, upon Arundel, where they arrived in mid-February, having succeeded in stemming the southward advance of the Boers through Cape Colony. Incidentally, General French's operations in the Colesberg district had demonstrated the great superiority of mounted troops over infantry in this warfare of the veldt, and the volunteer horsemen from the Australian colonies had shown grand qualities as fighting men.

In the meantime, reinforcements were arriving at the seat of war in the east and in the west. Early in January, Buller found himself in command of over thirty thousand men, and his strength in artillery had been greatly increased. Lord Methuen, who had fortified himself strongly at the Modder River, had been joined by General Hector Macdonald, and had received strong reinforcements. Finally, the arrival of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener at the front had put new confidence into every British soldier in South Africa.

Buller's Stratagem at the Tugela

Sir Redvers Buller's first advance to the relief of Ladysmith had involved a frontal attack upon the Boer position at Colenso, in which he had suffered defeat in the battle of that name. His second advance, begun on January 10, 1900, consisted of an attempt to pass westward round the right flank of their defences. His moving force numbered 10,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 60 guns, some of which were powerful and of long range.

By an ingenious stratagem Buller succeeded in crossing the River Tugela. Making a strong demonstration at

Potgieter's Drift, a ford sixteen miles west of Colenso, as if he meant to cross there, his army was enabled actually to cross the river by a pontoon bridge at another ford five miles further to the west. On January 18, Buller was on the Ladysmith side of the river; but between him and the beleaguered town were high hills defended by the enemy and crowned by the peak known as Spion Kop.

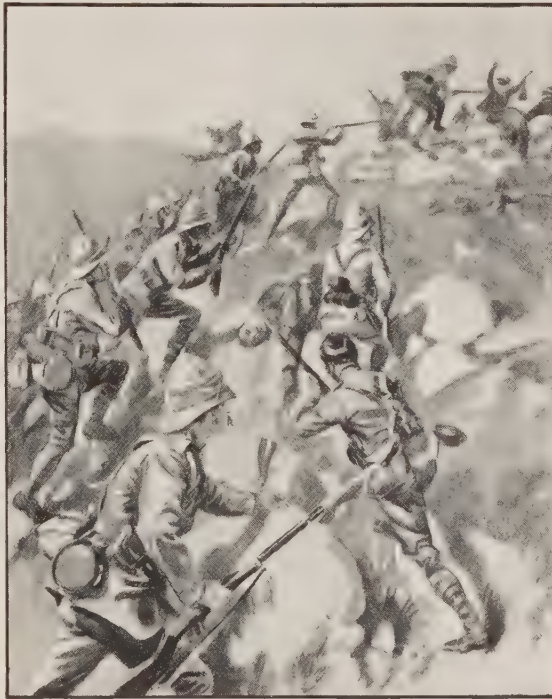
For three days the British soldiers fought their way slowly forward, driving the Boers from one ridge after another, and on January 22 it was decided to seize Spion Kop, which dominated the Boer positions on either side of it. The same night the peak was climbed and occupied by a force under General Woodgate. It was the highest end of a very narrow, undulating ridge, strongly defended by the Boers; the British soldiers were crowded together upon the summit, with very little cover, and throughout the next day they were exposed to a devastating fire of shells from Boer guns. General Woodgate fell, and Colonel Thorneycroft was appointed to the command. A reinforcement of 3,000 men was sent up, with the sole result of crowding the summit yet further and of adding to the casualties. The situation seemed a hopeless one, and that night Colonel Thorneycroft brought the survivors down the hill, leaving 1,300 dead and dying behind him. Boer scouts having found the ridge deserted, Spion Kop was occupied by the enemy before morning; and four days later, General Buller, having lost 2,000 men, had crossed again to the wrong side of the Tugela river.

His next attempt was to pass to the east of Spion Kop, and hold a lower hill, known as Vaalkranz, from which he might cover the advance of his army towards Ladysmith. The river was again crossed, Vaalkranz was duly taken, but Lyttleton's Brigade, upon its summit, was helplessly exposed, like Thorneycroft's men on Spion Kop, to the incessant shells of the enemy. General Buller came to the conclusion that the Boers were too strong for him here

also, and retired for a third time in order to make his last and successful advance upon Ladysmith.

This time a new route was chosen, to the eastward, and round the left flank of the Boer position. This flank extended to the east of Colenso as far as Cingolo Hill, which it was Buller's design to capture, making an ostentatious frontal assault with his artillery on the trenches of Hlangwane Hill. It will be seen that all this left flank of the Boers was on the south side of the river, so that a retreat on their part would be greatly encumbered, and reinforcements would not so easily be sent to them.

The days from February 9 to 15 were occupied in moving the army eastward to Hussar Hill, an eminence three miles south-east of Colenso, and here the guns were placed threatening the defences of the Boers on Hlangwane Hill. From this point, early in the morning of the 17th, a strong force of horse and foot were sent out by a detour to the right to capture Cingolo Hill, which they succeeded in doing before nightfall. This operation was followed up next day



THE TRAGEDY OF THE SPION KOP VICTORY

The Dublin Fusiliers rushing the Boer trenches at Spion Kop, near Ladysmith, on the bitter day when the British won the Kop, and afterwards abandoned it.

with great energy by Hildyard's Brigade, who seized the crest of Monte Christo, and by General Buller with Barton's Brigade, who captured Hlangwane Hill, so that the entire left flank of the Boer position, south of the river, had fallen into the hands of the British. The town of Colenso was occupied by General Hart, and on February 21 General Buller began to move his army across the river by a pontoon bridge at Colenso.

The Boers on the Defensive

Then followed two days of stubborn fighting on both sides, during which the Boers were gradually beaten back from hill to hill, until the British advance was held back by Pieter's Hill, a more formidable obstacle, on the evening of the 22nd. General Hart and his Irish Brigade led the advance, the gallant Irishmen rushing the Boer trenches above them until they were forced to retreat some way down the hill, leaving more than half their number dead and wounded. Reinforced from below, they held the side of the hill below the trenches throughout the 23rd and 24th. It was plain to General Buller that to break through this defence, if not impossible, was at least too costly in the lives of his men, and while General Hart continued to engage the Boer defence, Buller withdrew his main force across the river, and then crossed it again northward further to the east, thus outflanking the left of the Boer position.

On the morning of the 27th, General Hart and his Irishmen still holding the slopes of Pieter's Hill, with the Boer defence above them, General Buller's main force advanced against the Boers from their left. To drive them from their position it was necessary to take three hills, the westernmost being that upon which they were resisting the direct advance of Hart's Brigade. The first of these was early captured by Barton's Fusilier Brigade, under cover of a heavy shell fire from the British guns; and before nightfall the Boers had been driven from the second hill also, and were no longer able to defend the third. Having passed the obstacle of Pieter's Hill, General Buller's force made their way, unopposed, into Ladysmith on March 3.

Kimberley had been cut off from communication with the outer world from the earliest days of the siege. The diminution of the food supply was the most serious danger with which Colonel Kekewich's garrison had to reckon, but the inhabitants were put upon short rations, and the food sufficed to maintain them until relief came on February 15. Of actual fighting there was very little, the chief event being a gallant sortie made on November 25, in which a Boer redoubt was assaulted and thirty-three prisoners were brought into the town. The bombardment of the town by the Boer guns, though heavy, did no considerable damage to life; and in the last days of the siege, when a heavy Creusot gun played upon the streets and houses, the women and children were placed in safety far below the surface, in the diamond mines. The garrison's artillery was of too short range to trouble the enemy, until the workmen of the

De Beers Company, under the direction of an American engineer, succeeded in building a powerful gun which threw 28-lb. shells into the Boer lines.

The relief of Kimberley, which had been the object of Methuen's advance to Magersfontein, was at last effected by General French. The new advance was made under the immediate direction of Lord Roberts, who, with Lord Kitchener, had come to Lord Methuen's camp at Modder River, in order to study the problem presented by Cronje's formidable resistance. It was decided to make a demonstration in force upon the Boer right—that is, upon the west, but that the main assault should be made on the enemy's left flank, on the east, as soon as his attention should be concentrated upon his right.

In pursuance of these tactics, General Hector Macdonald, with the Highland Brigade, supported by cavalry and artillery, left the Modder River camp on February 3, and passing down the left bank of the river, seized the ford of

Koodoos Drift, and sent a detachment across to occupy and defend the Koodoosberg, on the north side of the river. This manœuvre, as was intended, drew the Boers, who attacked the ridge on the 7th. The action was indecisive, but it had served its purpose, and on the 9th Macdonald and his Highlanders were back in Lord Methuen's camp.

Meanwhile, Lord Roberts, with a view to further deception of the enemy, had moved his army southward along the railway to Enslin and Belmont; and with new reinforcements assembled a swift and powerful striking force of five thousand mounted men, accompanied by artillery, and commanded by the redoubtable General French.

Long before dawn on February 12 this relief column set out from Ramdam, bearing eastward to Waterval Drift on the Riet River, a tributary of the Modder. Finding the ford defended by a Boer force, French effected a crossing at another ford, Dekiel's Drift, further up stream, while Waterval Drift was being contested by a detachment of his force; and coming down along the

northern bank of the river, fell on the left flank of the Boers and compelled their retreat. The relief column established itself on the north bank of the Riet River, on the first day of its march, and on the following morning, February 13, set out on a thirty miles march to the Modder River.

The great speed with which the column travelled over the parched and dusty veldt under a blazing sun brought them to Klip Drift, where they were to cross the Modder, before the Boers had time to concentrate upon the ford and defend it.

The crafty enemy had found in the veteran Roberts craft superior to his own. On Monday morning all that was known was that Lord Roberts had moved his force southward, although Methuen still threatened the front of Magersfontein; and that, if one might judge by Macdonald's attack on Koodoosberg of the previous



THE RELIEF OF LADYSMITH BY GENERAL BULLER

After a fierce siege of four months, during which the garrison was reduced to sore straits, Ladysmith was relieved by the success of General Buller's flank attack across the Tugela River on the Boer position. This picture shows the meeting of the relievers and the besieged, a photograph of Sir George White being inset.

The Chase after Cronje



TRAPPING CRONJE: THE CANADIANS CROSSING PAARDEBERG DRIFT ON THE MODDER

Wednesday, the British assault was to be made on the extreme right of the Boer position, nearly thirty miles west of its centre at Magersfontein. Yet here was French, with his five thousand horse, holding on Tuesday, a ford on the Modder River, twenty-five miles east of Magersfontein, and quite outflanking the extreme left of the Boer position. There was indeed a small force of Boers at Klip Drift, but the whirlwind of the Lancers scattered them, and through the night of Tuesday, the 13th, the relief column passed over the river to its northern bank, being now only forty miles from Kimberley.

General French had already really won the race, though the Boers laboured throughout Wednesday, the 14th, to establish some further opposition to his advance. On that day the British infantry arrived to secure the ford, and on the next morning French and his horsemen started for Kimberley. They soon arrived at the Boer position; the enemy occupied, with rifles and artillery, the sides of two hills between which the column must pass. The horsemen, widely spread in open order, galloped through the ordeal with inconsiderable loss, and pressed their spent horses, often walking and leading them, across the plain throughout the afternoon. The Boers investing the town scattered at the sight of them, and on the same evening General French rode into Kimberley.

The cavalry dash to Kimberley was only part of a much larger strategical conception. On the 13th, the day after French started from Ramdam to raise the siege, two infantry divisions, under Kelly-Kenny and Colville, set out to hold Klip Drift, while a third division under Tucker passed north-westward along the Riet River to capture the town of Jacobsdal, which they succeeded in doing with small loss on the 15th. Lord Roberts, after leaving considerable reinforcements with Lord Methuen in front of Cronje's lines, was moving with his force of 25,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry to cut off the Boer

general at Magersfontein from his communications with Bloemfontein. In fact, on February 15 that operation was nearly complete, so suddenly and overwhelmingly had Roberts thrown his army round the Boer left. But there remained, on that night, just a possibility for Cronje to escape from the trap, and he took it. Abandoning his tremendous Magersfontein defences, he rushed his entire force, with their guns and waggons, through the aperture still left between Lord Kitchener's infantry at Klip Drift and French's cavalry at Kimberley. On the morning of the 16th he was seen, with his 6,000 horsemen and his huge train of waggons, crossing the veldt eastward, on the north of the Modder River.

Hannay's mounted infantry were sent in immediate pursuit, while Knox's Brigade hurried along the north bank of the river, and all that day Cronje fought a rear-

guard action, still continuing his flight. The Modder River lay between him and Bloemfontein, and he was working up the right side of the river, making for any ford by which he might cross; the British, on the other hand, were working up the south or left bank, establishing themselves in force at every one of these fords. On the night of the 16th the Boers rested near the Klipkraal Drift, and set off before dawn for a distant ford, Wolfeskraal Drift, abandoning many of their waggons.

But General French had got there just before them. Receiving at Kimberley, the evening before, an order to head off Cronje's flight, he had ridden through the night with nearly two thousand of his cavalry force (for the rest of his horses were now unfit), and seized Wolfeskraal Drift at noon of the 17th just as Cronje was descending upon it. The Boers then took up their position along the north bank of the river above Paardeberg Drift, a ford further down the river than Wolfeskraal Drift, but now, of course, strongly defended by the British. On that night of the



CRONJE'S MEN MARCHED AWAY CAPTIVES AFTER THE BATTLE OF PAARDEBERG

The last days of February, 1900, definitely decided the British supremacy in the theatres of war. The Boers investing Ladysmith were ousted from their position, and General Cronje, whose portrait is inset above, entrapped at Paardeberg



A SHARP ENCOUNTER ON THE ROAD TO BLOEMFONTEIN: THE BATTLE OF ROOI KOP

Marching towards Bloemfontein, General French, on the morning of April 24, found the enemy holding a line of kopjes commanding the Dewetsdorp road. A sharp encounter resulted, and in about an hour the Boers were dislodged from their position and in full retreat across the plain.

From a drawing by A. Pearce

17th Cronje was completely surrounded by a vastly superior force, and escape was out of the question.

Here, entrenched on the river bank at Paardeberg, he was attacked on all sides throughout the 18th, and stubbornly defended himself; and the action, which in the opinion of many competent judges was a needless one, resulted in eleven hundred British casualties. On the

19th Lord Roberts arrived with large reinforcements of men and artillery, and day after day Cronje's position was subjected to continuous shell fire from sixty guns.

Boer commandoes, gathering from distant parts for the relief of Cronje, were repelled separately; the situation of the gallant little Boer army became, even to themselves, absolutely hopeless, and on the morning of the 27th, after a night attack by the British, the flag of surrender went up, and Cronje and over four thousand Boers were sent off as British prisoners to Cape Town. Fourteen days after Lord Roberts had set his army in motion he had changed the whole aspect of the war.

As a result of this rapid and dramatic success of the British arms, the Presidents of the Orange Free State and of the South African Republic addressed a joint note, dated Bloemfontein, March 5, 1900, to Lord Salisbury; setting forth their object in continuing the war—namely, "to secure and safeguard the incontestable independence of both Republics as sovereign international States, and to obtain the assurance that those of her Majesty's subjects who have taken part with us in this war shall suffer no harm whatsoever in person or property." These conditions granted, the Boer Presidents professed themselves, as may well be believed, ready to make peace. Obviously, as Lord Salisbury's reply of March 11 pointed out, the conditions proposed by Kruger and Steyn were quite out of the question. It was precisely in order to do away with the independence of the two Republics that Britain was fighting; since acquiescence in their independence had brought about the Boer invasion of British territory, and consequently the war which was now in progress.

On March 6 Lord Roberts set out from Paardeberg for Bloemfontein, and just a week later entered the capital of the Orange Free State. But the advance was not unopposed. The commandoes which had come up to help Cronje were now united under De Wet, and inspired by the presence of Presidents Steyn and Kruger; and the actions of Poplar's Grove, on the 7th, and Driefontein, on the 10th, had to be fought before the way was clear to the city. Having reached Bloemfontein, Lord Roberts waited there for six weeks, refreshing and refitting his army, while his medical service battled with a terrific outbreak of enteric fever, which killed over a thousand and wasted the strength of several thousands more.

On May 1, 1900, Lord Roberts left Bloemfontein, and entered Pretoria on June 5. While he was effecting this movement, Mafeking, besieged since the beginning of the war, was relieved on May 17. The spirited defence of the little town by Colonel Baden-Powell and his garrison of a thousand men had lasted over seven months.

The siege was at last raised by the conjoined forces of Colonel Plumer, at the head of the Rhodesian column, who had been working southward along the railway from the north, and of Colonel Mahon, who had led a detachment of cavalry northward from Kimberley. The two columns met at Masibi Stadt, a village twenty miles west of Mafeking, on May 15; and after considerable resistance from the

Mafeking at last Relieved

Boers investing the town they succeeded two days later, with the assistance of a sortie by Baden-Powell, in breaking through the enemy's lines. The Boers thereupon abandoned the siege and retreated towards Pretoria. The relief of Mafeking was welcomed throughout the British Empire with enormous enthusiasm, aroused not so much by the strategical significance of the event as by the plucky and sporting character of the defence which preceded it.

The swift advance which Lord Roberts had made upon Bloemfontein, involving the defeat of Cronje and the relief of Kimberley, had sapped the strength of the opposition

which the Boers were able to offer to Generals Gatacre and Clements in Cape Colony and to General Buller in Natal. The British forces in the south were therefore able to press northward, crossing the Orange River, and thus invading the Orange Free State; and Sir Redvers Buller also moved northward towards the frontier of Natal.

The great advance on Pretoria from Bloemfontein was begun on May 1, and on June 5 Lord Roberts rode into the Transvaal capital. The march was a complex military operation, extending over a front varying from ten to fifty miles wide, and carried out, especially in its earlier stages, through considerable opposition. But it was becoming evident that a large proportion of the burghers had lost heart for so unequal a contest, and again and again the battle which seemed to be offered resolved itself into irregular skirmishes, as the broad wave of 45,000 rolled by. On May 12, at Kroonstad, where a halt of a week was made to await supplies; on May 31, after the battle of Doornkop, at Johannesburg, where Lord Roberts halted for two days; on June 5, with only half-hearted opposition, at Pretoria—all through the march overwhelming force, organisation, and inerrant tactics took the perfect place of the deadly engagements of earlier periods of the war.

The Orange Free State had already become, by proclamation, the Orange River Colony, and the British flag was now raised over the city of Pretoria. The British prisoners—over 3,000 soldiers and 129 officers—were released, and were found to have been well treated by the Boers. President Kruger had fled, carrying with him an enormous fortune amassed by the taxation of the Uitlanders in the old bad days.

The British Flag Waving at Pretoria Lord Roberts established himself in Pretoria, whence, with Lord Kitchener, he now directed the further operations of the war.

Meanwhile, Buller fought his way northward through Natal, through the redoubtable Laing's Nek, and into the Transvaal, where he camped at Standerton; and Lord Methuen, having come east from the neighbourhood of Kimberley, defended the communications between Cape Town and Pretoria in the northern parts of the Orange River Colony from the attacks of De Wet, who had already made a name for almost superhuman dash and enterprise. An elaborately concerted attempt to catch him in the

district about Bethlehem, in the east of the colony, was eluded by De Wet, but resulted in the surrender, on July 29, of the Boer commandant Prinsloo, with over 4,000 men. The first effect of this heavy blow was the opening to Lord Roberts of the railway from Pretoria to the port of Durban, which gave him not only an alternative but also a far shorter line of communication to the coast.

There remained only one more railway line from Pretoria, that, namely, to Lourenço Marques on Delagoa Bay, which crossed the Transvaal frontier at Komatipoort, and was now the seat of the chief Boer force, under Botha. The fall of the Boer power would be complete if this army were driven away from its line of rails and harried into the mountainous region north of the Crocodile River. There would remain, then, if any resistance at all should follow, only a broken, sporadic, fugitive resistance. But Botha's force was still compact, full of fight, and in possession of a railway through which it could draw supplies and menace Pretoria. It was on this final task that Lord Roberts entered at the beginning of July, 1900.

With Buller and his Natal troops advancing north-eastward, through Ermelo and Carolina, against the south of the railway, and French and his cavalry working eastward from Middelburg, Pole-Carew advanced along the line to Belfast, east of which town the Boers had fortified a very strong position in the hills. When all was ready for an organised attack, Lord Roberts came down from Pretoria on August 25, and after two days of fighting the Boers abandoned their defences and retreated eastward to Barberton and northward to Lydenburg. They were pursued, and routed out from their retreats; and on September 24 Pole-Carew arrived at Komatipoort, the frontier town of the railway, and occupied it, the last defenders having travelled down through Portuguese territory to the coast, where the refugee president, Paul Kruger, had arrived on September 11 to take ship for Europe.

The Boer power had fallen. Their last organised resistance had been swept over the frontier. Lord Roberts had published, on September 1, the proclamation by which the Transvaal became a colony under the British Crown; and the Transvaal and Orange River Colony alike were under effective occupation by the British Army.



LORD ROBERTS AND HIS ARMY CROSSING THE VAAL RIVER ON THE WAY TO PRETORIA



CHAPTER LXII

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR: THIRD & LAST PHASE

The Prolonged Guerilla Struggle that Preceded the Ultimate Submission of the Boers, and the Conditions of the Peace Treaty



WHEN the Boers had been driven from Komati-poort, the eastern frontier town of the Transvaal, on September 24, 1900, the South African War was really at an end, in the sense that the most irreconcilable of Britain's enemies could no longer doubt of the final issue. The power of the Boers was utterly broken, their hopes were quite dead, and the might, the unity, and the determination of the British Empire had been fully vindicated. Yet the actual end was not to come for eighteen months more. The obstinate resistance of the Boers was continued, under desperate and able leaders, in a hopeless guerilla warfare, which served no purpose except to inflict yet further injuries upon this devastated land. From September, 1900, till the end of March, 1902, when at last the negotiations for peace were seriously entered upon, the swiftly moving bands under De Wet, Delarey, Botha, and other commanders gave the British arms a world of trouble. And as the conflict became more irregular, more tedious, more vexatious, it also became sterner and more bitter. It was during this period that the harsh, and perhaps regrettable, policy was begun, of burning down Boer homesteads which had afforded cover to the enemy's riflemen. The British troops were exasperated by the perfidy of Boers who had been granted liberty on their promise to take no further part in the war, yet at the first opportunity took up arms again. They were weary of the interminable and inglorious labour of hunting down small parties of the enemy, searching for hidden weapons, and of doing police work rather than soldiers' work. The guerilla warfare was far more trying to the British forces than the first phase, of disaster, and the second phase, of victory, had been; but by much experience officers and men alike were now individually a match for the Boers. They had learned every lesson that the farmer-horsemen of the veldt had to teach them.

On leaving the command to Lord Kitchener, in December, 1900, in order to return to England to take the office of Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts gave splendid testimony to the qualities which the British soldiers had shown. "For months together," he said, addressing them, "in fierce heat, in biting cold, in pouring rain, you, my comrades, have marched and fought without halt, and bivouacked without shelter from the elements. You frequently have had to continue marching with your clothes in rags and your boots without soles, time being of such consequence that it was impossible for you to remain long enough in one place to refit. When not engaged in actual

battle you have been continually shot at from behind kopjes by invisible enemies to whom every inch of the country was familiar, and who, from the peculiar nature of the country, were able to inflict severe punishment while perfectly safe themselves. You have forced your way through dense jungles, over precipitous mountains, through and over which you have had to drag heavy guns and ox-waggons. You have covered with almost incredible speed enormous distances, and that often on very short supplies of food. You have endured the sufferings inevitable in war to sick and wounded men far from the base, without a murmur and even with cheerfulness." These admirable qualities continued to be shown to the end of the war.

The Elusive Christian de Wet

Christian de Wet, who had escaped at the time when Prinsloo surrendered in July, and had been driven across the River Vaal by Lord Kitchener in August, had since then been recruiting in the north of the Orange River Colony, where he assembled a body of 2,000 men. Striking northward in October, he came into touch with General Barton's column, who were defending the railway line which runs south-westward from Johannesburg to Krugersdorp and Klerksdorp. Defeated here, he turned south again, and was closely pursued across the Vaal, abandoning two of his guns. On November 6 his force was surprised in the early morning near Bothaville, and escaped with the loss of their guns and waggons. On the 18th he attacked a British garrison at the village of Dewetsdorp, which surrendered through lack of water on the 24th, and on the following day De Wet started southward with the intention of invading Cape Colony. With General Knox pursuing him, he reached the Orange River on December 6, but found the river in flood and British troops prepared to oppose him. He then turned north, still closely pursued, past Rouxville, Helvetia, and Reddersberg, to Dewetsdorp, and at last escaped, on December 13, by galloping his force through the pass of Springhaan Nek under British fire on both sides. Once through the pass, he was safe in the highlands on the border of Basutoland.

The situation in the north of Cape Colony was very critical at the end of the year 1900, and it is fortunate that De Wet failed to cross the frontier. The colonists who were in sympathy with the Afrikaner Bond were exasperated by the British annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, and still more by the reports of atrocities on the part of British troops; and small bodies of Boers, favoured by the inhabitants, gave a great deal of trouble throughout this region until the close of the war. Martial law was proclaimed by Lord Kitchener in the



THE ANNEXATION OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE: HOISTING THE ROYAL STANDARD AT BLOEMFONTEIN

The historic event illustrated above took place on Monday, May 28, 1900. Under General Kelly-Kenny, the men of the Sixth Division were formed up in Market Square, Bloemfontein, and General Pretymann, the Military Governor, read the Proclamation annexing the Orange Free State and declaring it to be British territory, under the name of the Orange River Colony. Lord Acheson hoisted the Royal Standard, and as he unfurled it the National Anthem was sung, after which cheers were given for the Queen, Lord Roberts, and the British Army.

disaffected regions, and loyal Cape colonists, to the number of over 20,000, were armed for the defence of their own homes and of the British cause.

De Wet soon made another attempt to pass southward into Cape Colony, and was successful this time, though he was kept so quickly moving that he was unable to do mischief. Crossing the Orange River into Cape Colony on February 11, 1901, he was harried by several columns directed by General Lyttleton, Colonel Plumer's column keeping continuously at his heels, and soon De Wet's only anxiety was to recross the frontier northward. He lost many men by desertion and as prisoners, and had to abandon his waggons and reserves of ammunition. His horses, too, were failing daily, and on February 28, when the flooded Orange River subsided and allowed him to ford it, the last of his guns was captured. The lightning expedition was a total failure, and De Wet was chased to the Modder River.

It is impossible even briefly to record all the many fragmentary episodes of the long-drawn-out guerilla struggle. De Wet was only one, though by far the most dramatic of several crafty and intrepid patriot leaders, who were soon troubled as much by desertions from their hopeless cause as they were by the uncompromising measures which Lord Kitchener took for the pacification of the country. In December, 1900, the British commander instituted refugee camps at many points for the reception of the many Boers who wished nothing more than to give up the fight, but who dared not do so for fear of their more stout-hearted or obstinate compatriots. His proclamation was to the effect that "all burghers who voluntarily surrender will be allowed to live with their families in Government laagers until such time as the guerilla warfare now being carried on will admit of their returning safely to their homes." These concentration camps soon contained 50,000 men, women, and children, who were well fed and cared for, and all stock and other property which they brought with them was respected. But, in the majority of cases, only the helpless members of the family were in the camp; the father and adult sons were out fighting.

In February, 1901, Lord Kitchener attempted to bring the war to an end by arranging terms of peace with the Boers, and at his request the Boer General, Louis Botha, came to see him at Middelburg. The terms which he offered were of the most liberal kind; indeed, he offered everything except the absolute independence of the old Republics. That, however, and nothing short of it, was what the Boers wanted and were still prepared to fight for, and Botha's reply to a letter from Lord Kitchener con-

firmed his proposals, was such as to close the negotiations. Having failed to secure peace, Lord Kitchener now undertook military operations of an extremely thorough and searching kind. The only way to deal with these scattered and fluid forces of desperate men was absolutely to sweep the whole length and breadth of their country, and to make them prisoners or drive them over the frontier; and the difficulty of this undertaking was proportionate to the enormous area to be cleared.

These great "drives," begun in January, 1901, and continuing until the cessation of hostilities in March, 1902, achieved their object.

The barest enumeration of the many engagements which took place with the enemy, in which extraordinary resource, determination, and courage were shown on both sides, would occupy far more space than can be given to it here. The Boers were continually harassed and their resistance worn down, and every week added to the number of the prisoners in the hands of the British Army.

Towards the end of March, 1902, the Boers wisely came to the conclusion that the hopeless contest had gone on long enough, and their representatives sought an interview with Lord Kitchener for the discussion of terms of surrender. Many conferences were held, and then, on April 18, the delegates returned to the burghers in the field to report on the negotiations. A final conference of Boers representing their various commandos was held on May 15 at Vereeniging, and after debate the conference agreed to accept Lord Kitchener's terms.

These were to the effect that all the former subjects of the two Republics should lay down their arms and give allegiance as subjects of the British Crown; that all prisoners taking the oath of allegiance should be liberated; that a general amnesty should be granted, with some special exceptions; that the rebels of Cape Colony should be disfranchised and their leaders be tried, but without danger of the penalty of death; that self-government should be given to the new colonies as early as possible; that the Dutch language should be permitted in courts of law and in schools; that the natives should not receive the franchise until self-government had been granted; that no special land tax should be imposed; that assistance should be given in settling the population again on their farms, and a grant of three millions sterling should be made to set the farmers on their feet again; and that the possession of rifles should be permitted if these were registered. The treaty of peace was signed at Pretoria on May 31, 1902. Twenty thousand Boers thereupon surrendered and took the oath of allegiance, and the South African War, which had cost 20,000 British lives, and £200,000,000 of treasure, was at an end.



KING EDWARD'S WELCOME HOME TO LORD ROBERTS

On his return to England, after his succession of victories in South Africa, Lord Roberts was met at Paddington Station by King Edward, then the Prince of Wales, from whom he received a cordial welcome.

The Treaty of Peace



BACK FROM THE WAR: LONDON'S WELCOME TO THE CITY IMPERIAL VOLUNTEERS

Drawn from no fewer than fifty-three Volunteer battalions, the C.I.V.'s rendered yeoman service in the South African War, and their return to London, in October, 1900, was made the occasion of a great public welcome. As they marched through the City they were greeted with boisterous enthusiasm by the citizens who packed the streets. The Prince of Wales witnessed from Marlborough House their entry into London—an incident represented in the above illustration

Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.



CHAPTER LXIII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE FROM 1895 TILL 1900

Being a Detailed Record of Political Events at Home, together
with a Graphic Account of Frontier and Other Troubles in India

THE General Election which followed immediately on the resignation of Lord Rosebery's Ministry brought the Unionists back to Parliament with a solid majority of 150. All idea of a possible Liberal reunion had vanished completely, and Unionists now formed a single party under that name. Political nomenclature always has a certain interest; and it is observable that whereas now the Ministerialists called themselves Unionists while they applied to their opponents in general the term Radical or Separatist, the Opposition was officially divided into the Liberal and Nationalist parties who, with increasing unanimity, habitually referred to all supporters of the Government as Tories.

The group who had been called Liberal Unionists were powerfully represented in the new Administration: the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord James in the House of Lords, and Mr. Goschen and Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons. In the Lower House the leadership remained with Mr. Arthur Balfour; and Lord Salisbury once more combined the office of Foreign Secretary with the Premiership. The Government was fortunate in the possession of a larger majority than had been known in Parliament for half a century. For they had come into office at a moment when innumerable difficulties were waiting to be faced. With a somewhat audacious optimism Mr. Curzon had invited the public to believe that troubles with foreign Powers were entirely due to the inefficiency of Liberal Ministries and the contempt in which they were held by foreign chancelleries. Events were to prove that there was no particular difference

in the attitude of foreign Powers towards the British Empire whether Lord Salisbury or Lord Rosebery was in office. Dr. Jameson was on the verge of perpetrating his unfortunate raid, which was to produce from the German Kaiser a telegram that could hardly have shown less consideration for British feelings if Mr. Gladstone himself had been at the head of the British Government. Six months after taking office, Lord Salisbury concluded a sensible arrangement with France regarding Siam; but it was not one which could be regarded as pointing to a recognition by France that her claims need be affected by the changes at Downing Street. As concerned the Eastern Question, Lord Salisbury's policy did not vary

from that of Lord Kimberley and Lord Rosebery; nor was there any visible difference in the resolution with which they pursued their ends. Indeed, the chief change in the British attitude lay in the fact that a large proportion of the Liberal, not of the Unionist, party demanded a more vigorous assertion of British views than was actually forthcoming or than would have been forthcoming whatever Ministry had been in power.

There was, indeed, a considerable inclination to charge Lord Salisbury with over-readiness to surrender British interests and to minimise British demands, which was curiously inconsistent with the efforts made in some quarters to claim for one party a monopoly of patriotic firmness. Those leaders of both parties who were responsible for their respective attitudes on foreign affairs were in practical agreement both as to policy and methods, and were wisely determined to recognise the principle of continuity and to keep international questions as far



QUEEN ALEXANDRA, WITH HER GRANDSON PRINCE EDWARD OF WALES, IN 1900

From a photograph by Chancellor.

as possible outside the arena of party politics. The principal difference was that the Conservative Foreign Minister could afford to be somewhat more conciliatory and somewhat less self-assertive than a Liberal Minister, because concessions made by him would be exposed to less virulent criticism, and be less liable to misconstruction.

On the other hand, if Lord Salisbury disappointed some of his followers and some of his opponents by adopting a less combative attitude than they would have desired, any defects in this direction were compensated by the uncompromising energy of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, whose dealings with the South African problem have already been related. Mr. Chamberlain signalled his accession to office by his vigorous dealing with the King of Ashanti during the months which intervened before the Ministry met the newly-elected Parliament. King Prempeh persisted in sundry ultra-barbarous practices which could not continue to be tolerated by his civilised neighbours; moreover, his tone towards the British Government was one of defiance. Consequently, he received an ultimatum requiring him to submit to a British Protectorate. He ignored the ultimatum; an expedition was promptly despatched which seized Kumasi; the King was deposed, Ashanti was annexed, and at Kumasi a garrison was left in charge.

The Government were scarcely embarrassed by the failure of their foreign relations to adapt themselves to Mr. Curzon's prophecies. But their domestic programme presented difficulties. Party programmes, when there is no one dominating issue at stake, are apt to be extremely inclusive; to make promises or half promises intended to conciliate or to attract to their own side every interest which is expected to control a substantial number of votes. The General Election had not been fought on any specific issue, except so far as it was intended to endorse the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the Home Rule Bill. The force of Mr. Gladstone's personality had held the Liberals together, and had forced them to concentrate on one great idea; his personality being withdrawn, the concentration had disappeared. Home Rule itself was not a subject on which it was possible to excite enthusiasm in England; such enthusiasm as there had been was rather for the leader than for the cause. The Unionists, on the other hand, made a direct appeal for the ejection from office of a party pledged to Home Rule.

But a merely negative programme had not satisfied them; and many half promises had been given to which it was by no means easy to give immediate effect. They had to prove themselves the true friends of the working man, of the agricultural interest, and of the Church, and the exponents of educational reform. Also, they had to prove

that the Irish demand for Home Rule was without justification. Also, they found themselves anxious to counteract the powers, created by themselves a few years before, of the London County Council; which was displaying somewhat alarming progressive tendencies, in curious contrast to the views of London's Parliamentary representatives.

For the session of 1896 two Bills occupied the field; one for the relief of agriculture, the other for Educational Reform. It was much to the advantage of the Government that it enjoyed a large and increasing revenue, so that it was comparatively easy to allocate substantial sums for such reforms as it proposed. Agriculture, then, was to be relieved by the Agricultural Rating Bill. In effect, this was a grant of a million from the Exchequer in aid of agricultural rates. In theory, this was to be for the benefit of the agricultural labourer; in practice, it appeared to have the effect prophesied by the Opposition of putting substantial sums into the pockets of substantial ratepayers in agricultural districts without appreciably benefiting the agricultural

labourer. The measure, on the whole, was either approved as an act of justice towards a class on whom the State was in the habit of making excessive demands, or was condemned as a dole to a class which was bearing far less than its due share of the financial burdens of the State, according to the personal bias of the critic. The Bill was duly passed, to be in operation for a period of five years.

In their Education Bill, introduced by Sir John Gorst, who had been a colleague of Lord Randolph Churchill in the



THE INDIAN FRONTIER RISING: PEACE OR WAR?

From time to time the British Government has been faced with trouble on the frontiers of the great Empire in the East, and in 1897 another rising occurred. In the above illustration there is seen a "Jirga," or council, of the leading men of a clan who settle the business of the country and decide for peace or war.

From photograph by Mr. F. St. John Gore.

days of the Fourth Party, the Government endeavoured to include such a vast amount of contentious matter that it ultimately found itself obliged to withdraw the Bill. The primary intention was to give assistance to the denominational schools which were not maintained by the State, but were dependent for the most part on voluntary contributions. These schools necessarily found a difficulty, for financial reasons, in maintaining a standard of efficiency equal to that of the Board schools which were maintained by public funds. This question by itself provided an ample field for controversy. On the one side, there was the cry of the clergy that only in schools controlled by the clergy could proper religious education be obtained for Church of England families. If these schools did not receive aid, they would necessarily perish, and there would be no religious education except of that undenominational type recognised in the Board schools; which, in the eyes of a large section of Churchmen, was in effect antagonistic to Anglican doctrine. On the other side, there was the cry, not restricted to actual Nonconformists, that no portion of the public funds ought to be appropriated to the dissemination of sectarian doctrine; and that, in any case,

the appropriation of public money ought to carry with it public control. Any proposal for giving substantial pecuniary assistance to voluntary schools was bound to arouse angry controversy; apart from the unlimited field of discussion opened up for all those who were anxious to discover some means of solving the problem which could be conscientiously accepted by both Anglicans and Non-conformists.

But Sir John Gorst's Bill was very much wider than this in its scope. It set forth a scheme of general educational reform, or rather of a reform of the educational authority. The County Councils were to create the educational authority for each county; a plan sufficiently comprehensive to demand consideration and discussion by itself, apart from the matters of theological controversy already referred to. In fact, it fell to the lot of the Unionist Government to carry at different times separate Acts embodying the main principles of the Bill of 1886; but the Bill itself was hopelessly overweighed; members even of the Unionist party were not sufficiently prepared for the proposals to be by any means unanimous in approving of them, and hence the Bill had to be withdrawn.

Next year, however, a much less complicated Bill was introduced, allotting to the voluntary schools an aggregate grant of five shillings for each child, but still leaving all such schools largely dependent upon voluntary subscriptions. At the same time all the schools ceased to be liable for rates. The issue was narrowed down to the controversy as to the appropriation of public money for denominational education. The Bill was hotly criticised both on behalf of the Nonconformists and by those Anglicans who complained that the assistance provided was wholly inadequate.

The Act, however, was passed. The reformation of the educational system was deferred for a more thorough investigation to be completed. A further step was taken in 1899, when a Board of Education was established with a view to bringing primary and secondary education under a single supreme authority; and at the same time the lowest age for leaving school was then raised from eleven to twelve.

Apart from minor measures of a very limited scope, the only important piece of social legislation was the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897. It provided that in the case of accidental injuries or of death, in the service of an employer, the workman or his representatives could claim compensation from the employer. From the point of view of the Opposition the Bill had two grave defects. One was the exclusion from the benefits of the Act of large classes of workmen, such as agricultural labourers, seamen, and others. Three years later the operation of the Act was extended so as to include agricultural labourers. The second defect complained of was that the workmen had the power of contracting out—that is, he could make an

agreement with his employer precluding him from claiming compensation under the Act. It was argued on behalf of the Government that interference with freedom of contract was entirely unsound in principle; and further, that the existing arrangements established by many of the larger companies and by friendly societies were materially and morally more beneficial to the workman than the advantages which the Act could secure for them, and that such arrangements would come to an end unless contracting out were permitted. On the other side, it was argued that

there was no true freedom of contract between masters and workmen, and the employers would be practically able to compel the men to contract themselves out, especially in the cases where it was most of all desirable that the benefits of the Act should be secured to them.

Mr. Gladstone had withdrawn from public life in 1894, being then in his eighty-fifth year. For five-and-twenty years he had no individual rival of equal pre-eminence in the political field except Lord Beaconsfield. No other statesman has inspired such a fervour of personal enthusiasm among his followers; none, in the eyes of opponents, had seemed quite so dangerous a leader. Gifted with unrivalled eloquence, with extreme intellectual subtlety, with an intense energy of conviction, and with a passion of moral enthusiasm, his power of swaying masses of men was almost unique. But it seemed also that he had an almost unique capacity for persuading himself of the righteousness of what he believed to be expedient, and of the expediency of what he believed to be righteous. In the

four years of life that remained to him after retirement, there was time for men to forget something of the fierce hostilities of party warfare, to realise the grandeur of the figure which had disappeared from the political field, to appreciate his fundamental sincerity; even for those who had been his enemies to begin contrasting him with his political heirs—very much to the disadvantage of the latter. His statesmanship had been characterised by a devotion to peace which had not preserved his administrations from war, and had produced an impression that he was not sufficiently alive to the necessity for national self-assertion in a world which is apt to take peaceableness for cowardice and moral scrupulosity for weakness and irresolution. But when they were no longer fighting against him, and no longer feared him as a national danger, his antagonists became readier to recognise the purity of motive which had been obscured amid the dusts of conflict. When Mr.

Gladstone died in 1898, friends and foes united in paying homage to the memory of a great man.

The Death of Gladstone

In 1899 the Government introduced a new Bill for the government of London. The County Council created by the Local Government Act had absorbed the powers of practically all the administrative bodies previously concerned with London,



THE FRONTIER RISING: BENGAL LANCERS CHARGING A STEEP POSITION

except the ancient Corporation of the City. The survival of this divided authority caused complications for which one proposed remedy was the absorption of the Corporation also by the County Council. On the other hand, the energy with which the Council exercised its already vast powers was a source of no little alarm in many quarters; and to increase those powers still further, especially at the expense of such a time-honoured institution as the City Corporation, appeared extremely dangerous. The alternative to complete unification was decentralisation. London was accordingly broken up into a number of separate boroughs, to which certain of the powers of the County Council were transferred. There was a strong disposition in the House of Commons to allow women to sit on the Borough Councils; but such proposals were negatived by the House of Lords, and Ministers were supported by their followers in deferring to the views of the hereditary chamber.

The last Conservative Administration had refused at a very early stage to accept Lord Randolph Churchill's demands for a reduction of naval and military expenditure. At a later stage it had gone further, and laid down a ship-building programme of unprecedented magnitude. Its action had been thoroughly endorsed by the popular feeling; and the late Liberal Administration had proceeded with no less energy on similar lines.

Britain's First Line of Defence

As in the department for foreign affairs, there was no effective difference between the two great parties of the State, though it was a matter of course that the Liberals charged the Unionists with administrative wastefulness, and the Unionists charged the Liberals with unpatriotic economy. Between the two parties, in short, the question was not one of the ends in view but of combined efficiency and economy in attaining them. When Lord Salisbury's Government, with its cheerfully expanding revenue, proposed a further extension of the naval programme, the scheme of the First Lord Mr. Goschen, was accepted with encouraging unanimity. At the same time, the country, suspicious of the efficiency of its military organisation, accepted a reconstruction of the War Office; for which the retirement of the Duke of Cambridge, who had been Commander-in-Chief for many years, afforded a convenient opportunity. A general impression, however, prevailed that while a decisive naval preponderance must be maintained, the expenditure on the Army was adequate for the needs of the Empire. The effective value of the Fleet and the inefficiency of the military organisation were both to be demonstrated by the outbreak of the South African War—the disasters which attended its earlier stages, and the immunity from foreign intervention which the Fleet was able to ensure.

With Ireland, the Home Rule problem no longer blocked the way. For the time being, at least, that question was settled. But in spite of the disappointment

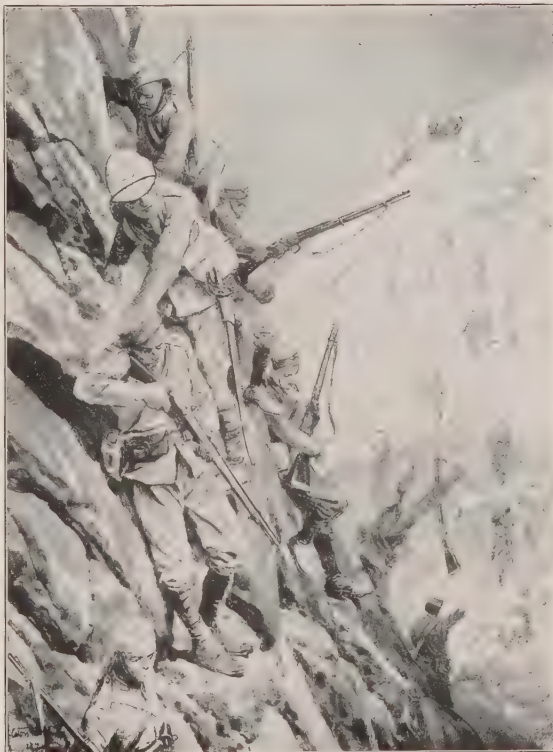
of the Nationalists, they did not revert to the old Parnellite method of endeavouring systematically to paralyse the Imperial Government as the only alternative to the concession of their demands. There were several reasons which combined to account for the comparative peace which Ministers were allowed to enjoy. In the

first place, the Ministerial majority was so overwhelming that even the united Opposition was comparatively powerless. There was no challenging the fact

that the country had very definitely chosen in favour of the Unionist policy. An Opposition which hopes some day to return to power will always hesitate to employ weapons which may be turned against it when that happy consummation is arrived at; it can only afford to be vehemently obstructive when it can persuade itself that the country is tired of its rulers and has ceased to approve their policy. In the second place, the Nationalists themselves were now divided, and no longer acted as a solid phalanx. Thirdly, the various remedial measures for the relief of the peasantry which had been adopted by one Government or another during the last fifteen years had done much to modify the intensity of the rural depression, and with it the rancour of class hostilities.

Nevertheless, it was still necessary for a Unionist Government to demonstrate its sympathy with the legitimate griefs and grievances of the Irish. Moreover, the Unionist party included in its ranks a large proportion of men who still regarded themselves as the true repositories of Liberal tradition and Liberal principles; of the belief held by the party at large, before Mr. Gladstone's new departure in 1886, that the law and the government of Ireland could be adequately amended without the creation of a separate Irish legislature. Many of these men had taken an active share in carrying the Land Act of 1881; it was a Conservative Government which had passed the Ashbourne Act; and when Mr. Arthur Balfour was Irish Secretary, the enforcement of the Crimes Act had been accompanied by material extensions of the previous land legislation. In short, the differences between the two great parties regarding the land problem were chiefly over questions of degree, of detail, and of machinery, rather than of principle; which might perhaps be summed up by saying that the one party insisted primarily on demanding justice for the tenants, while the other insisted primarily on resisting injustice to the landlords.

It was natural, then, especially in view of the events of the last Parliament, that the Unionist Administration should have opened its career with a Land Bill, which was in the charge of Mr. Gerald Balfour, who now occupied the position of Irish Secretary once held by his brother. Its intention was further to facilitate the process of land purchase. At the outset, the Bill was so nearly akin to that of Mr. Morley's that it seemed likely to meet with little opposition from the Nationalists, but



THE FRONTIER RISING: GURKHAS DESCENDING A PASS UNDER FIRE



A STIRRING INCIDENT IN THE INDIAN FRONTIER RISING: SHABKADR FORT ATTACKED BY TRIBESMEN
From a drawing by R. Caton Woodville

was received with a storm of indignation by the Irish Unionists. To pacify them and that large section of the House of Peers which might be counted upon to support the landlord interest, a number of amendments were introduced which made the Nationalists forget their dissensions in a common determination to unite in opposition to the Bill; which seemed likely to prove under these circumstances a measure not of conciliation but of discord. The most obnoxious amendments were withdrawn again; and again the landlords proclaimed themselves betrayed. When the Bill went to the Lords it was again amended, and again the amendments were rejected when the Bill returned to the Commons. The Lords, having made their protest, were not intractable, and the Government Bill was duly passed.

In 1897 no Government measure was introduced; but largely owing to the energy of Mr. Horace Plunkett a society was started in Ireland for the organisation of agricultural industries which met with immediate and remarkable success. This subsequently led to the establishment in 1899 of a Government department, mainly with a view to the same objects, with Mr. Plunkett at the head of it; and this again was responsible for continued progress and prosperity, and a corresponding decrease of the material sources of discontent which always promote political unrest.

In 1898 local government was at last effectively extended to Ireland. Elective County Councils and District Councils were established, on the Parliamentary franchise extended by the admission of women. The new Councils took over the bulk of the work for which hitherto the grand juries and the baronies had been responsible; and a large sum was allocated from the Exchequer in relief of rates. It followed that local administration now passed into the hands of the class which had hitherto been completely excluded, and which now had to prove that its members were capable of learning to do the work, and were fit for the responsibility bestowed on them. On the whole, the gloomily forebodings

were agreeably disappointed, although the proceedings of the new Councils occasionally gave some colour to the prognostications of the pessimists.

India during these years was a source not of serious anxiety, but of a good deal of trouble and not a little active fighting. Abdur Rahman, at Kabul, had no sort of inclination to allow himself to fall into the hands of Russia, having a shrewd impression that the British did not wish to take possession of his country, but that the Russians would be very well pleased to do so if the opportunity offered. But he had no affection for the British. He desired the good offices of the British in securing him from Russian aggression; but he was not unwilling to keep up in their minds a lively consciousness that he was capable of making himself very unpleasant if he happened to have any reason for doing so. There is no doubt whatever that the authorities in India had good reason to suppose that the troubles which assailed them on the north-west frontier were, to a considerable extent, due to his instigation.

The boundaries of India and Afghanistan had been so drawn that a number of hill tribes lay between the two without being actually subjected to either. There was still an extensive district, in short, which was neither British, nor Russian, nor Afghan. Now, the British had established a certain amount of authority among these tribes so far north as Chitral. Before the fall of the Rosebery Ministry a sudden attack was made on the small garrison which held the Chitral fort. A valiant and successful defence was made until the siege was raised by a relieving force. The Liberal Government fell before it had time to carry out its intention of withdrawing from the districts. The

Trouble on the Indian Frontier The Unionist Government decided to continue the occupation, and to establish a force at Malakand; and the construction of a military road was commenced, while the process of marking out the frontier between Afghanistan and the independent tribes was continued.

Not unnaturally, the tribes believed that the British authority was about to be established over them; and at

the same time the Mussulman world was somewhat excited over the failure of Europe to coerce Turkey in Armenia, and Mohammedan fanatics were preaching a Jihad, or religious war, among the hill men. Consequently, in 1897, an outbreak began which, as time went on, extended along the whole frontier. First came, on the south, an attack on a British agent in the Tochi Valley, which was followed by the usual punitive expedition. Next came a rising in the Swat Valley in the north, and a desperate attack on the Malakand force, followed by another punitive expedition. The Mohmand tribe lay between the Swat Valley and Peshawar. They rose next, and after them the Afridis, who commanded the Khaiber Pass itself, and the Orakzais, holding the Tirah district on the south of it. The companies of Sikh and Pathan regiments who were posted in these districts displayed magnificent bravery, even though some of the latter had themselves been enlisted from the insurgent tribes. So general a conflagration compelled the dispatch of a force of a magnitude unprecedented in frontier warfare, under Sir William Lockhart. The conditions, however, presented quite extraordinary difficulties. The regular troops had to deal with wild mountaineers whose tactics were perfectly adapted to the exigencies of hill warfare. The regulars could not match them at all in mobility; they never dreamed of presenting themselves in force to be conveniently wiped out, but simply devoted themselves to harassing the advancing

Fighting Tactics of the Enemy columns, falling on detached parties, and "sniping" at their convenience. They knew that their women and children were safe; they enjoyed fighting as the most exciting kind of sport, and they possessed no wealth of which they could be deprived. They infested the nullahs and passes in dozens, in scores, possibly even in hundreds. It is doubtful whether so many as a thousand of them were ever collected together. They could not prevent the British from making their way wherever they chose to go, or from destroying

whatever they thought fit to destroy; but they could, and did, make the process of moving exceedingly troublesome and expensive. When they got tired of the game they accepted the British terms, promising restitution of property and payment of fines; but they had killed or wounded nearly 2,000 British troops before they submitted.

Frontier wars were not the only troubles that beset the Indian Government. In 1897 there was a disastrous famine.

War, Famine, and Plague With the result of previous experience, the efforts for relief were somewhat more successful than in old times. Three years later the famine returned, when Lord Curzon

was Viceroy. In spite of lavish expenditure, and of the immense energy and care devoted to combating the famine, in both cases the mortality was enormous, owing to the immense numbers of the population who live literally on the produce of the soil and perish when the crops fail. The native princes acted up to the example set by the supreme government. Nevertheless, so far as could be ascertained, the mortality in the famine districts was doubled as compared with normal years. In 1897 matters were made worse by a great outbreak of the bubonic plague, which claimed many victims.

In the autumn of 1900 Lord Roberts was returning from South Africa under the somewhat sanguine impression that he was leaving Lord Kitchener behind with little more to do than to set the finishing touches to a war which was practically over. The moment was propitious for the Government to appeal to the country to express its confidence in the Administration, when everyone opposing it was liable to find himself stigmatised as a pro-Boer, and Ministers were returned to power with the solid majority of 130.

But the clamour of the election was hardly over when, at the beginning of January, the nation learnt with deep grief that the great Queen, now in her eighty-second year, was seriously ill; and a few days later, on January 22, that the longest reign in English history had reached its close

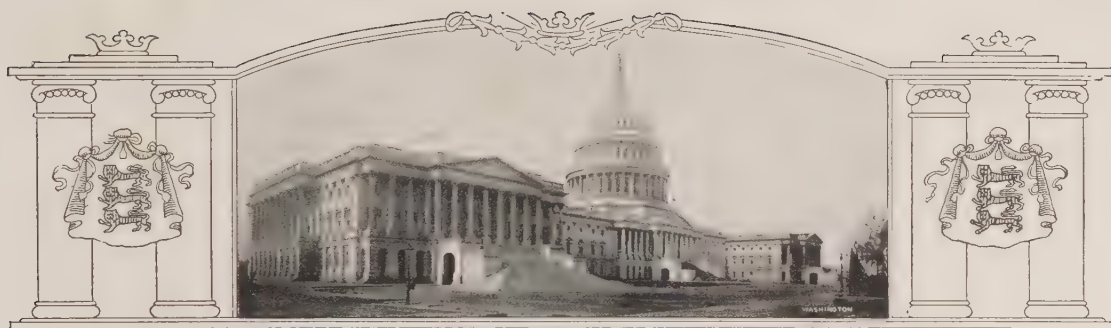


THE GURKHAS CLEARING THE GAGRA HEIGHTS DURING THE FRONTIER RISING



KING EDWARD AT GLADSTONE'S FUNERAL: A TOUCHING INCIDENT IN THE ABBEY

Between Mr. Gladstone and the Prince of Wales there had long existed a bond of mutual regard, and when, in 1903, the great statesman passed away, none mourned his loss more sincerely than the heir to the throne. At the burial in Westminster Abbey, on May 28, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York were the principal mourners. When the funeral service had concluded, the Royal mourner stepped up to Mrs. Gladstone, and, taking her hand in his, tenderly raised it to his lips. It was one of those supreme moments of courtesy and kindness which King Edward's thoughtfulness and warmth of heart so frequently suggested; it was a token, too, of his sympathy with his father-in-law, and those who witnessed the incident were deeply touched by it. Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.



CHAPTER LXIV

THE COURSE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1891-1900

A Period of Epoch-making Events, including the Spanish-American War, the Reform Era in China, and the Boxer Rising in that Empire

THE fall of Bismarck in 1891 marked sharply the end of a period in the new era of the world's history, which had begun with the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. It was followed almost immediately by the formation of the Dual Alliance between France and

Russia, which restored the equilibrium of European affairs, preserved peace on the Continent, and turned the attention of the Great Powers from the extension or maintenance of their own frontiers to colonial expansion. The decade which closed with the death of Queen Victoria and the accession of King Edward VII. was remarkable for the shifting of the centre of gravity in international affairs to a point outside Europe. This important revolution was effected by the almost dramatic rise of Japan, the abandonment by the United States of her policy of isolation, and her entry with Japan into the political arena of the world. Except in the Near East, the ancient battle-grounds of the Continent were undisturbed, and from territorial and dynastic disputes, the efforts of the civilised nations were directed towards a militant or pacific struggle, which had the whole earth for its setting.

But though peace was preserved among the great European Powers, the state of affairs in the Near East was a constant menace. In 1894, and again in the following year, the Sultan's rule had been disgraced by a terrible series of Armenian massacres. Great Britain, during both the government of Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury, had endeavoured to interfere; a concert of the six Powers had been brought together by Lord Kimberley to compel the enforcement of Article XLI. of the Berlin Treaty, by which the Porte had bound herself "to

carry into effect, without delay, the improvements and reforms required by local wants in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians," and an attempt had been made to secure guarantees that these reforms would be effected. Internal jealousies, however, had prevented the Concert from presenting that united front which the situation demanded, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Lord Salisbury obtained from the Porte an Imperial Iradé, ordering the execution of a list of reforms which had the approval of the Powers. The

dissensions of the Powers encouraged the Sultan to disregard this undertaking, and in August, 1896, the slaughter of thousands of Armenians in the provinces was followed by a wholesale massacre in the streets of Constantinople. It seemed that the political hostilities of the Great Powers alone prevented the termination of a state of affairs which shocked the conscience of the civilised world. Without their united interference its continuance appeared inevitable.

Suddenly, however, Great Britain, alone constant in her demands for reform, saw an opportunity of exercising her influence with effect. The Christians in Crete had risen the previous year against the Turks, and had more than held their own, though unsupported they would have ultimately been suppressed. Lord Salisbury, who had been hampered in Armenia, was able to force a settlement from the Sultan, who agreed to a convention in 1896. The disorders in the island continued none the less, and a crisis was reached, when Colonel Vassos, aide-de-camp to the King of Greece, with the assistance of Prince George, landed some 1,500 men with artillery on the shores of Crete in February of the following



THE DOWAGER EMPRESS OF CHINA

The influence of this remarkable woman was altogether reactionary. When the Emperor's reforms stirred up opposition, she supported the malcontents, and for a time the Imperial power passed entirely into her hands.



CANEA, THE CAPITAL OF CRETE, SHOWING THE HARBOUR AND NEIGHBOURING BUILDINGS, INCLUDING THE BRITISH EMBASSY

For several years the unsatisfactory condition of affairs in Crete was a source of much anxiety to the Powers. In 1895 the Christians rose against the Turks, and for a time the Powers were unable to come to a decision with regard to the vexed problem. Ultimately the selection of Prince George of Greece as governor of the island was agreed to by the Powers, and on December 31, 1898, he landed at Canea and took over the administration.

year. This attempt to carry out the wishes of the Cretans for union with Greece was immediately followed by war. While the Concert of the Powers declared for the autonomy of Crete under Turkish suzerainty, and an international fleet watched the island, the Turkish and Greek armies took the field. The war was a series of victories for the Sultan. The Turkish

Crete and the Great Powers

army advanced into the Plain of Thessaly, and on May 20 the Crown Prince was compelled to sue for a fifteen days' truce. The terms of peace, which were agreed upon and signed on November 23, 1897, were dictated by the Great Powers. No increase of territory was allowed to the Porte under this settlement, and the Sultan's Government had to content itself with a large money indemnity, guaranteed by Great Britain, Russia and France. This treaty of peace, however, left the question of Crete unsettled.

On a solution to this vexed problem the Concert were unable to decide. Russia advocated the appointment of Prince George of Greece as governor of the island; Germany, which was establishing an entente with Turkey with a view to commercial and, possibly, colonial expansion in Asia Minor, opposed this proposal. A deadlock ensued, and early in 1898 Germany, with Austria, withdrew from the Concert. In September an attack of the Turks upon British troops in Crete led to energetic measures by Admiral Noel, and Lord Salisbury boldly declared that England was prepared, if necessary, to settle the matter single-handed. In pursuit of this energetic policy, all Turkish troops were ordered to leave Crete at once. France, Russia, and Italy followed the lead thus given, and the united fleets enforced the deportation of the Turkish forces. Ultimately the candidature of Prince George as governor of Crete was revived, and an agreement being arrived at, he landed on the island on December 31, 1898, and took over the administration. So for a time the Near Eastern question was "settled."

While these events were taking place on the Mediterranean littoral, a new Power had joined the council of the nations. Early in 1895 the United States reasserted with

vigour the Monroe Doctrine. That policy had been suggested to President Monroe in 1828 by the British Prime Minister, Canning, and was designed originally to ward off the thrust of the Holy Alliance, which seemed to threaten the political existence of America. It amounted simply to a declaration that any extension of the possessions of the European Powers on the American Continent would be dangerous to the safety of the United States. America was not to be treated as a subject for political colonisation by any European Power. Its logical effect was to claim for the United States an absolute authority over the welfare of the two Americas. Pressed to this untenable conclusion, the Monroe Doctrine was employed to harass the British Government in its dispute with Venezuela regarding the Guiana boundary. So violent did President Cleveland and his Ministers become, so exaggerated were the messages to Congress and the despatches of Richard Olney, the State Secretary, that the situation became rapidly critical. The question with Venezuela was a complicated one, but no action on the part of Great Britain justified the extreme steps taken by the United States. On December 15 what amounted to a declaration of war was issued from Washington. Lord Salisbury handled the situation with good temper and moderation. For a time a deadlock ensued, and it was not till a panic had taken place in Wall Street that reason asserted itself with the American public, which had been carried away by sentiment rather than by reason.

A solution of the boundary question was obtained by pacific methods. In February, 1897, the Treaty of Washington authorised the setting-up of a tribunal at Paris for the settlement of the case, and in October, 1899, an award was made which put an end to these differences. But though their application of the Monroe Doctrine to Great Britain's dispute with Venezuela was unjustifiable, their interference in the affairs of Cuba was recognised as fair and reasonable. Not only had this fertile island been long coveted by the American people, but its position in the Caribbean Sea rendered its control by the United States

America at War with Spain

absolutely essential. Further, Spanish misrule in the island had aroused the sympathies of the Republic. In 1877, after the outbreak of a rebellion, President Grant had intervened to compel the Spanish Government to make concessions. In 1894 a fresh rebellion, accompanied by reports of cruelties inflicted by the Spanish authorities, greatly excited public opinion. Four years later a climax in the relations between the two countries was reached.

On February 15, 1898, the battleship *Maine*, which lay in Havana harbour to safeguard American interests, was blown up and sunk with 253 of her crew. Throughout the length and breadth of the United States the people were deeply stirred. The loss of the *Maine* was ascribed to Spanish treachery, and the relations between the two countries were dangerously strained. War became inevitable. On April 19, Congress decided that it was the duty of the United States to demand the retirement of Spain from Cuba, and authorised the President to take the necessary measures to compel her withdrawal. At the same time the Congress declared that it was not the intention of the United States to occupy the island, but that the government of the island should be left to its inhabitants.

The scene of the war was laid partly in the Atlantic and partly in the Pacific. One division of the American fleet, under Admirals Sampson and Schley, succeeded in blockading the Spanish fleet, under the command of Admiral Cervera, in Santiago harbour. Although on paper the naval forces of the Spaniards were superior to those of the Americans, the ships were in a disgraceful condition. But though his force was undermanned, though he was short of ammunition and many of his guns were unuseable, Cervera forced the blockade and tried to make for the open sea. His gallant attempt met with utter disaster, and his fleet was destroyed on July 3. Meanwhile, 15,000 men, under General Shafter, landed in Cuba, and after hard fighting, took Santiago on July 17. In the Pacific, the arms of the Republic were equally triumphant. Admiral Dewey attacked Manila in

the Philippines, and captured the town on August 17. Shortly afterwards peace was signed.

By the terms of this settlement, Spain lost Cuba and all her other West Indian islands, and the Philippines were ceded to the United States. The possession of this new territory—in establishing her authority over which she incurred a considerable outlay of blood and treasure—compelled the United States to take up the burden of Empire. Abandoning her old position of aloofness, she was forced to enter the arena of international politics. Hitherto she had had no foreign policy, and therefore there had been

no necessity for a large fleet. Her army also had existed almost solely for employment against the Indians. Now all this was changed. It became necessary for America to build a fleet powerful enough to defend her interests, and to maintain an army suitable for all emergencies. Her establishment in the Philippines gave her a paramount foothold in the Far East, and the rise of Japan and the unsettled condition of affairs in China compelled her to take a prominent part in international affairs. From this moment she became, like the great European nations, interested in the balance of power in the Pacific, and her entry into the politics of the world was an event of far-reaching historical importance.

In 1894 Japan had taken the first step towards her recognition as a potent international factor. In the winter of that year she made war on China, and her victory was crowned by the Treaty of Shimonoseki (April 1, 1895), through which she secured the Liao-tung peninsula, the Island of Formosa, and the Pescadores Archipelago, together with a large monetary indemnity. Her success brought her at once into antagonism with the European Powers. Russia was averse to her territorial expansion on the mainland, and, declaring that the possession of Port Arthur would enable her to dominate Peking, with the support of Germany and France, compelled her to evacuate that port and the Liao-tung peninsula. As a reward for the share they had taken in preserving Chinese territory, Russia



ADMIRAL DEWEY

Prominent in the Spanish-American War, he attacked Manila in the Philippines, capturing the town on August 17, 1898, and peace followed soon afterwards.



AMERICA'S WAR WITH SPAIN: GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN AND HARBOUR OF HAVANA

It was in this harbour, on February 15, 1898, that the American battleship *Maine* was blown up and sunk with 253 of her crew. The wreckage of the ill-fated vessel can be seen in the foreground of the above illustration.



THE FIRST FLAG OF TRUCE

A Spanish "brother of the Christian Faith" is being brought into the American lines under a flag of truce after one of the early engagements in the war between America and Spain.

received a concession to build the Manchurian railway, another railway concession was granted to France in the neighbourhood of Tonquin, while Germany was satisfied with certain mining and financial rights. The necessity of raising a loan to pay the indemnity due to Japan resulted in a diplomatic struggle between the Powers, which culminated in further concessions to Russia. By these additional privileges, Russia was enabled to extend the Manchurian railway through the Liao-tung peninsula, with a terminus at Talienwan, and at the same time to fill Manchuria with Russian soldiers.

The break-up of China, so often anticipated, now seemed at hand. On November 1, 1897, the murder of two German Roman Catholic priests in the province of Shantung resulted in the seizure of Kiaochow by the German fleet, and the occupation of the island of Tsingtao. After the satisfaction of their claims for compensation, the German Government retained possession of this territory, with certain extensive additions, under what was known in the language of diplomacy, as a lease. Shortly afterwards the Russian fleet steamed into Port Arthur to take up their winter quarters. The appearance of two British warships, sent specially to watch their movements, was hotly resented by Russia. Representations were made in London, Lord

Salisbury withdrew the ships, and Russia at once entered into negotiations with Peking, as the result of which she obtained the "lease" of the strongest port in China, together with Talienwan. Under the terms of this lease, all foreign ships were excluded from Port Arthur and part of Talienwan. As a set off, Great Britain leased Weihaiwei—an excellent health resort—and gave a voluntary undertaking that she would not construct any railway line into the interior of the province. Subsequently something approximating towards a scramble for different concessions took place between the European Powers,

during which Great Britain secured the lease of 200 square miles of territory on the mainland opposite Hong Kong (July, 1898).

The triumph that Russia had obtained for her diplomacy, in gaining possession of Port Arthur, raised a storm of indignation in Japan. Already the fact that the spoils of their war with China had been snatched from their grasp, had embittered the feelings of the nation. This crowning example of Russian duplicity almost drove them beyond the verge of patience, and only by the wisdom of their statesmen was war averted. Japan bided her time, until the naval and military programme of 1896 was completed, and she could compete, with some prospect of success, with the great European Power. Meanwhile, the policy of the "open door," which had the support of all the Powers, was directly opposed to the Manchurian projects of Russia, Talienwan was a free port only in the sense that Russia understood the word "free." Moreover, the line from Shanhaikwan to Hsinmintun, with a branch line to Niuchwang, was an obstacle to the undisputed possession of Manchuria. As British subjects held shares in this line, diplomatic negotiations were opened with Great Britain, and by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1899 an arrangement of this, and other matters which had given rise to friction, was arrived at.

This agreement practically recognised the policy of Free Trade. In the course of the negotiations England had the approval and moral support of America. At the suggestion of Mr. Hay, the State Secretary, all the Great Powers pledged themselves to maintain freedom of trade. This uncommon unanimity might have been productive of much had it not coincided with a revival of anti-foreign feeling in China, which once more made the situation in the East extremely dangerous. The cause of this hostility towards



A SCENE IN THE BATTLE OF SAN JUAN

the Western world was due partly to the resentment felt at the gradual partition of the coast and partly to the machinations of the Dowager Empress, who had taken over the reins of government in the February of 1889. The triumph of the Dowager Empress had marked the failure of a great scheme of social and political reform which the Emperor had warmly advocated.

The Chinese reform movement had originated in Canton, where a society had sprung up, under the direction of Kang Yuwei, the members of which were banded together by their devotion to their country's true interests. Realising the necessity of reform, the Emperor sent for Kang. As a result of that conference startling changes were set on foot. In a series of Imperial edicts, the ancient system was scattered to the winds. Schools and universities were established; a Bureau of Agriculture was instituted; the army was placed on an European footing; officials were urged to press on with the task of railway development; patent laws were instituted; the systematic translation of Western books on science, art and literature was arranged for; and the Civil Service was purified. At the same time as these and many other reforms were ordered by the simple process of Imperial edicts, a Shanghai paper entitled *Chinese Progress* was declared to be the official organ of the Government. Sir Robert K. Douglas has admirably



KANG YUWEI
The Chinese reformer who was the first to advocate the adoption of Western science and literature.

summed up the result of these measures among the Chinese people.

The effect of these and other edicts, appearing as they did at a time when the question of reform was in the air, produced great and startling results. Magazines and newspapers sprang into existence and circulated everywhere; educational, scientific and religious books were published in large numbers and eagerly read. The national mind was stirred. From the highest to the lowest, the officials and the people turned to the light of the new learning; and in several provincial capitals clubs were established for the study of 'the secret of the success and the source of the energy of the Christian nations.' At this time it seemed as though the Reform was right and that by a stroke of a pen he had transformed the Empire. But suddenly a change came over the aspect of affairs.

A memorial to the Throne, one of the new privileges granted by the Emperor in his pursuit of reform, advanced such revolutionary measures that the officials responsible for forwarding it to the Emperor hesitated to act. Ultimately they presented a memorial on their own account inveighing against the sentiments of the memorial which they had laid back. The Emperor was indignant, ordered the punishment of the officials concerned, and in his eagerness to cleanse the public service of all those who desired to thwart his purpose, ordered the dismissal



AN INCIDENT IN THE BOXER RISING: REBEL LEADER BEING EXAMINED BY OFFICERS OF THE ALLIED FORCES

of several prominent officials, including Li Hung Chang. An active opposition was thus formed, and the malcontents approached the Dowager Empress to urge her to assume the reins of office. The Emperor was deserted by his troops, his person was seized, the reformer K'ang escaped in time to

British protection, and the Imperial power passed entirely into the hands of the Dowager Empress.

In quick succession edicts appeared denouncing the policy of the reformers, and reversing all the projects of reform which had been proclaimed by the Emperor. A revulsion of feeling took place in the minds of the people; the European learning was abandoned, and the anti-foreign sentiment that sprang up showed itself in attacks upon missionaries and their converts. The Empress endeavoured to direct this movement to the interest of China, by urging her Viceroy to maintain a bold front to foreign aggression, in the hope of putting an end to the scramble for concessions by European Powers. New forces were raised and the Iho chüan, or Boxers, were called into activity. The barbarians, it was announced, were to be driven into the sea. Disturbances at once arose on all sides, and the flame was fanned by a succession of militant edicts. Soon the agitation had assumed serious proportions; Christians were murdered, British railway officials were attacked, and the Boxer troops threatened Peking.

The Empress, meanwhile, pretended a deep concern at the disorders that were taking place, and at the instigation of the foreign representatives even sent troops to quell the disturbances. As the soldiers openly fraternised with the Boxers the situation was not improved. By April, 1900, it had become so serious that foreigners residing in Peking were advised by friendly natives to leave. By the end of May the capital was threatened, and before many days were out the Government threw off all pretence of attempting to put the Boxers down, and Peking was besieged. Admiral Seymour, with an utterly inadequate relief force of 1,800 sailors and marines, started from Tientsin to its relief. With dauntless courage, he tried to force his way against overwhelming odds, but eventually was compelled to retire on his base on June 26. Meanwhile, in Peking, the Chancellor of the Japanese Legation had been murdered, and a wholesale massacre of Christians had taken place in the streets. This was followed up by a



SIR CLAUDE MACDONALD



ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD SEYMOUR

The former was the Minister who commanded the Legation quarters during the siege, while Admiral Seymour, with inadequate forces, started from Tientsin to relieve the Europeans, but, in spite of daring courage, was compelled to return to his base.

declaration of war against all the Christian Powers, and an order for the extermination of all foreigners within the frontiers of China.

The murder of Baron von Kettler, the German Minister, on his way to the Yamen, clearly demonstrated to the foreigners in Peking the extent of their danger. They

took shelter within their Legations, which were hastily fortified. On June 26 they were attacked by a combined force of Boxer and Imperial troops, who threw up entrenchments around the defences raised by the foreigners, from which they at intervals poured out a deadly fire on their enemies. Had the Chinese pressed the siege, the Legations must have fallen. Fortunately they did not use their advantage, and a cosmopolitan expedition of 10,000 Japanese, 4,000 Russians, 3,000 British, 2,000 Americans, and a few hundred French and German soldiers, starting from the coast on August 4, brushed aside all opposition, entered the capital, and relieved the Legations. The flight of the Dowager Empress and the Emperor prolonged the negotiations for peace, but eventually a settlement was arrived at by which the guilty officials were punished, either with death or exile, an indemnity of 450,000,000 taels was exacted, and formal regret was expressed for the indignities suffered by the representatives of the Foreign Powers. Subsequently the negotiations, conducted by Li

Hung Chang, were completed by the revision and re-adjustment of former treaties, the Chinese Government was reinstated, under stringent conditions, and the foreign armies were withdrawn.

While Europe was avenging her wrongs and trying to settle by force the difficulties of the Eastern Question, an attempt had been made to found an era of Peace. The enormous expansion of commerce, the sudden development of world-wide enterprise, had resulted inevitably in an increase of armaments for the protection of these new interests. To remedy this state of affairs the Tsar Nicholas II. called together a Congress at the Hague, on May 18, 1899, to consider the best means of reducing existing armaments and substituting arbitration for war. Some general principles were agreed upon, but the almost immediate outbreak of the Boer War, followed by hostilities between Russia and Japan, showed that the Age of Peace had not yet dawned, and that the nations were unwilling, in settling their disputes, to resort to the judicial decisions of the Hague Tribunal.



DEFENCE OF THE BRITISH LEGATION AT PEKING

The scene is a balcony in the British Minister's house overlooking the Imperial Canal and Prince Su's palace. The British Marines Nordenfeldt is in action against the Boxers.



CHAPTER LXV

THE PASSING OF QUEEN VICTORIA

Describing Her Majesty's Last Illness and Death
and the Stately Ceremonial of the Royal Funeral

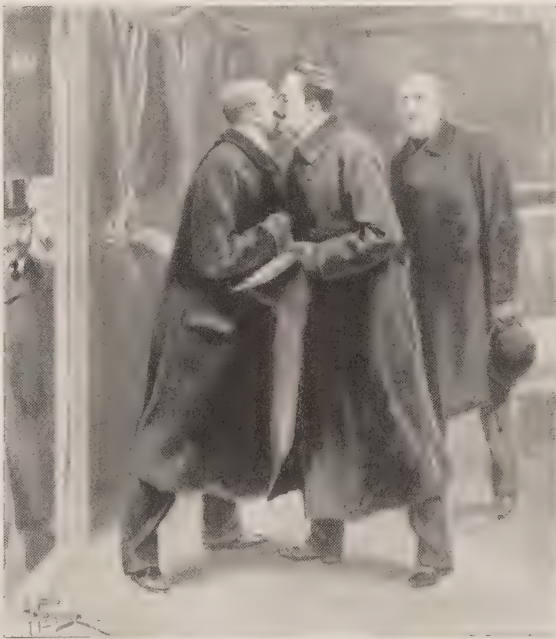


QUEEN VICTORIA and King Edward really died in the same manner. Both of them, from too high and arduous a devotion to duty, worked themselves to death. It was not until 1900 that Queen Victoria began to show signs of fatigue. When the disastrous opening of the great Boer War made it for a time seem likely that, as Bismarck prophesied, South Africa would be the grave of England's reputation, the Queen was a woman of eighty years of age. No sign of senility, however, then appeared in her. Her constitution was remarkably strong, her mind was alert and vigorous, and her courage towering and vehement. The chill gloom that spread over all the kingdom with the news of the triple disasters of the "Black Week" did not strike into her fearless soul. Old, nearly blind, and crippled with rheumatism, she yet displayed far more intrepidity than the youngest persons around her. Naturally she sympathised, as only a woman can, with her soldiers, and their repeated failures caused her infinite distress; but no foreboding as to the ultimate end of the struggle darkened her mind. Her spirit rose with the danger. Collecting all her energies, she concentrated them on the task of inducing her Ministers to pursue the war more effectively by bringing vast reinforcements into the battlefield. Then, in order to hearten and confirm her people, she worked far harder than she had done in the prime of life. She inspected the troops proceeding to the seat of war, she sent messages of encouragement to the front, and she continually wrote letters of condolence to relatives of officers killed in action. Since 1854 she had never once come to London to prorogue Parliament, and had seldom shown herself in public, urging that if she did not seclude herself she would not have the time to carry on properly the business of the State. But now she drove

for two days through the streets of the metropolis to cheer her subjects, and inspire them with her confidence and her high courage. But the noblest and most generous thing that she did—and it was this that shortened her life—was to give up a much-needed holiday in the warm, soft air of the Riviera in order to show, by a long and busy stay in Dublin, her grateful admiration for the splendid bravery of the Irish soldiers in South Africa. Never did she display so clearly as in the last, troubled, crowded, and laborious years of her life on what a fund of leonine qualities her sweet, gentle, and womanly virtues rested. It is not extravagant to say that at the age of eighty-one she displayed more energy than a man of forty.

Unfortunately, the pressure of public anxieties was aggravated by distressing events of a private nature. The assassination of her friend King Humbert of Italy on

July 29, 1900, was a terrible shock to her. Then the Duke of Orleans, who was under great obligations to her, supported the infamous attacks on her person made by a shameless section of the French Press. It is true that the Duke afterwards apologised to the Queen, and that she, with extraordinary generosity, pardoned him. But by this time her nervous system was showing signs of fatigue, and in long, sleepless nights she began to brood and worry over things. And she had much to brood over. She had learnt in the summer of 1900 that her eldest child, the Empress Frederick, was stricken with a disease that would quickly end in death; on June 30, 1900, her second son, Alfred, the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg, suddenly passed away; and three months afterwards her grandson, Prince Christian Victor, died of enteric fever contracted on the battlefields of South Africa. It was amid these profound griefs that the Queen's long life drew to a close. There were several



THE KAISER ARRIVING AT CHARING CROSS STATION

Learning of the grave illness of his grandmother, the German Emperor immediately countermanded his great Court receptions and hurried to England. Arriving at Charing Cross Station on Sunday, January 20, he was there met and affectionately greeted by his Royal uncle, so soon to be known as King Edward.

signs that the powers of her strong and intrepid mind were failing. Her sleeplessness increased, and now and then she was unable to express herself. This last symptom was serious; it showed that some blood-vessel in her brain had been damaged. As, in spite of her extreme age, her general arterial system was still sound, the injury to

the delicate vessels of the brain must have been done wholly by worry and anxiety.

The Sunset of a Great Reign

In these circumstances, King Edward was naturally eager to spare his aged mother all further trouble. His position, however, was a matter of considerable difficulty. The Queen was keeping herself going by sheer force of will, and nothing, therefore, could be done which would diminish her confidence in herself. Had King Edward, in order to rest her mind, openly taken over the task of transacting matters of State, this would have destroyed her faith in her powers of recovery, and thrown her completely into that state of hopelessness against which she was making so brave a struggle. So all that her son did to relieve her was done without exciting her alarm. For though, in matter of fact, he was practically a Regent, the Queen tenaciously held, up to a short time before her death, to all the forms

of power. The nearer she drew to her grave, the more regal a woman she appeared. Her mind was clearly fading when, on November 7, 1900, she returned to Windsor from Balmoral. But twice before the end of that month she welcomed home some troops from South Africa, and made a grateful speech to the men. On December 18 she undertook the last journey of her life, and travelled to Osborne. On Christmas morning her life-long friend and lady-in-waiting, Jane, Lady Churchill, died peacefully in sleep, and at this sudden and very distressing loss the Queen completely broke down.

Her brain was now utterly worn out; but this merely left the mainspring of her nature, her tremendous force of will, more clear and wonderful in display. On January 2, 1901, she nerved herself to welcome Lord Roberts on his return from South Africa. She congratulated him on his successes, and conferred on him an earldom and the Order of the Garter. Nine days afterwards she sent for Mr. Chamberlain and discussed, in an alert and collected manner, the prospect of South African affairs. On January 14 she had an hour's talk with Lord Roberts on the same matter. During these interviews she showed a marvellous power of command over herself. She would not let her brain betray her, but, so to speak, galvanised it into activity, and few of her visitors were able to observe any signs of mental fatigue. Even when she was prostrate with weakness and sinking into apathy and somnolence, she would not lose confidence. On her own initiative she opened up negotiations for a visit to the Continent, and though King Edward knew, from what the physicians told him, that his mother was now dying, he helped on her pathetic plans for a voyage that could never take place. For he was anxious not to discourage her by suggesting

any doubt of her recovering her health by the means to which she was eagerly but vainly looking forward.

It was a strange, piteous, and difficult situation. Only the imperious power of will of the stricken, aged Queen kept her erect and active; but it was doing this by hastening on her death. On the other hand, any attempt to relieve her of the work which she insisted on carrying through would have accelerated the catastrophe. It was clear that she meant to die in harness. King Edward could only watch with sorrowful and yet admiring eyes the stern, unflinching courage with which his mother laboured on to the inevitable end, revealing as she went the strength of soul underlying the sweetness of her nature. Day by day her mind grew weaker, and on Thursday, January 17, 1901, she had a slight stroke, which produced a little flattening on the right side of her face. King Edward at once hastened to Osborne House; Queen Alexandra quickly followed, and all the other members of the Royal Family assembled at the bedside of the dying Sovereign, in order to be with her at the end. It was then publicly announced, in naturally rather cautious terms, that the nervous system of the aged Queen was giving way "owing to the great strain put upon her powers during the past year."

The sad news did not merely strike like a chill into the hearts of all the people of the British Empire; it made the whole world cease for a while from its activities in an amazed sympathy. For sixty-four years the little figure of the great Queen of England had so dominated the entire earth that she seemed a chief and a permanent part of the general machinery of modern civilisation. Even leaders of opinion in countries hostile or indifferent to English policy felt, in spite of their hostility or indifference, a secret but deep admiration for many of the things for which Queen Victoria stood. Foreign revolution-



KING EDWARD LEAVING LONDON FOR OSBORNE

About the middle of January, 1901, Queen Victoria's health gave way under the burden of years and care, and it became obvious to the physicians that the end could not long be delayed. King Edward, then Prince of Wales, at once hastened to the bedside of his mother at Osborne; in the above illustration he is seen leaving Victoria Station, accompanied by the German Emperor, the Duke of York, and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, his Majesty having come to London to meet his Royal nephew.

From a drawing by A. Pearson

aries desired the liberty and political power which the poorest of her people enjoyed under her rule; foreign reactionaries wished for the continuity of tradition and stability of government which she had maintained through a century of abrupt change and violent disorder; and the generality of foreign middle classes envied, and yet applauded, the material prosperity, the social progress, and the Imperial glory of her long and splendid reign. The chaplain in the American Senate offered up a special prayer for her recovery; the French Chamber arranged to suspend its sitting; and the rulers and the peoples of other civilised countries were moved by a common and profound apprehension.

The Kaiser

On hearing of Queen Victoria's critical condition, the German Emperor countermanded his great Court receptions, and at once set out for the Isle of Wight. "I am my grandmother's eldest grandson," he said, "and as my mother is unable through illness to hasten to her bedside, I must go." The news reached him on Saturday morning; he left Flushing that evening, and arrived in London on Sunday, and was met by King Edward and the Duke of

York, and driven by them to Marlborough House. The English people were deeply touched by this signal proof of the Emperor William's feeling of reverence and devotion for their dying Queen. They themselves were full of wondering misery. To them the life of the Queen had become a part of the natural order of the world—a thing as certain as the movement of the sun, and as enduring. For eighty-two years, generation after generation of her four hundred million subjects had grown up from infancy to manhood under her benign and fostering rule. She had thus been transformed into a great, permanent tradition of the Empire, into a symbolical and yet beloved figure representative of all the lasting elements of the national power.

Coming as it did in the midst of a long and terrible war, the imminent event of her death seemed an incredible and unreal thing. Her people refused to believe in it. They came in vast, silent multitudes to the Mansion House and to Buckingham Palace, to read with their own eyes the bulletins announcing that the Queen was passing away. But still they did not believe it. They went slowly and strangely about their work, like men haunted by a bad dream, yet nursing at their heart the hope that the numbing sorrow which was creeping over them was born of a fear that would quickly vanish. And the older people comforted the younger by recalling the miraculous manner in which King Edward had recovered from an illness which all his doctors had expected to end in a fatal manner.

But at four o'clock on Tuesday, January 22, 1901, the Lord Mayor received from King Edward the following telegram:

"My painful duty obliges me to inform you that the life of the beloved Queen is in the greatest danger." Three hours later King Edward again telegraphed: "My beloved mother, the Queen, has just passed away, surrounded by her children and grandchildren."

Nearing the End The end had come at half-past six that afternoon. The Queen suffered no pain. So calm, so peaceful, was she when the last gentle breaths were drawn that she seemed to escape from the outworn machinery of her body almost in a sleep. Her spirit, however, was clear and bright as it went out on its divine adventure. As King Edward and Queen Alexandra, the Duke and Duchess of York,

with the Emperor William and the other Royal sons and daughters and grandchildren sorrowfully and quietly entered the death-chamber it looked as though the Queen had lost almost all her earthly faculties. Her powers of mind seemed to have faded away in a

Queen Victoria's Last Words

deep torpor. But while the mourners were kneeling in prayer around her bed, she appeared to become conscious of their presence. By a last and tremendous effort of will she opened her eyes, and recovered complete control of herself. With a brave, pathetic glance she recognised in turn each of her descendants; and then, murmuring

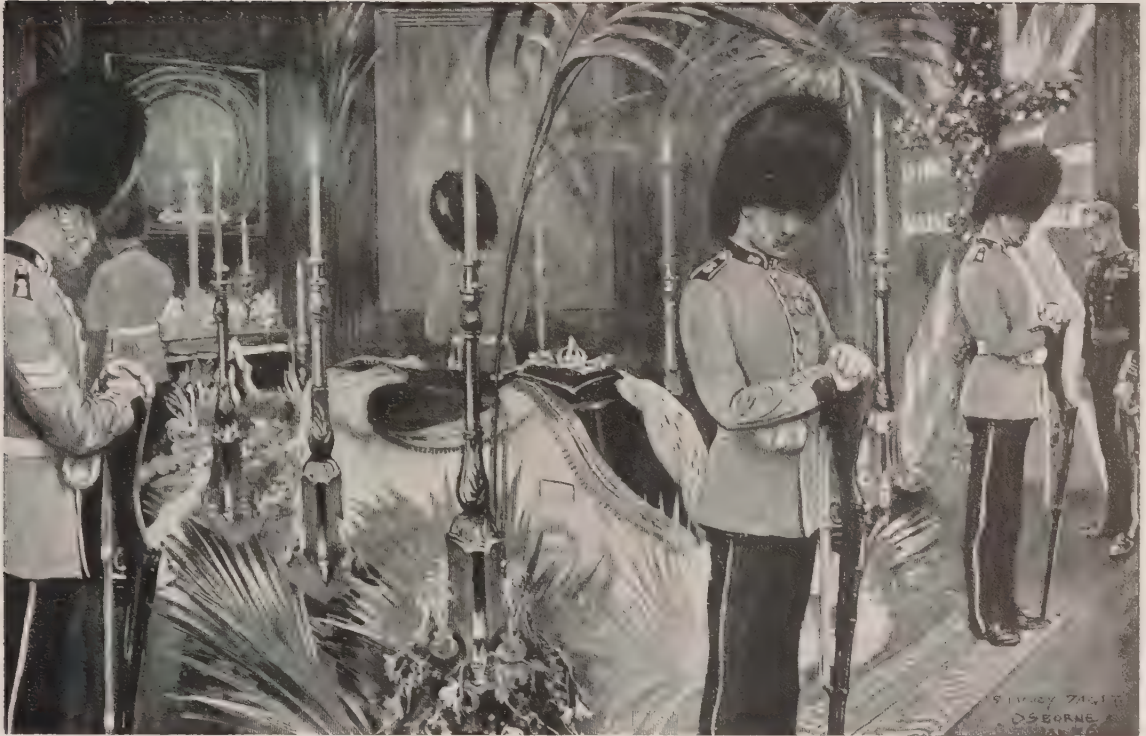
"Albert, Albert, Albert!" she turned quietly to the rest which she had earned by a long life of high and arduous toil, and with an almost imperceptible movement, her soul freed itself from her aged and stricken body, and went back, winged with virtue, faith, and love, to its Maker.

The English race is as reserved in its expression of grief as it is in the manifestation of its joy. There was no explosion of sorrow: men went on with their work. It did not seem to them a public loss, but an intimate and private calamity, which they shut up in their bosom as they laboured on mechanically at their daily task. Everybody felt as though his own mother had died, and wondered in a silent, amazed sadness at the sudden change that had come upon his life. When the work was done, the people did not collect in crowds, but hastened quietly home, and seldom spoke of what was on their hearts until they were alone with their wives and children. For the death of the Queen was to them a great domestic affliction.

Nearly everybody in their family of whom they had any recollection had lived and died under her fostering, motherly rule; and nearly everything that they prized in life—its large freedom, its admirable comforts, and its wonderful advances in all directions, had been won during her reign. While she lived they felt that they were not setting out in new and untried ways, but continuing the work of the great and numerous men of genius who had made the Victorian era the most wonderful epoch in many respects in the history of civilisation. Now that old, kindly, and experienced guiding hand was gone, they felt somewhat like children suddenly overtaken by the darkness of night.



THE ROYAL PARTY AT OSBORNE ON THE EVE OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S DEATH
Included in this party are King Edward and Queen Alexandra, the German Emperor, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and the present King George. From a drawing by S. Paget.



THE BIER OF QUEEN VICTORIA IN THE CHAPELLE ARDENTE AT OSBORNE

As the body of the late Queen Victoria was laid out in the Chapel of the Ardente at Osborne, the late Queen's body was laid out in the Chapel of the Ardente at Osborne. The late Queen's body was laid out in the Chapel of the Ardente at Osborne. The late Queen's body was laid out in the Chapel of the Ardente at Osborne.

No doubt it was very sentimental; but the Anglo-Celtic race, in spite of its reticence and its reserve, which surprise and mislead many foreigners, has always been led more by sentiment than by reasoning. It is only because its feelings are slowly born, gradually developed, and strongly and quietly cherished, that it does not seem so emotional as the excitable Southern races of Europe.

The Empire's Heartfelt Sorrow

As a matter of fact, the deep and overwhelming sorrow felt by the people of the British Empire when their revered, beloved and trusted Queen passed away at a time of great national anxiety and great national peril, might have grown into something like the furious despair of the old Berserkers. Had the course of war in South Africa still been continuously disastrous; had the great military nations of the Continent still been imminently hostile; above all, had the heir to the British Empire been a young, rash, and bellicose man, the people of Great Britain would probably have put everything aside in order to prepare for an unnecessary Armageddon. Like the old Anglo-Saxons when they had lost a beloved leader, they would have set themselves to give their slandered and persecuted Queen "good burial."

By Divine Providence, the reins of government fell into the strong and capable hands of a wise, tactful, and experienced man of sixty years of age. There can be little doubt that King Edward was inspired with the same feelings as his people. Instead, however, of these feelings making him bitterly inclined to war, they moved him at once to bend all his energies to the nobler and more enlightened task of founding a world-wide peace. Even while the preparations were going on for the great military funeral which Queen Victoria had commanded for herself her son was taking advantage of the presence in England of the kings and princes and leaders of Europe to begin his great work. He did not, however, neglect to make

use of a show of force. He resolved that his mother should not only have a military funeral in her capital city, but such an escort in her last voyage from Osborne to Portsmouth as was worthy of the mightiest Mistress of the Seas. To this end he used the experience which he had gathered in organising the great closing scene of the Diamond Jubilee.

It used to be said that certain Continental monarchs boasted that they could inspect before breakfast on any morning of the week a body of troops more numerous than the whole home forces of the British Army. On February 1, 1901, King Edward might have retorted that he could collect on an afternoon in English waters, while his country was engaged in a great war, a stupendous Armada, without diverting a single vessel from its post of vigilance on distant seas. For the fleet of warships which he assembled in the Solent to guard and honour the body of the dead Sovereign was more than a match for the massed naval forces of any other Power. A line of mighty warships, stretching away from Portsmouth Harbour as far as the eye could see, formed a magnificent funeral path for the quiet, homely little lady in whose hands the keys of the destinies of the world had rested for sixty-four years. At the eastern extremity of the majestic array of the battleships of her Empire was a German squadron of four ironclads, and next to them hovered a great French warship; then came the huge Japanese battleship *Hatsuse*, sent by

Foreign Tributes to the Dead Queen

as a special command of the Mikado, and beside her were the Dom Carlos I. of Portugal and the Carlos V. of Spain. Surely the presence of these foreign warships at the funeral of Queen Victoria, at a time when nearly all the populace of Europe was unjustly incensed against Britain, was a remarkable testimony to the wise and generous manner in which the dead Queen had consistently used the tremendous forces at her disposal.

Heaven, too, seemed to smile upon her as she went forth on her last voyage among her mourning people. She had "Queen's weather" to the end. The sun poured down a summer-like radiance; the broad blue sky, scarcely flecked by a single cloud, stretched like a regal canopy overhead: and the waters beneath were almost as untroubled as the sky which they reflected. There was no gloom or heaviness anywhere. The sun and the sky and the sea laid, as it were, their fairest offerings in the path of the dead woman whose life had helped to make the world so fair. A mighty fleet had gathered to salute her body as it passed; kings and princes were assembled in her honour, but no earthly pomp and dignity could render to the illustrious Queen such a noble and glorious tribute as the transfiguring sunshine of that brief and beautiful winter afternoon.

At one o'clock a battery of artillerymen brought a gun-carriage up to the portico of Osborne House. The coffin was placed upon it, and then the Crown, the Orbs, and Sceptre were put on the coffin; the guards reversed arms; the Highland pipers began to play the wild and sad lament of the Black Watch, and King Edward came forward with bowed head and walked slowly behind the gun-carriage. At a little distance behind him were the German Emperor and the Duke of Connaught. Prince Arthur of Connaught, Prince Henry of Prussia, and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha came after, with Prince Charles of Denmark, Prince Louis of Battenberg, and the German Crown Prince as the last rank of three. Queen Alexandra followed, attended by the Princess Christian and the Princess Louise. Two figures were missing among the Royal mourners—the future King George and his aunt, the Empress Frederick: and this added to the sorrow of the hundreds of thousands of silent spectators. For they knew that the dead Queen's eldest child was dying, and her grandson was outstretched on a bed of sickness. If he went the way of his brother, the Duke of Clarence! This fear was in everybody's mind, and it was observed that Princess Mary, who was in the little group of deeply veiled ladies who followed King Edward, turned back when the procession reached the Admiralty Pier, in order to be with her husband in his illness.

At Cowes the body of Queen Victoria was carried by her blue-jackets to a mortuary chapel on the quarter-deck of the Royal yacht *Alberta*, which had so often proudly borne the Lady of the World across the sea which she was now to traverse in death. The chapel was formed by a large crimson pavilion, and the canopy was looped up so that the coffin

in its white pall should be plainly seen by the sailors of the fleet. When the body of his mother had been placed on the crimson-draped bier King Edward reverently withdrew, and, embarking on the *Victoria* and *Albert*, gave the signal for the mournful and splendid naval procession to start. As the Royal Standard was broken at the mast-head, the *Alberta* slowly steamed out into the roadstead, with eight low, black torpedo-destroyers in double file leading the way. Next came the *Victoria* and *Albert*, then the *Osborne*, and, last, the huge and stately *Hohenzollern*, and the *Trinity* and Admiralty yachts.

This was the moment when the long and terrible line of warships gave to the dead Mistress of the Seas a farewell salute, and from their guns there pealed forth the strangest

and the mightiest dirge that ever sounded on the ears of men. A quick red flash leapt out of the haze, followed by another and another in rapid succession. It looked as though a diamond of many facets was being revolved in a strong light. Behind the flashes, ever nearer and nearer to the shores of England, vast clouds of smoke shot out and hung thick and motionless in the sunny air; and then the sudden and tremendous thunder of the cannon smote the ear, and deafened it. Like the stupendous toll of a passing bell too immense for human hands to have made it, the guns of the great battleships rang out at intervals of a minute. The ironclads, moored two and a half cables apart, stretched over a course of more than five miles. At each discharge, columns of smoke rolled down the waterway in dense masses, dimming the fleet, and hanging like a vast shroud over the tiny vessel that carried the dead Queen. But the wind, blowing down the Solent, soon cleared the channel again, and prevented the view from being obscured. All the men manning the gunwales, bridges, and tops of each warship, and all the marines and officers lining the decks, were able to see plainly the coffin of their dead Sovereign as the *Alberta* passed by. Then every head was uncovered, the guard presented arms, the officers stood at attention, and the silence was only broken by the faint wail of the funeral march, and the awful rhythmic thunder of the minute guns.

As the winter sun quickly dropped down the sky, its level beams fell in a path of gold across the tideway, and, touching the *Alberta*, made every detail on board clear and distinct. At each corner of the crimson pavilion abaft the mainmast stood an officer at attention; within could be seen the coffin, lying athwart the ship, and draped with a white pall; across it was hung the Royal Standard, and at the head of it was placed the Imperial Crown. As



THE CORTEGE PASSING THROUGH THE STREETS OF COWES

From a photograph by Russell & Sons



THE CHIEF MOURNERS IN THE MEMORABLE FUNERAL PROCESSION THROUGH LONDON

Mounted on a dark bay charger, and wearing the uniform of a British field-marshal, Edward VII. headed the funeral procession of his Royal mother as it passed through the streets of London, which were thickly lined with sympathetic spectators. On his Majesty's right rode the German Emperor, and on his left the Duke of Connaught.

From a drawing by A. Pease



THE BURIAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA: ANOTHER SCENE IN THE FUNERAL PROCESSION

The prominent figures in the portion of the funeral procession represented in the above illustration are the King of Portugal—who a few years afterwards was to meet such a tragic fate at the hands of his own countrymen—and Prince Henry of Prussia. The former is riding in the foreground, while Prince Henry is seen in the act of saluting.

From a drawing by R. M. Paxton

the procession receded into the distance across the coloured sea, the sun wore down to the skyline, and broke into a wild blaze of glory. The western heavens were a blinding glow. Far off, the pall upon the Royal coffin was still distinguishable, for as the little *Alberta* passed between the towering battleships she remained in the track of the sun. Above her the moon, almost at full, showed faintly in the sky, and the air trembled with the sound of the funeral march rising from some ship in the remote distance. It was a scene and a subject for the canvas of Turner. No other painter could have risen to so great an inspiration, or depicted the intolerable glory of that sunset.

The Last Voyage of Victoria

By this time the ships at the western end of the far-flung line had ceased to fire their salutes. But near the flagship the red flashes still spurted out of the black holes, and the booming of the guns fell heavily upon the ear. Passing the last great ironclad, the flotilla of destroyers turned hard to port, and went slowly out of sight into Portsmouth Harbour. The little *Alberta* followed them, and as she disappeared, though the sunlight lingered still, a feeling of chilliness and desolation swept over the spectators. The Queen was gone—gone for ever—and the thousands of eyes that had gazed their last on her turned reluctantly to confront a gloomier and a poorer world. The sun went down; the lights began to twinkle from the ships, and the sea shivered into ashen grey. The bright day was over, and the darkness had come.

All that night the body of the Queen rested on the little yacht under the shadow of the *Victory*; and on the *Victoria* and *Albert*, moored close by, King Edward received the captains of his great fleet, and thanked them for the tribute they had paid to his mother, and then, as his pale, drawn face showed the next day, spent many hours in anxious thought and meditation before he fell asleep. But he rose up early, and at nine o'clock in the morning he

and his retinue of Royal kinsmen and friends entered the train to which the coffin was removed, and arrived with it at eleven o'clock at Victoria Station. Here a throng of illustrious mourners was waiting to help in escorting the Mother of the British Empire through her metropolitan city. Her grandson, by marriage, the Tsar of Russia, was, like the Empress Frederick and the Duke of York, too ill to take part in the funeral pageant; so the Tsarevitch, the Grand Duke Michael, had arrived in his stead. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, appeared in the place of the aged Emperor; the King of the Belgians came in person, together with Prince Arnulf of Bavaria, the Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Meiningen, the Grand Duke of Hesse, and Prince Henry of Reuss. The Kings of Portugal and Greece and members of every Royal Family in Europe took part in the procession which was formed at Victoria Station. In accordance with the dead Queen's command for a military funeral—given, no doubt, by reason of the fact that her Empire was then engaged in a great war—every branch of the Army was represented in the long and solemn procession. Neither the multitude of Royal mourners nor the army of thirty thousand soldiers formed, however, the chief feature in the sorrowful and magnificent ceremony. The principal actor in it was the people of London and Great Britain.

As King Edward, looking worn and sad, yet preserving in his attitude a fine, kingly dignity, rode on his charger behind the gun-carriage on which all that was mortal of his mother rested with the crown, the two orbs, and the sceptre at her head and feet, he saw wherever he turned his eyes a spectacle of mourning, sublime in its immensity. Every inch of the ground from Victoria to Paddington was black with humanity. Short as the route was in comparison with that of the Diamond Jubilee, there was collected along it a crowd greater than that ever brought together before

in the annals of mankind. The decorum of the multitude was most exemplary ; it was a decorum that came from the heart. During the long hours of waiting, silence was broken only by low murmurs of conversation ; and for the first time in a public procession in London the voice of the lawker of mementoes and programmes was unheard. Music, which relieves the tedium of waiting on such occasions, was also absent ; but the people stayed on, patiently, silently, and proudly, to pay their last tribute of loyalty and affection to their beloved Queen. As the coffin approached, every head was bared. It seemed so small, so very small, that oaken casket, to hold the heart of an Empire. It passed by amid low, wailing sounds of grief, and many mute and pathetic signs of sorrow ; and then the eyes of the multitude turned and fixed themselves upon the person of the King. Out of their affection for the mother had been born a loving faith in the son. He was no longer the most popular man in England, but the most beloved and the most trusted.

His Majesty carried his head high, and the folds of his cloak were hung aside in front, displaying a scarlet uniform covered with decorations. Bravely and gallantly he carried himself, but the strained expression on his face showed what emotions were struggling within his breast as he rode down between the multitudinous lines of his subjects, dumb with the silence of mourning. The German Emperor, seated on a white charger, on the right of the King, seemed also pale and sad, and the Duke of Connaught, on his left, was deeply moved. Behind them came the King of

King Edward in the Procession

Portugal and the King of the Hellenes. Following on in rapid succession were Prince Christian of Schleswig - Holstein, the Grand Duke of Hesse, and Prince Henry of Prussia ; Prince Arthur of Connaught, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and Prince Albert of Schleswig-Holstein ; the Crown Prince of Germany, a boyish figure cloaked in blue, the Duke of Sparta, and the Crown Prince of Roumania ; the Crown Prince of Denmark, Prince Hohenlohe - Langenburg, and Prince Charles of Denmark ; the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, the Hereditary Grand Duke Michael of Russia, beneath whose cloak might be seen a dazzling white uniform, and the Crown Prince of Norway and Sweden ; the Crown Prince of Siam, in white helmet and dark military cloak, the Duke of Saxony, and the Duke of Aosta ; Prince Arnulf of Bavaria, Duke Robert of Württemberg, and the Hereditary Grand Duke of Baden ; Prince Ernest Hohenlohe, the Prince of Hohenzollern and Sigmaringen, and the Prince of Waldeck-Pyrmont ; Duke Adolphus Frederick of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the Hereditary Prince of Saxe-

Meiningen, and Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg ; Duke Ernest Gunther of Schleswig-Holstein, Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse, and Prince Adolf of Schaumburg-Lippe ; the Duke of Teck, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and Prince Francis of Teck ; Prince Ernest of Saxe-Altenberg, Prince Henry of Reuss, and Mehemet Ali, in red fez and dark cloak ; and Prince Alexander of Teck, and the Duke of Fife.

Only one funeral pageant in ancient or modern times can compare with this in splendour and significance, and that one was not seen until nine years later. On

A Long Line of Royal Mourners

February 2, 1901, the world-wide respect and sympathy shown during the burial procession of Queen Victoria was incomparable. The long splendid train of Royal mourners was a remarkable demonstration of international compassion and reverence. It was a rapid vision of flowing cloaks of blue, silvery grey and black, of purple sashes, resplendent costumes and dancing plumes, which brought to the mind much of the history of modern Europe. On the vast masses of people through which it passed it produced an extraordinary effect of alleviation. It removed from their hearts the feeling of anger which had mingled with their sorrow. Although they knew that some of the races represented by the Royal figures following the coffin were still engaged in slandering their dead Sovereign, they forgave all offences against her, and thought only of the goodwill and friendship shown by the kings and princes and chiefs of the still hostile nations. On the other hand, the conduct of the vast English multitude must have filled the foreign potentates with something like awe. When the

procession arrived at Paddington Station, and the mortal remains of their beloved ruler were disappearing for ever from their view, not a sound came from the people to betray their presence or their emotion. An intense and solemn hush brooded over the closely packed streets ; nothing was heard but the tramp of the horses' feet and the wailing music of the funeral march as the bier was slowly drawn into the station.

At a little past two the Royal funeral train with its sacred freight arrived at Windsor, and the procession re-formed, and began to wind through the town, across the courtyard of the Castle, to St. George's Chapel. One of the artillery horses drawing the gun-carriage on which the coffin was placed, however, reared and plunged in a very dangerous manner. It seemed as though King Edward, who was walking immediately behind, might be hurt. Some bluejackets forming the naval guard of honour rose with the occasion. They removed the team of horses, turned the traces and chains of the harness into draw-ropes,



QUEEN ALEXANDRA AT PADDINGTON STATION

After its mournful passage through the streets of London the body of Queen Victoria was borne to Windsor from Paddington, the Royal train, which had been built for the Jubilee in 1887, consisting of seven eight-wheeled coaches. Queen Alexandra, in the above illustration, is seen alighting from her carriage at Paddington. From a drawing by J. Finnemore, R.I.

and, fitting themselves to the gun-carriage, drew the dead Queen from the station to the Chapel. Thus, in spite of the fact that Queen Victoria had commanded a military funeral, the Army was at the last moment deprived of its place of honour by the handier men of the Navy. Still, the dead Queen had been, after all, the mistress of the greatest fleet the world had ever seen, and the accident that gave

The Service in the Royal Chapel to her sailors the chief place at the close as well as at the beginning of her last progress from the Isle of Wight to Windsor Castle was significant: it served to show once more the readiness, the utility, and the alacrity of the British seamen.

At the door of the Chapel, the blue-jackets handed over their precious burden to the Grenadier Guards, and it then seemed as if a really deplorable mishap would occur. The coffin was so heavy that, as the soldiers struggled up the steps with it, some of them swayed under the burden and seemed about to fall. Men clanked up rapidly in relays to take the place of the overtaken bearers, and at last the ponderous coffin was borne towards the choir and King Edward, with drawn face and sad eyes, full weight attended by the throng of mourning Royalists. Everybody of name and power in the United Kingdom was assembled in robes of state in the Royal Chapel. There was not one of sadness now in the splendid ceremonial, for the cloaks that had been used outside for protection against the raw weather were removed, and all was colour and defiant brightness. When the door was closed the whole space of the nave was a glittering mosaic of gold and silver and precious stones, of scarlet and grey and white and blue—a wondrous yet pathetically accidental harmony of colour, comparable to a kaleidoscope more magnificent than was ever conceived by the hand of man. There was only one plainly dressed man in the glittering multitude, Mr. Choate, the American Ambassador, but he spoke for the sympathy of a continent of kinsmen. The Privy Councillors were there, arrayed in their robes; the Knights of the Garter in their gorgeous

social raiment; the Military Knights of Windsor; the Gentleman-at-Arms in silver and white plumed helmets with scarlet coats; while the Yeomen of the Guard in their rich Tudor attire stood along the central passage in the nave, resting his surcoat on their old-world bayonets. The coffin was deposited on the purple bier which had been prepared for it, and the gold and the insignia of regality were placed above the dead Queen. King Edward and his ministers stood at the head of the casket, and the Bishop of Winchester and the aged Archbishop of Canterbury read the funeral service. The Nurri-King-at-Armstrong came

forward, and in a ringing voice made his proclamation thus:

"Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life unto His Divine Mercy two late most high, most mighty, and most excellent Monarchs, Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India, and Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, let us humbly beseech Almighty God to bless with long life, health, and honour, and all worldly happiness the most high, most mighty, and most excellent Monarch, our Sovereign Lord Edward, now, by the death of her, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, and Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. God save the King."

After the anthem, "Blessed are the Departed," a solemn benediction was given by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the thrilling sound of Beethoven's Funeral March the magnificent and impressive ceremony came to an end.

In the quiet secluded garden at Frogmore, in Windsor Great Park, there is a splendid building to which Queen Victoria made a daily pilgrimage during all the long lonely days of her widowhood when she was in residence at Windsor. Over the door is a bronze tablet with an inscription: "His mourning widow, Victoria the Queen, directed that all that is mortal of Prince Albert be placed in this sepulchre, A.D. 1862. Farewell beloved! Here at last will I rest with thee: with thee in Christ will I rise again."

The Last Scene at Frogmore On February 4, 1901, King Edward had the body of his mother carried to this mausoleum, and there, placing the dead Queen beside her husband, he sadly left her

to her last sleep, surrounded by every emblem of Divine and human love. The long train of Royalists who had followed her coffin from London to Windsor assisted in the last rites by her grave.

What was it that led the generations of the earth to come and mourn by the tomb of Queen Victoria, at a time when the ruler and the people of the British Empire were being



THE FUNERAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA. The photograph shows the large crowd of people gathered in front of the Royal Chapel at Windsor for the funeral of Queen Victoria. The building is a large, ornate structure with multiple windows and a prominent entrance. The crowd is dense, and the scene is captured from a low angle, emphasizing the scale of the gathering.



THE FUNERAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA. THE COFFIN BEING CARRIED INTO ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR

From a photograph by Russell & Sons

violently arraigned by nearly all the nations of Europe? It could not have been the mere fact that they were grateful to her for her marvellous achievement in restoring to the monarchical idea the prestige it had lost in the age of the French Revolution. For it was a great Republican nation which joined itself most closely with the subjects of the dead Sovereign in lamenting her death. In the principal cities of the United States the exchanges were closed on the day of the funeral. President McKinley and the members of his Cabinet, together with the representatives of the Supreme Court, of the two branches of the Legislature, of the Navy and the Army, attended, all in mourning dress, a memorial service to the Queen at Washington. Some of the Presidents of the Commonwealths of South America also honoured the memory of the Queen in the same way; and in France, the wife of President Loubet attended in the place of her husband at the Embassy Church at Paris. This was more remarkable in that France and England were then far from being friends.

The explanation seems to be this, that every intelligent person in the world, even if he were opposed to the foreign policy of the British Empire, felt that Queen Victoria and her people had been the grand civilising agency of the nineteenth century. And her death, which made the whole of mankind feel at last its common humanity, naturally produced a still profounder effect throughout her dominions. In Canada and Australia, in India and Ceylon and South Africa and New Zealand, in the West Indian Islands, and in the Nearer and the Farther East, in every

lonely island over which flew the British flag, she was lamented as no ruler ever was before. There can be no doubt that the grief which sent a thrill throughout the Empire tended to bind together, by the force of a common sentiment, every part of the Imperial fabric. And this evidence of the strength and unity of the British race had a material influence over the politics of Europe and of the world. More than anything else it facilitated the work of Edward the Peacemaker.

The Queen's life was an extraordinary instance of government by example. The result was, as Gladstone said, that what the Crown lost in power during her reign it gained in influence. It was the example and the influence inherited from his mother which partly enabled King Edward to become at a leap the master-spirit of his age. The chief difference

The King's Debt to his Mother between mother and son was that the Queen had a rather imperious nature, while the genius of the King seemed to reside in his exquisite tact and urbanity. But this difference did not go very deeply down. In spite of his suavity of manner, King Edward, when he had once marked out a policy, was even more inflexible than his strong-minded predecessor. Undoubtedly, he learnt much from her, and profited by her large experience. On the other hand, he exerted over his mother in her later years more influence than she would probably have cared to admit. About 1880, her long seclusion from public life had produced a certain coldness between her and her people. King Edward was aware of this. He had himself acquired an extraordinary popularity by the work that he was constantly doing in every part of the country in the cause of charity and social reform; and he seems to have foreseen that the Crown would regain, as the living symbol of Imperial unity, much of the power and authority it had lost. So he gradually induced his mother partly to resume the public functions of Royalty, and to this was in some measure due the revival of the passion of loyalty which soothed and gilded her declining days. King Edward was thus one of the inspirers of that popular regard and veneration which his mother enjoyed in her old age and transmitted to him. All this, however, would not have enabled him in a brief reign of nine years to achieve and crown the work at which she had laboured for the greater part of the nineteenth century if he had not fully inherited those qualities of soul and mind and character which made her the best and greatest Queen in the annals of the world.



THE LAST JOURNEY OF QUEEN VICTORIA: THE PROCESSION TO THE MAUSOLEUM AT FROGMORE

After the funeral ceremony in St. George's Chapel the coffin was taken, on February 2, to the Albert Memorial Chapel, where it remained until Monday, the 4th. On that day King Edward had the body of his mother conveyed to the mausoleum in the quiet, secluded garden at Frogmore, in Windsor Great Park, and there, placing the dead Queen beside the husband whom she had so long mourned, he sadly left her in her last resting place.

From a photograph by Russell & Sons



CHAPTER LXVI

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE VICTORIAN ERA

Being a Comprehensive Study of the Nation's Wonderful Development During Queen Victoria's Reign, and of the Great Movements and Achievements of the Age

THE custom of dividing history into periods marked out by the accession and demise of monarchs has been held up to contempt with some frequency, as implying an excessive estimate of the importance of Royal individuals. Nevertheless, it is not likely to disappear. Milestones and signposts at cross roads are not prominent features in the landscape, but they are eminently convenient institutions for the pedestrian traveller. The complaint appears to be based on a total misconception. It is, no doubt, a matter of comparatively small consequence whether the king who happened to be reigning in an important period of history when striking events were taking place was a Henry or a William. But the name is used as a label not because the identity of the king is a matter of the first importance, but, as a rule, because of its neutrality. If we label a period by any other kind of title, we fix attention too exclusively on a particular movement. The Tudor period covers a section of time in which, no doubt, Tudor princes played an important part; but the convenience of the label is out of all proportion greater even than the personal importance of the Tudors. For it was the age of the Reformation, the age of an enormous geographical expansion, the age of a great intellectual movement, the age of national consolidation; but the age, as a whole, embraces all these, and cannot properly be identified specifically with any one of them. The dynastic label is a chronological one which happens to serve for the whole field.

Something of the same kind may be said of the Victorian era. No one will be prepared to say that during the sixty-three years of her reign Queen Victoria was the one person who most profoundly modified the history of the world, or even the history of our own land. Her personality, like

that of the Tudor princes, did unquestionably have a very marked influence; but it was not the supreme influence. Nevertheless, the age is one during which a number of developments took place in specific fields; so that it might probably be said with truth that a man who is eighty years old to-day has witnessed more remarkable changes during his lifetime than any octogenarian of the past, except in three or four periods which claim to challenge comparison with our own. These changes may have had their beginnings before Queen Victoria's accession, and may not have attained their consummation before her demise; but their main current lay within her reign, they all belong to a single era, and to that era no more appropriate name could be attached than that of the Queen.

It can hardly be doubted that before the Queen's accession a positive hostility to monarchism had been growing among the masses; and the affection and respect which the Queen drew to herself acted on this as an effective check. But something more was required to give the Crown real value and weight in the Constitution. The Kings of the House of Hanover since George I., who was a mere figure-head, had tried as hard as they dared to get their own way, and had submitted with a bad grace when they were afraid to follow any other course. George III. was the only one of them who had to any extent succeeded in getting his own way. But this view of the functions of a constitutional monarch led to the conclusion that such a monarch, unless endowed with quite extraordinary abilities, would inevitably become either a nuisance or a nonentity; it was the part of Queen Victoria to demonstrate that she need be neither the one nor the other, provided at least that she were capable and conscientious. Affection and respect might have left her a nonentity still; her wisdom placed the



QUEEN VICTORIA AND HER GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN
From a photograph taken by Hughes & Mullin, a few months before her Majesty's death

Crown on a different footing altogether. There was nothing revolutionary, nothing sudden, nothing even precisely apparent, in the change which took place during the first five-and-twenty years of the Queen's reign. There was no thwarting of the policy of Ministers, no thrusting of an antagonistic policy upon them, no suspicion that the rise or fall of statesmen, or even of a single one of them, would depend upon the Queen's pleasure or displeasure.

The Sovereign and her Ministers

But that is what would have occurred if the system which George III. introduced had been pushed forward. To all appearance the Sovereign placed herself in her Ministers' hands. Only twice did the public become aware of a conflict—once over the "bedchamber question," and once over Lord Palmerston's conduct of foreign affairs. This second case provides a clear illustration of that conception of the Royal function in which the strength of constitutional monarchy lies. The Sovereign made it her business to know, and claimed it as her right that she should know, all that was going on; that her Ministers should not act while she was in the dark as to their action, or without giving her the opportunity of expressing her own views. In other words, the Sovereign did not claim to direct and

had been in practice only. But since 1830 a legal change took place which converted the House of Commons into a democratic body, though it can hardly yet be affirmed that it has made the Government strictly democratic. When Queen Victoria's predecessor came to the throne half the members of the House of Commons were returned practically by the aristocracy, and the remainder were elected on a franchise which was extremely limited and extremely irregular. The only class in the country which was fully represented in Parliament was the landed class. The Reform Act extended and regulated the franchise so that the whole of the middle class received full representation. Neither birth nor land nor wealth conferred control, though all three in varied degrees carried a certain influence. But the entire labouring class were still without representation when Queen Victoria ascended the throne. Thus there still remained a basis for a revolutionary propaganda, though in a form by no means so violent as in countries where a feudal oligarchy was yet dominant.

Half-way through the reign the artisan was admitted to the franchise; and after another interval the same rights were extended to the agricultural labourer. Whether or no artisans and agricultural labourers are the best judges of



QUEEN VICTORIA'S LAST VISIT TO IRELAND: HER MAJESTY IN HER DONKEY CARRIAGE

In the spring of 1900, Queen Victoria gave up a much-needed holiday in the warm, soft air of the Riviera in order to show, by a long and busy stay in Dublin, her grateful appreciation for the splendid bravery of the Irish soldiers in South Africa. The above photograph, probably the last ever taken of her Majesty, shows her during the journey.

control policy, but did claim to be systematically consulted. And she proved her right to be so consulted by her mastery of affairs. The principle was established before Lord Palmerston formed the Administration at the head of which he remained till the close of his life. For forty years more that principle was acted upon by the Queen and her Ministers; and throughout those forty years an increasing weight attached to the Queen's judgment. The general effect was to give the maximum value to the wisdom of a capable Sovereign without depriving the Cabinet of a particle of practical control; so that the unwisdom of an injudicious Sovereign would have the least possible ill effect. The Victorian era, in short, fixed the lines on which constitutional monarchy provides the maximum of benefit with the minimum of risk; the lines on which there is every reason to suppose that it will continue for generations to come.

The second line of change which characterises the Victorian era within the United Kingdom is also constitutional, but belongs rather to the law than to the custom of the Constitution. Technically, the rights and the powers of the Crown in the year 1901 remained precisely what they were in the year 1837 or 1830. Then the change

what is in their own interest may be a matter of dispute: but the Victorian era conferred upon them the right of exercising that judgment instead of requiring them to accept the views of those whose interests appeared to conflict with their own. The representatives of the people in the House of Commons ceased to be drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of those who had enjoyed a classical education. The democratic principle was established by purely constitutional methods, and perhaps with more completeness than in any state outside the British Empire.

The third characteristic change of the period, to which the term constitutional may perhaps still be applied, is

Transformation of the Colonies Imperial, and concerns the relations of the Mother Country with the Colonies. It may be briefly expressed as a transformation of colonies into self-governing states.

Setting aside India, to which the term colony could only be applied in a quite distinct sense, the conception of colonies and their status was entirely changed. Seventy years ago they were outlets for British expansion, for the overflow of the British population, fostered for the convenience of the Mother Country. Subject to the convenience of the

Mother Country, and to her demands on the score of morality, they were to be left to go their own way when they had acquired sufficient growth. But it was still assumed that their self-government should be limited, although the disastrous experiment of taxing them without their own consent was not again attempted. The principles, however, which had led Englishmen to demand for themselves the Reform Act of 1832 caused them also to recognise the propriety of permitting the substantial colonies to govern themselves on lines corresponding to the home government of England. The advisability of this course was brought home to the British mind by the events in Canada at the outset of Queen Victoria's reign. Almost immediately, the Canadas received a system of self-government very much more complete than they had hitherto enjoyed. In a few years responsible government in the full sense followed for one after another of the Australasian colonies, and finally for Cape Colony and Natal. Responsible government was both symptom and cause of the new colonial idea, which received a fresh impulse on the federation of the North American colonies. The source of it, perhaps, was in the original re-union of the Canadas in 1840. Under the old system particularism had been carried to extreme limits. The new idea was based on insistence upon identities of interest and upon the strengthening force of unity; but it did not seek to destroy diversity. At the back of it, however, lay the Imperial conception of the unity, not only of groups, but of the whole Empire.

Neither at home nor in the Colonies did the conception at first appear to grip the public mind. At home the suspicion that colonies were as much an incubus as a help had become too deeply implanted to be quickly eradicated. There was a traditional

The Mother Country and the Colonies consciousness that the defence of colonies was not paid for by colonial purses; while in the Colonies there was jealousy of British intervention in colonial affairs.

Moreover, the colonies did not at first see any great need for closer unity among themselves. Lord Carnarvon's schemes were received with extreme chilliness in South

Africa; and the most effective impulse towards Australasian federation down to a very late period was indignation at what was looked upon as the disregard of colonial interests by the Imperial Government. At home the idea

The Birth of Imperialism

of Imperial federation, though sedulously cultivated by sundry persons of importance, was for the most part looked upon as an academic dream of politicians of the less practical order. Although there were leading statesmen and leading thinkers standing outside the field of politics who strove persistently to emphasise the Imperial idea, their efforts appeared to bear little fruit, as far as

the general public was concerned, until Mr. Chamberlain (that least academic of statesmen) became its prophet. The manner in which the Canadians and Australasians rallied to the flag when the South African War broke out gave a tremendous impulse to Imperial enthusiasm, and established the conception of Imperial unity as among the most vital products of the Victorian era.

At the moment when Queen Victoria died, it is probable that practically every person in the country whose opinion carried any weight would have declared with alacrity that the most valuable and most permanent birth of the Victorian era was Free Trade. The same influence which did so much to revolutionise the popular idea of the relations between the Mother Country and her colonies was in the course of a few years to effect a revolution in the ideas of one of the two great parties on the subject of Free Trade. But whether

or no Free Trade is destined to hold its own—whether it is to be the permanent basis of Britain's economic system, or merely a transitory episode—the change from Protection to Free Trade was among the most prominent and far-reaching of the events of the Victorian era. Huskisson laid the foundations of Free Trade, Peel raised the fabric, Gladstone completed it. Lord Beaconsfield, once the most energetic advocate of Protection, ultimately pronounced also its most uncomplimentary epitaph; perhaps prematurely. But the fact stands out clearly that the country during the reign of William IV. and at the outset of that of Queen Victoria was in a state of very serious economic



Up till the closing hours of her long life, Queen Victoria held in her own hands the reins of her high office, discharging the duties of State, and dying at last, like the noble son who succeeded her, in harness. The above portrait is by R. Milne, and was the last ever taken of her Majesty at her beloved Highland home, Balmoral.

depression; that Peel introduced an economic revolution; and that the revolution was attended and followed by an unparalleled economic recovery and expansion.

For half a century the theory and practice of Free Trade held undisputed supremacy in the United Kingdom,

its opponents being restricted to those who held that a tax on corn would be an effective remedy for the diminution of the agricultural area. For a short time, at a

later period, the terms Reciprocity and Fair Trade had a brief vogue with a small section, but were laughed out of court. No text-book would have been admitted into the schools which did not take for granted that British prosperity was the offspring of Free Trade. Apart from all other arguments, the way in which industrial progress in England distanced all competitors, while England stood almost alone as a free-trading community, appeared to take the whole question outside the field of reasonable argument. Between 1850 and 1900 it would be hardly too much to say that no book would have been given a hearing which seriously advocated a return to Protection.

The rights and wrongs of the controversy which became so active during the first decade of the present century, are not here under discussion. The point is simply that the Victorian era embraces the half-century during which Free Trade doctrines held the field without dispute in the United Kingdom. The Victorian era was the era of British Free Trade, and an era of British industrial supremacy. That Free Trade and industrial supremacy were related as cause and effect was an inference so obvious as to be practically inevitable. The progress of Protectionist countries in the latter half of the period, though in some instances remarkable, did not in the least shake the confidence of Free Traders or draw the reconsideration of the theory of Free Trade into the range of practical politics. But the revival of the controversy was not to be postponed for long.

If there should be sought another political characteristic of the Victorian age, based, not on the domestic history of the Empire, but on international relations, there would be justification for describing the era as that of Russophobia. The fear and suspicion of Russian designs had its rise in the years immediately preceding the accession of Queen Victoria, and persisted from one end of her reign to the other. At no time were they altogether absent. This was the case with no other state. Russia, France, and the United States were the three nations, and the only three nations, whose interests, at least until the closing years of the period, at one time or another threatened seriously to collide with those of Britain.

But if British and French occasionally shook their fists at each other across the Channel, and threatening language was occasionally heard from the White House, there was no impression of permanent hostility such as subsisted between this country and Russia. Alone among European Powers, Great Britain and Russia are Asiatic Powers also. But the Russian expansion has the advantage

of territorial continuity, whereas the continuity of the British Empire is oceanic. The Russian rule in Central Asia is only half alien, the British rule in India is alien wholly. Russia's expansion brought her borders nearer and ever nearer to those of India, which have their natural physical limit in the great mountain ranges. Russia, in short, was the one European Power which was geographically capable of threatening the British dominion in India; and although it might be politically convenient for one British statesman at one time to scoff at "Mervousness," and for another to recommend the study of large maps as an antidote, Britons in England and in India continued subject to fits of excitement every time it was realised that Russia had moved a step nearer. No one ever had a doubt that any European Power would consider itself entitled to turn us out of India if it got the chance and wished to do so.

It is curious to observe incidentally that the attitude of hostility to Russia, and suspicion of her aims, were, in the

first instance, characteristic of Liberalism, although, as Liberalism advanced, the tradition was appropriated by the Conservative party. The explanation of the paradox lies in the fact that antagonism to Russia involved in the Near East a friendly attitude towards Turkey. If Russian autocracy was repellent to Liberal ideas, it was still less possible to reconcile those ideas with Ottoman practice, which, before the end of the reign, was proving too much even for Lord Salisbury. But, how-

ever uneasy Liberal statesmen might feel over British responsibility for the preservation of the Turkish Empire, no Government, whether Liberal or Conservative, throughout the reign was ever able to feel itself relieved from the necessity of watching Russia with suspicion. The fear of Russia was not confined to Great Britain, for two main reasons. One was that her enormous resources, together with the secrecy of her government, combined to make it extremely difficult to gauge her power of offensive action. The other reason was a sense of Russia's invulnerability, which had been brought home to the world by the terrific disaster of Napoleon's Moscow campaign. To every

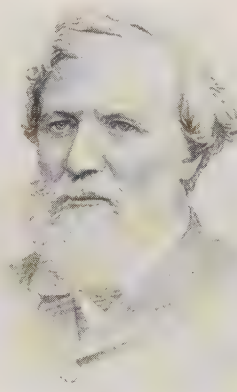
European Power, Russian hostility was an incalculable danger, which of necessity was rated more highly than it probably deserved to be. Russia understood her own position and its advantages to the full, and her diplomats could fall back on an attitude of defiance, when hard pressed, with a lively expectation of being taken at her own valuation. Thus, in every diplomatic encounter with one European Power or with many, Russia came off with the best possible bargain. It was not till her war with Japan in the present century that the Russian terror was laid.

The future historian whose mind is primarily engaged on political events will probably point to the Victorian era as that of the development of nationalities. The old European system was not nationalist, but dynastic; and the Congress of Vienna confirmed the old system, which the triumphs of the

THE THREE GREAT POETS OF THE VICTORIAN ERA



LORD TENNYSON



ROBERT BROWNING



ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE
From a photograph by Elliott & Fry

Laying the Russian Terror

first Napoleon had temporarily overturned. The re-established system was in full possession when Queen Victoria came to the throne. Her accession, indeed, in some degree emphasised it by the dynastic separation of Hanover from the British Crown. In the United Kingdom, in France, in Spain, and in Portugal the dynastic dominion was practically co-terminous with a nationality; and it might be said that the Switzers also had created a separate nationality for themselves, in spite of diversities of language, of race, and of religion. But for the rest, nationality and dominion had little enough in common. One part of Italy was ruled by a Bourbon dynasty, another part was subject to the Austrian Emperor, another part was under papal sway. Of what was left, the whole was not even under a single prince. Austria stood at the head of the German nationality, but German Austria was only a small section of the Austrian Empire; and the rest of Germany was broken up into a number of sovereign

Affairs on the Continent States with very little cohesion. The Austrian Empire comprised a German section, more than one Slavonic section, and a Magyar section. The Polish people retained a sense of nationality, while Poland, like Italy, was divided under foreign rulers. The principle of nationality had received recognition since 1814 almost exclusively in the two comparatively insignificant cases of the separation of Greece from the Turkish Empire and of Belgium from Holland. Half the kingdom of Denmark was German; while Sweden and Norway, united politically, were more conscious of their national separateness than of their national unity. The Slavonic or semi-Slavonic provinces of the Turkish Empire were still completely under the Ottoman dominion.

In all this the Victorian era saw an entire change. It is true that at the end of the nineteenth century the principle of nationalism was still not established in completeness. The Austrian Empire was as heterogeneous as before, except that its dominion in Italy was a thing of the past; the Balkan States had not yet fully worked out their nationalism; and Polish nationalism had perished for ever. But every change which took place in the map of Europe found its basis in nationalism, unless it be claimed that the Rhine provinces, of which France was bereft in 1871, formed an exception—a view which Germans would indignantly repudiate. There is colour even for attributing the same character to the cession of Nice to France by Victor Emmanuel. The separation of Norway from Sweden was in the near future. Even where nationalism had not already won a complete victory, progress had been made

towards the acceptance of the principle, so far, at least, as national self-government may be regarded in that light.

It should be remarked, however, that nationalism has two aspects. It may tend to a division of a great state, where its parts are nationally separable, as was the case with Turkey, and as may yet be the case with Austria.

Aspects of Nationalism But it also tends to unification where separate states belong essentially to one nationality. In this latter sense its antithesis is particularism. The fundamental issue of the American Civil War was that between particularism and nationalism, and nationalism was victorious. When particularism is dominant it spells disintegration. Where it survives, but is subordinated to nationalism, it tends to the formation of one or another among the types of state which are essentially federal. Within the British Empire the first movements of the era were rather in the direction of particularism, of emphasising the separateness of the colonial states. The later movement, which followed hard upon the first, is clearly recognisable as being essentially nationalist. It may be remarked that the Irish movement which claims that title was, in its primary aims, particularist. The great question at issue between its opponents and its supporters is precisely whether its success would lead to a new nationalism or to a definite separatism.

The looseness of our ordinary phraseology has necessitated this somewhat prolonged analysis, because the existence of minor differences tends to create a confusion between particular-

ism and nationalism; whereas, in fact, although the two may be identical by accident, as in the case of the Turkish Empire, they may also be different but compatible, as in the case of the British Empire, or incompatible, as in the case of the United States. What survives the analysis is the main thesis that the Victorian era has been generally marked by the development of the principle of nationalism. Of nationalism in its unifying aspect the two outstanding European examples of the period are those of Germany and

Italy. Italy, like Hellas of old, was utterly given up to particularism through the centuries; so that since the downfall of the Roman Empire only one Italian state, that of Venice, ever ranked as a power of the first importance. Italian unity was an ideal towards which Italian patriots, from Dante onwards, turned longing but despairing eyes. Italy's fairest provinces never ceased to be bones of contention, prizes to be fought for by foreign dynasties. Nevertheless, the passion of Italian patriotism was never killed; perhaps, though there is something paradoxical in



MASTER THINKERS OF THE VICTORIAN ERA

Photos by Herschel, Mauld & Fox, E. Walker, London Stereoscopic, Barrauld, and Mills

the suggestion, it gained strength from the doings of the first Napoleon. But there was never a time when its realisation seemed more remote than at the opening of the Victorian era.

The prophet of Italian liberation and Italian unity—the two were inseparable—was Giuseppe Mazzini; the organiser was Cavour. Each in his own way, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, played essential parts in the great drama. Different as were the ideas of the three first-named, each of them was necessary for the success of the movement. Heart, brain, and hand did not always act in concert; but it is not possible to weigh the comparative importance of the three. Mazzini and Garibaldi were both Republicans; Cavour was a Monarchist. Mazzini, moved by a passionate virtue, was yet able to reconcile his enthusiasm for right with the permission—if not, as his enemies declared, the actual encouragement—of political assassination. Cavour, far less swayed by moral considerations, repudiated all methods which would tend to alienate European sympathy. Preaching, intriguing, elaborate planning, were all outside Garibaldi's range; but he was the incarnation of a perfectly selfless patriotism, which laughed at personal peril and counted nothing impossible. The brain of Cavour turned to account the faith and the enthusiasm which Mazzini and Garibaldi inspired in his countrymen, and supplemented them by also turning to account the personal ambitions of the Emperor of the French. It was Cavour's happy fortune in the great task which he undertook to be able to act as Minister of a prince, Victor Emmanuel, who was admirably fitted for the rôle which he had to play, at a time when it was convenient to the third Napoleon to range himself against Austria.

The result of this combination of persons and circumstances was to win that union of Northern Italy which was very soon able to transform itself into the unification of Italy. A Power was created with a capacity for development as yet untested, but at the lowest estimate sufficiently vigorous to be an important factor in European politics; while Italian provinces ceased to provide the European Powers with objects of contention.

The creation of a united Italy was sufficient in itself to modify the balance of the European Powers; the creation of a united Germany not only modified the balance, but completely changed the centre of gravity. The Congress of Vienna and all that followed therefrom left Germany, as it had been in the past, a congeries of states which could by no means be counted upon to act together in any emergency. The whole group was indeed dominated, unless even that term is too strong, by Austria; but the Austrian ascendancy was constantly open to challenge by Prussia. Prussia and Austria both ranked individually as great Powers; but neither the one nor the other could have counted upon other German support in an aggressive policy, and no other German state could have counted for more than a makeweight in any European complications. A united Germany had never been known; for the old Holy Roman Empire had never been organised into a real unity. Now, there were aspirations after a united Germany; but outside of Prussia they were generally Pan-Germanic, requiring the inclusion of both Prussia and Austria. Probably the association of Austria with Hungary and Bohemia would in any case have prevented any realisation of the Pan-Germanic ideal. The unification of Germany was to take another form.

A federation of all the German states on a simple footing of equality could have led to no satisfactory result. A federation in which Austria and Prussia stood side by side on a plane above the rest would have been equally unmanageable; a dual control habitually means a conflict of controls. In no federation would either Austria or Prussia yield pride of place to the other. The conclusion of Otto von Bismarck, on the side of Prussia, was that a united Germany meant a Germany without Austria, a Germany in which Prussian supremacy should be indisputable. Austria would not be excluded unless by force of arms; Prussia would not be supreme without an unchallengeable military supremacy. The first step, then, was so to organise the military system as to make Prussia invincible. The second was to demonstrate her invincibility by expelling Austria. The condition for securing the necessary military organisation was the overriding of the constitutional opposition. The constitutional opposition was overridden, and the military organisation was perfected, and experimentally tested in the Schleswig-Holstein affair in which Prussia and Austria posed as the champions of German nationalism. Holstein provided the opportunity of challenging Austria. The military power of Prussia was put to a

decisive test, and its complete superiority to that of her rival was completely demonstrated in the Seven Weeks' War. Austria was definitely separated from Germany.

Prussia strengthened her own individual position by absorbing sundry North German states—a process which was in itself a blow to the dynastic theory of states. The next aim was to form a strong union of the German states under Prussian supremacy. For the fulfilment of this aim the first step was the establishment of the North German Confederation, where the interests of all were allied closely enough to make the union immediately practicable. The complete union had to wait only during the very short time required to make the South Germans willing to subordinate their particularism to nationalism, through the recognition that their own vital interests were bound up with nationalism. But such a thorough consolidation of Germany would present a barrier to the ambitions of France; and at the same time those same French ambitions provided the strongest possible incentive to German unification. Nothing could so effectively convince Germany of the need for unity as a victorious conflict with France, so that the organisation of a victorious French war formed the next item of the Bismarck programme. That programme was carried out with entire success. The war was made a German war, and it united all Germany, with the exception of German Austria, in the new German Empire under Prussian supremacy.

The new German Empire was essentially a military creation, resting on the perfection of the military organisation. It was not the army of a nation, but a nation in arms, that had poured its battalions into France. After the Franco-German War, no Power and no combination of Powers could venture to attack united Germany with a light heart; but the unification of Germany had been accomplished by means which had at the same time a decisive effect on two other Powers. Austria, severed at last from Germany and from the German interests which were extraneous to her own empire, was turned back upon herself and upon the endeavour to achieve a greater unity within her own borders, not without a considerable measure of success. On the other side, in France, where the Second



TWO LEADERS OF VICTORIAN LITERATURE

The Creation of a United Italy

Empire had been of necessity, in the nature of things, aggressive, that empire was overthrown. For a time the military power of France was shattered. She had to reorganise herself, and the process was one which involved long and severe internal dissension. That indomitable people struggled triumphantly through its ordeal. But the most prominent international fact of the Victorian era remained the creation of the German military empire.

There is, however, another feature of the period to which the term international may be applied which must not be passed over. Outside of Europe the African continent was partitioned. Before the accession of Queen Victoria there were vast regions of the earth's surface which were still all but unknown. At the time of her death the whole habitable globe had been more or less traversed, and the European Powers had entered into possession wheresoever there was not already existing a government which could properly be called civilised. Treaties had fixed for each its sphere of possible expansion, subject only to the qualifying truth that treaties are perishable instruments.

The Rise of New Powers

But civilised states existed also which are either wholly non-European, like China or Japan, or had very recently severed themselves from subjection to European states, like those of America. During the Victorian period the United States in the North consolidated themselves into a Power of the first magnitude, and before its close they had entered the arena of international world-politics, as the result of their war with Spain and the annexation of the Philippines. The republics of the South, which had cut themselves adrift from Spain and Portugal, also organised themselves, through much storm and stress and with many revolutions, into states which were at last showing some promise of stability.

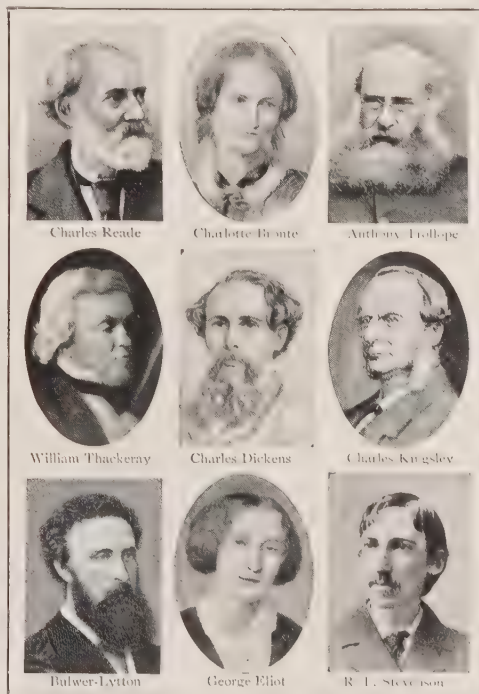
In the Far East, Europe battered persistently at the gates of China, which with no less persistency strove to keep its doors closed. Nevertheless, a lodgment was effected, Europe having a disposition to believe that the Celestial Empire might provide opportunities for European expansion. Experience, however, has somewhat tended to replace this expectation by a suspicion that China has only slept through the ages, and may awaken with startling effects. This vision of a yellow peril was already, at the close of the Victorian era, quickened in the minds of those observers who realised the extraordinary change which had taken place in Japan. Japan surprised the world in the last decade of the century by her brilliant success in her duel with China. A much more startling demonstration of Japanese efficiency was to take place in the near future. But the fact of the Japanese development was already accomplished; very much, it may be said, as in the eighteenth century the military efficiency of Prussia was already an accomplished fact before Frederick the Great astonished Europe by demonstrating practically what no one had suspected. Throughout the last forty years of the nineteenth century Japan was quietly and unostentatiously investigating and appropriating those Western ideas and methods which she had hitherto shut out with no less

determination than China herself. She was on the point of proving to the world—first, her own newly acquired importance, and, secondly, the possibility of self-development latent in the yellow races.

Another characteristic of international politics developed during this period remains to be noticed, which may be expressed in the phrase, the "Concert of Europe." The conception, perhaps, had "Concert of Europe" found its first notable expression as early as the Congress of Vienna and the downfall of the first Napoleon. The underlying idea is that Europe, as a whole, is to be consulted in the settlement of questions which, while they are actually subjects of dispute between two or three Powers, do in principle affect the interests of Europe at large; that they should be settled by the combined judgment and action of the European Powers. It may be described as the doctrine of European intervention. As Europe arranged the re-settlement of Europe when Napoleon I. was relegated to St. Helena, so Europe has claimed, though not with uniform success, to intervene to control the power of the victor to dictate terms to the vanquished, and to enforce upon individual Powers the fulfilment of engagements which received their sanction from the Powers acting in agreement.

Practically the Concert has attempted to apply its energies mainly to questions affecting the Near East, and more particularly in connection with matters arising from or connected with the Berlin Treaty. It has proved a somewhat unwieldy instrument, not so much acting itself as preventing or checking the action of individual Powers. Nevertheless, it is the expression of an idea which may well find a more adequate development as time goes on—the idea that Europe at large intends to preserve the peace, the idea of referring questions at issue to the common sense of law and justice instead of to the superiority in finesse or in arms of individual Powers.

The same idea took a somewhat different shape in the development of the practice of referring disputes to arbitration. In this course Great Britain led the way, not without some sacrifice, since, rightly or wrongly, she adopted it in spite of a belief that there is a more or less unconscious bias against Great Britain in the mind of any possible arbitrator. The leading case, so to speak, was the Alabama award in 1872. And British uneasiness was not removed by the results of either the Vancouver or the Penjdeh arbitrations. The fear, however, that no prospect existed of reasonable impartiality where



A GROUP OF NOVELISTS OF THE VICTORIAN ERA
Photograph of Trollope by London Stereoscopic Co.

British interests are concerned was distinctly diminished when the Venezuela arbitration practically recognised the complete justice of the British claims. There can be no question that the idea of arbitration gained ground immensely during the Victorian era, to which it owed its birth, and several arbitration treaties were concluded between individual states before the close of the nineteenth century. The civilised instinct which seeks to substitute the judgment of a skilled tribunal for the arbitrament of war was further illustrated by the first meeting of an international congress at The Hague, with the avowed

object of seeking means both for the prevention of war and for the mitigation of its inhumanity.

It is somewhat paradoxical to observe that, if the Victorian era made more strenuous and practical endeavours to avoid wars than any preceding age, it also witnessed wars on a great, not to say a tremendous, scale, and was characterised finally by a development of national armaments to which history affords no sort of parallel. The demand for peace, for release from the dread of war, was, in effect, checkmated by the absence of any authority which could enforce peace. Whether such an authority may yet be evolved out of the European Concert is a question to which the answer is not as yet forthcoming.

The peace movement is one aspect of a movement pervading the whole era which is called by names sometimes polite, and sometimes the reverse. Humanitarianism is, broadly speaking, the spirit which seeks to relieve the physical sufferings of mankind, more particularly those which are attributable to human injustice. Its manifestations are occasionally grotesque and not seldom foolish, in the case of emotional persons whose sympathetic feelings override their reasoning powers. On the other hand, under control of reason, the application of the humanitarian spirit is the main motive towards social amelioration. Where the organisation of the State is employed to further its ends, it is apt to be labelled Socialism. But the reign of Queen Victoria saw it develop into such a dominant force that it entered largely into the programme of both political parties, the principal difference being in the objects selected for sympathy.

It has already been implied that the Victorian era, viewed as a chapter in British development, should be dated rather from the Reform Bill of 1832 than from the actual accession of Queen Victoria, since an immense amount of what must be regarded as essentially Victorian was already in actual progress during the 'thirties. The common sense of humanitarianism took active expression at a still earlier date, when Sir Robert Peel, as Home Secretary, put an end to the monstrosities which then disfigured the criminal laws of England by abolishing the death penalty in the case of trivial offences. But the most resolute of humanitarian reformers was Lord Shaftesbury, who forced forward, in the teeth of economists, legislation for the protection of women and children. Successive Factory Acts inaugurated State intervention directed to the improvement of the lot of the labouring classes; it was the work of Conservative no less than of Liberal Governments; it was usually opposed by those who saw or imagined that their own interests would suffer, and was supported by the rest; and, as a question of terminology, it would be interesting to know precisely how much of it was "Socialistic" and how much was not. At any rate, legislation of this type characterised the entire Victorian era as it had not characterised any previous era in European history. And it was the outcome in the main of an honest desire to protect the weak from being exploited by the strong; not of a desire to purchase the votes of the many by robbing the few, or from any conviction of the economic superiority of the agency of the State as compared with that of the individual.

But the altruism, humanitarianism, or sentimentalism of the age, whichever one may be pleased to call it, was

more conspicuous in the field of personal endeavour than even in that of legislation. Philanthropic societies multiplied; and after the Tractarians had expended their first burst of mediævalism, the Oxford movement itself in its subsequent stages, the Broad Church movements of Maurice and Kingsley, and later revivalist movements, notably that connected with the Salvation Army, were all intimately associated with efforts for the elevation, material as well as spiritual, of the poorer classes of the community. Immense sums were subscribed for hospitals, and any public disaster, abroad as well as at home, made

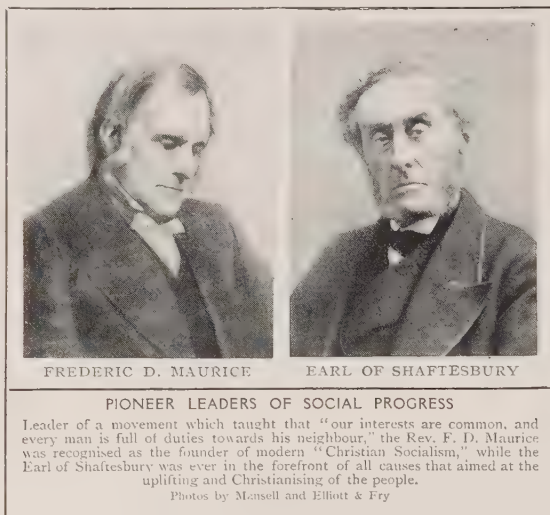
a readily answered appeal to the purse of charity. The "enthusiasm of humanity" made an increasing call, not only for pecuniary aid but also for personal service, until playing at philanthropy became a fashionable craze, which was more embarrassing than useful to the genuine workers.

In one field this humanitarian tendency of the age was particularly marked. It strove especially to mitigate the horrors of war in certain aspects. The contagious zeal of one noble-hearted woman, Florence Nightingale, taught the whole civilised world to bestow on the wounded in war a care and attention which had no precedent in the past; and the Red Cross came to provide sanctuary more efficient than any shrine

in the ancient days. The advance in medical science and surgery is not the only reason why so greatly increased a proportion of the wounded in the later wars of the century were enabled to recover. The instruments of slaughter have become far more efficient; but the wounds they inflict are more merciful, and public opinion demanded with increasing emphasis that the infliction of superfluous pain should be avoided.

Superfluous pain may be defined as pain which does not conduce to victory. It follows that the tendency was developed of increasing the protection extended to non-combatants. It must be remarked, however, that this in its turn involved a still more merciless attitude than before to those who abuse the non-combatant position. Extreme severity was displayed by the Germans in the Franco-Prussian war; and the British were, somewhat extravagantly, charged with displaying a like severity in the South African War; but in both cases the principle acted upon was in essence a merciful one. Non-combatants could hardly be protected at all if they have the option of assuming the combatant rôle at their own pleasure. The wild and whirling words that were launched by ultra-humanitarians against Germans and British were quite unjustifiable on the true principles of humanity. They emphasise, indeed, the prevalence of humanitarian sentiment, but the actions against which they were directed were themselves the outcome of the desire to make war more and not less humane. The age was

one of unprecedented material progress; because, broadly speaking, the world's productive power, and particularly the productive power of Great Britain, during the first forty years advanced much more rapidly than the increase of population in Great Britain and in Europe. The growth in productive power was due mainly to the great developments of machinery worked by steam, and to the increasing application of electricity. The luxuries of the past generation became the necessities of the next, as



The Spread of Humanitarianism

the cheapening of production cheapened the product. The endless development of the large towns was one of the most conspicuous features of the period; another was the enormous change in the means and rapidity of communication. When William IV. was king, the world still travelled on foot or on horseback, by carriage, by coach, or by the humble cart, according to its means. Sixty years later the world did all its travelling at between thirty and sixty miles an hour. England had become a network of railways, and the traveller starting from London reached Edinburgh in less time than it had taken his grandfather to get to Brighton or Oxford. In King William's time, the Englishman who wished to visit India took passage in a sailing ship which carried him round the Cape of Good Hope. Sixty years later, he could get from London to Bombay in three weeks. The first long-distance steamship passenger service was established in 1840; sixty years later, the ocean routes were dotted with huge floating hotels, and New York was less than a week's journey from Liverpool.

Steam and steel, it may be remarked, completely changed naval construction, and the old line of battle-ship disappeared from the face of the sea. The ironclad took its place.

The world has, so far, been spared any opportunity of fairly testing the effect of this change in actual warfare, as the fleets which have been pitted against each other have been too unequally matched to warrant the drawing of definite conclusions from their operations.

It was not only by steam that rapidity of communication was increased. The change wrought by electricity would be probably quite as astonishing to anyone who had gone to sleep in 1837 and been awakened up for the Queen's Jubilee. The messages which would have taken days, weeks, or months in transmission were conveyed over the wires in a few hours, or even in a few minutes, and people were even beginning to substitute telephonic communication for the written word. Frequency of correspondence was greatly facilitated very early in the reign by the introduction of the penny post, and afterwards by the continuous recognition that cheap rates, like low prices, enhance the demand for all conveniences and luxuries; that a hundred persons will spend a penny without consideration for an object on which one person would hesitate to spend a shilling.

Science added to the comfort of life—probably more during the reign of Queen Victoria than during any equal period before. It is the custom of mankind to take health for granted and to look upon ill-health as an abnormal grievance; and improvements in the public health are apt to be overlooked. It was due to medical and sanitary science that the general standard of health in Great Britain was raised immensely. The great epidemics of the past, which periodically devastated the countries of Europe, had already almost lost their terrors; the bubonic plague had not visited England since the seventeenth century. But others were still rampant on occasion which by the end of the century had become infinitely less destructive. Typhus practically vanished; the visitations of cholera in the first half of the reign had become impossible, at least with the same virulence, before the century closed. The prevalence of consumption was much reduced. Smallpox,

in spite of occasional outbreaks, ceased to account for many deaths; and a face which bore obvious traces of its ravages was rarely to be seen in a late Victorian crowd. The detection of microbes as the cause of many diseases provided remedies which, in various cases, conspicuously in that of diphtheria as well as of smallpox, proved extremely successful, in spite of the determination

Scientific Discoveries and Achievements of a considerable number of persons to deny that any knowledge of value was derivable from experiments upon live

animals to which the enormous majority of medical men attribute these advances in the art of healing. On the other hand, it must be admitted that there is a school which credits the improvement in public health mainly to the recognition of the uses of fresh air and pure water, open windows and increased cleanliness. These, however, no less than the development of the germ theory of disease, were characteristic of this era.

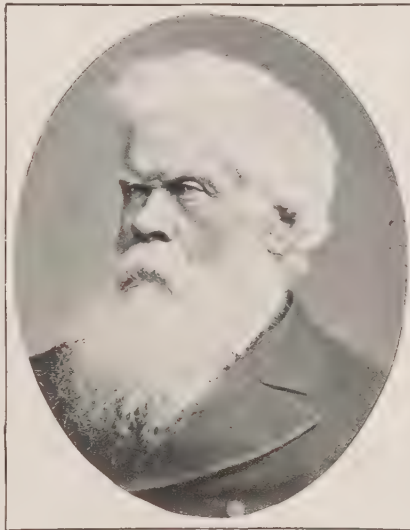
There is no dispute, however, as to the benefits derived by surgical patients from the effective introduction of anaesthetics in 1846, and of the antiseptic treatment associated with the name of Sir Joseph, afterwards Lord, Lister. These two great discoveries have made possible an immense number of operations, which, without them, could not have been performed at all, and permitted many more which previously were accompanied by so much danger to the patient that they could only be adopted in the gravest emergencies.

If science had a direct practical bearing on the material aspects of life of so exceptionally marked a character, its achievements in speculative regions were no less striking.

Since the final demonstration that the world goes round the sun, it is probable that no discovery has so come home to the popular imagination, or has so profoundly modified its conceptions, as the doctrine of evolution, which is inseparably associated with the name of Charles Darwin. The geologists had alarmed religious orthodoxy some while before by adducing proofs that the globe and the entire animal creation had not been made in six days of twenty-four hours in the year 4004 B.C., as calculated by Biblical chronologists. The orthodox, however, had begun to realise that the authority of the Scriptures remained unshaken, when they received a new shock from the promulgation of the Darwinian theory, which, as a matter of course, was wildly misrepresented, in all honesty, by its opponents. The creation of species had been taken for granted; its denial appeared to involve the denial of the Creator. If man was evolved out of the gorilla by natural selection, and was not created by the Almighty in His own image, Christianity was a mere fable. The fact that many of the leading

champions of the new biological doctrine were professedly sceptics in religion, who presently invented the term Agnostic to describe their own attitude, encouraged a popular and clerical impression that evolution spelt Atheism.

But before very many years had passed, men of religious mind were adopting a very different attitude. The demonstrable scientific fact cannot be shelved because it contradicts a preconceived theory. Religious truth does not cease to be truth because it has been associated with erroneous assumptions. Serious and acute thinkers found themselves able to believe everything in Christianity which seemed to them fundamental, while fully accepting



SIR HENRY PARKES

A great statesman, and for a time Premier of New South Wales; he was the father of Australian Federation, which was consummated January 1, 1901.

From a photograph by the London Stereoscopic Co.

everything that seemed to them to be necessarily involved in the theory of evolution. More than that, they found in the new doctrines a conception of the creation, and derived from them a conception of the Creator, more wonderful, more inspiring, and more convincing than had been possible before. The initial misconceptions of the meaning of evolution of species, the mistranslations of what Darwin had said into statements which were flatly at variance with his doctrine, gave place to a more general understanding of the fundamental truths which he had formulated.

The fact that every species survives and progresses by progressive adaptation to environment, and perishes by failure in adaptation, became as much a part of the common creed as the acceptance of the Copernican theory.

But whereas at the outset it had seemed to some that this doctrine dispensed with a Divine will altogether, the conviction gained ground that the Divine will manifested in this law of progress was more and not less Divine than that of an arbitrary power which does not proceed inevitably by law; that every demonstration of law in the universe is a demonstration of the Divine. This was the religious aspect of the acceptance of the Darwinian theory.

To the popular mind, science means a great deal when it takes the shape of tangible material inventions, or, on the other hand, when it appears to have a direct bearing on religion and conduct. The world at large is not equally awake to the importance or the meaning of the discovery of laws and generalisations whose immediate bearing on everyday life is less obvious. It is not improbable, therefore, that men of science in the future will not find in the Darwinian theory the most vital contribution to science of the Victorian era. Beside it, if not above it, they will place the discovery of the law of the conservation of energy and the corresponding law of its dissipation. For these the age was indebted to James Prescott Joule and to Sir William Thomson, afterwards Lord Kelvin. Michael Faraday's work in electro-magnetism belongs less distinctively to this period.

We are accustomed to think of English literature as having had certain periods of development, generally labelled as the Elizabethan, the Augustan, and the Revolutionary; the last extending roughly from Burns to Byron. Will future generations recognise also a Victorian age of English literature? Perhaps in that form the question is superfluous, and would be better expressed by inquiring whether any special characteristics can be named as distinguishing the literature of the period. We are far enough away now from the work which was done fifty years ago or more to be able to appreciate it, perhaps, as accurately as the work of earlier periods; and there need be no hesitation in declaring that the first half of the reign gave birth to much that will rank with the best of English literature in the judgment of posterity. Of the second half of the reign it is less possible to speak with confidence—at least, if we set aside what was done by men whose position was already achieved in the earlier period.

Among the Victorians there were certainly four poets who will claim to rank among the immortals; each of the four was born before the Queen's accession. They represent four different phases of the Victorian view of life; of only one of them can it be said that he was not distinctively Victorian. The middle Victorian period was imbued with the sense that science was destroying the old bases of faith

and morality. There were revolutionary spirits who found therein cause for rejoicing, who felt that the world was being released from a bondage. Their attitude found sonorous and vehement expression in the poems of Algernon Charles Swinburne, who was endowed with an unequalled power of controlling the music of words; of whom, however, it is to be observed that the impulses which moved him were of French rather than of English origin. The revolutionary spirit which he breathed in religion, in morals, and in politics was not generally characteristic of any large number of his countrymen.

In most direct contrast to him stands Matthew Arnold, the representative of those who felt that the old landmarks were irrevocably gone, and accepted the fact with a mournful resignation. But the poet who gave expression to the peculiar tendencies of the age, who gave voice to the fears and the doubts, to the hopes and to the faith, of his contemporaries, was Alfred Tennyson; and the poem which, whatever may be said of its merits or demerits, will stand for all time as the voice of the Victorian era, its most characteristic utterance, is Tennyson's "In Memoriam." For the age was one which, afflicted with doubt, nevertheless clung hard to faith, and realised that doubt is not the negation

of faith; an age which was painfully conscious of groping in the twilight, but believed that it was the twilight which precedes not the night but the dawn. The poet who, with a consummate mastery of form, gave expression to this feeling set the keynote for a host of minor writers; it is possibly a sign of some defect in the master that so many of the imitations were scarcely distinguishable from his own minor work. Tennysonian verse not written by Tennyson was, beyond question, a characteristic product of the age.

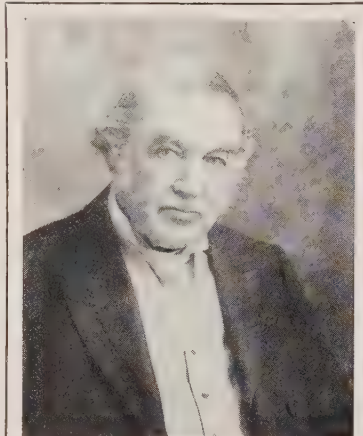
The fourth of the poets is contrasted with the other three as not being representative of any specifically Victorian phase; and also for setting at naught that demand for graces of style and lucidity of expression which met with so exquisite a response from his great contemporaries. Robert Browning was the most audacious of optimists at a time when optimism was rare, or spoke only with a faltering voice. His robust faith rested on foundations which enabled him to

dispense with those supports which seemed so vital to others who were less sturdy. It ignored conventions, as the poet ignored conventions in the form of his verse. Browning's tremendous individuality made imitation of him impossible; it produced results in his own work which verged on the grotesque, and in the eyes of some critics passed the verge; to parody it was easy, but attempted imitation



LORD DURHAM

First Earl of Durham, he was appointed Governor-general of Canada in 1838, where his brief rule was denounced as high-handed, but his famous Report became the basis for the constitution of the new Canadian Dominion.



SIR CHARLES TUPPER

A Canadian statesman, born in Nova Scotia in 1821, Sir Charles Tupper earned for himself considerable distinction as a surgeon before adopting politics, becoming in 1864 Premier of Nova Scotia, and in 1866 of the Dominion.
From a photograph by Elliot & Fry

could only produce distortion. To catch an echo of Tennyson or Swinburne was easy and tempting; to catch an echo of Browning was neither. Whatever place future generations may assign to Browning among English poets, he will be recognised as one of the great intellectual forces to which the age gave birth, but not as one of its characteristic products.

In prose literature, as in poetry, the greatest names were those of men who were born and in some cases were already active before Victoria's accession. Among these Thomas Carlyle has some affinity to Browning as having an individuality which set him wholly apart, rendering him entirely impossible of imitation. No Victorian writer ever attempted to model himself consciously or unconsciously after Carlyle; the peculiarities of his style made him equally easy to parody and equally impossible to imitate. It would be hardly too much to say that the characteristic prose style of the period was created by a man of infinitely less imaginative power and intellectual originality, Thomas Babington Macaulay. In their several ways, both Carlyle and Macaulay did much to awaken their contemporaries to the value and interest of history; though the impulse they gave to historical studies evolved in the course of time a school of historians whose conceptions and methods were as remote as possible from the conceptions and methods of either of the two. To both of them historical

Great Victorian Prose Writers

born before Victoria's accession, and a new joy had already been added to life by the publication of "The Pickwick Papers." By common consent, Dickens and Thackeray head the muster roll of the English novelists after the death of Sir Walter Scott, whatever personal preferences we may have for one or the other. The work of both belongs definitely to the first half of the reign. So did that of the Brontës and nearly all the best of George Eliot's. Charles Reade and Charles Kingsley each wrote at least one novel with a claim to immortality; there are critics who claim for the former that "The Cloister and the Hearth" is the best of all historical novels. Blackmore's "Lorna Doone" appeared exactly half-way through the reign. But among the host of writers who achieved a reputation during the 'seventies or later there are probably not more than three whose admirers claim for them a place in the front rank; though the best of George Meredith's works was fairly



A STRIKING ILLUSTRATION OF CANADIAN EXPANSION: WINNIPEG, PAST AND PRESENT

One of the outstanding features of the Victorian era was the tremendous expansion of Britain's colonial possessions. The rapid rise of towns and cities is well illustrated in the above pictures. About fifty years ago Winnipeg, as seen in the first illustration, was but a tiny village, boasting only a few rudely-built houses; to-day it is a prosperous city and the capital of the province of Manitoba. A view of the city and its principal street is seen in the lower picture.

writing was essentially an art, making its appeal to the reader's imagination and sense of the picturesque; and the same comment applies to James Anthony Froude and John Richard Green. But to the new school which dominated the second half of the reign, history belongs to the field, not of art, but of science, and has no concern with appeals to the imagination.

The great literary periods have usually been marked by the exceptional development of some specific literary form. Thus, the most characteristic expression of the Shakespearean age was found in the drama; that of the so-called Augustan age in the essay and the satire; and that of the era of revolution in diverse poetic types. The form of literary expression characteristic of the Victorian era is undoubtedly the novel. Here, again, the great names belong essentially to the earlier period. Of the novelists with a recognised title to greatness, nearly every one was

it to be less of a distinction to have written a novel than to have abstained from doing so. But more even than novel writing journalism was affected. The Victorian age was the age of the newspaper no less than of the novel. When Mr. Gladstone attacked the paper duties he very nearly brought about a constitutional crisis in the State; and he did bring about something very like a revolution by the enormous impulse which he gave to newspaper production. His opponents at the time dreaded the demoralising effect of enabling the masses to purchase pernicious political literature with their spare coppers. The evils of the cheap Press, however, lay not so much in the power of unscrupulous journalists to mislead public opinion as in its tendency to cater for mere entertainment, to follow the popular fancy and give it expression instead of attempting to educate its public at all whether for good or for evil

evenly distributed between the two periods.

In no field did the cheapening and distribution of production have a more remarkable effect than in that of literature. Ten years ago books were purchasable at prices undreamed of sixty years earlier. First editions were printed of works by popular authors of a magnitude which would have seemed incredible to Walter Scott's publishers; and so vast a market was created that humorists declared

The Coming of the Cheap Press



CHAPTER LXVII

THE ACCESSION AND PROCLAMATION OF EDWARD VII

The Picturesque and Time-honoured Ceremonies Associated with the Inauguration of a New Reign and the Nation's Welcome to its Sovereign



arising from his prayers by the bedside of his dead mother, in the early darkness of the mid-winter evening of January 22, 1901, King Edward found himself in a position which inspired more awe than elation of heart. He was not merely the ruler of four hundred million people, but the beloved inheritor of an incomparable tradition. During the wonderful century dominated by the figure of Queen Victoria, about one hundred and ten monarchs had ascended the different thrones of Europe. The powers which they possessed had ranged from absolute autocracy to forms of monarchy more limited than that of England. Some were raised to power by war and revolution; some were established by conquerors; some by the vote of congresses or the acclamation of peoples. But whatever was the origin of the sovereignty of the occupants of European thrones at the beginning of the twentieth century, two only among them were the direct successors of monarchs reigning at the opening of the nineteenth century who from that time had handed down without change or interruption their regal attributes. One of these two was the Tsar of Russia; but two, and probably three, of his immediate predecessors had died by the hand of the assassin. The other one was Edward, King of Great Britain and Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India. He had the securest, as well as the most glorious, heritage that ever man possessed since the origin of kingship.

But no thrill of pride stirred and gladdened his heart. It was with a deep and sober sense of the immense responsibilities which now devolved upon him that he set out on his task in the world. Only his Creator knows what were the vows that the great Peacemaker made on the night when he became the virtual ruler of the British Empire. His people were still engaged in the terrible conflict in South Africa, from which it seemed they would emerge either as a defeated and third-rate Power or as the conquerors of a temporarily subdued but permanently irreconcilable race of hardy and stubborn foemen. His Empire was, moreover, encircled by other great nations, nearly all of whom were at that time hostile, angry, or jealous; and some of the most powerful of them seemed only to be waiting for an opportunity of forming a league against Great Britain. If ever England required a peacemaker, this was the moment; and, as her great, free, and far-scattered people would surely not have gone down without a terrific struggle that would

have shaken to its foundations the entire fabric of civilisation, it was well for the world in general that the Peacemaker suddenly arrived.

Early in the morning of January 23, 1901, King Edward came out of the death-chamber of Queen Victoria at Osborne House, and with his son (the future King George) and his brother (the Duke of Connaught) and Prince Christian, the Duke of Argyll, the Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Balfour, he proceeded to his capital. The crowd that assembled to see him depart did not raise a cheer, but all the men silently lifted their hats as he passed. He was deeply touched by this spontaneous mark of sorrowful sympathy. He did not want to be treated as a king, but as a son who had just lost his mother. On entering the Royal yacht he signalled to the cruiser Australia, which was acting as guardship, that no salute should be fired for him. When he arrived in London, about one o'clock, the streets between Victoria Station and Marlborough House were thronged with thousands of people. But they, too, had not come to acclaim the new Sovereign, but to show him that they were mourning with him. As he drove along through the silent and far-stretched crowd, every man stood with bared and bowed head. It was not until he came out of Marlborough House with a Royal escort, on his way to the Accession Council at St. James's Palace, that the cry of "God save the King!" was heard for the first time in England since 1837. And then it was only raised by a few voices.

In the meantime the Privy Council had assembled in the banquetting-hall of the ancient palace. On this great and historic occasion more than one hundred councillors had gathered in answer to the King's summons, and they were all arrayed in the robes of office. They included the members of the Cabinet and the leaders of the Opposition, the great dignitaries of the Church, the most powerful peers of the realm, and all the men who had risen to a high position in the chief walks of life. Before the Councillors were formally sworn in, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen entered the Council Chamber. They came, in accordance with ancient custom, to approve the proclamation of the new monarch. On this curious formality being carried out they retired, and the Council went on with its work.

It was a stately and magnificent scene, and the quiet solemnity of the proceedings was calculated to stir the imagination of every man with a knowledge of the history of his country. In continuity of power the Council was the oldest institution in the kingdom. Long before King

At the First Privy Council



HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII IN THE ROBES OF THE GARTER

From the Academy picture by A. S. Cope, A.R.A., by permission of the Autotype Fine Art Co., Ltd.

Edward I. founded the House of Commons it had assisted the rulers of England in the government of the country. Formed of the greatest and wisest men of the land, it is perhaps destined to exercise a power of vaster scope and importance than that now possessed by the English Parliament—for it seems probable that the most ancient historic assembly in England will, in course of time, be transformed into the newest, and become, under the direction of the Sovereign, an Imperial Council, composed of representatives of all the free peoples of the British Empire, and exercising in the large matters of common Imperial interest an authority superior to that of the various local parliaments.

The late Duke of Devonshire was then the Lord President of the Council. He read the summons in which it was recited that, whereas it had pleased Almighty God to take to Himself the late Sovereign Queen Victoria, his Majesty the King had called the members of the Privy Council together to take the oath of allegiance and perform other duties. The President then asked the Councillors if it was their pleasure that the King should be informed that the Council was in sitting. A silent acquiescence was given, and the Duke of York, the Duke of Connaught, the Duke of Cambridge, and Prince Christian

The King's First Council Address retired from the Council Chamber to acquaint the new monarch with the decision of his councillors. The great doors were soon thrown open, and the Lord Chamberlain (the Earl of Clarendon), the Lord Steward (the Earl of Pembroke), and the Master of the Horse (the Duke of Portland) entered at the head of the procession of the Royal Household. All of them walked slowly backward, facing King Edward, who

then entered the Council Chamber arrayed in the glittering uniform of a field-marshal. After him came the four Royal dukes. His Majesty stood by the gold and crimson chair prepared for him at the table at the end of the banqueting-hall, and made his first address to the Council. He said:

"Your Royal Highnesses, my Lords and Gentlemen:

"This is the most painful occasion on which I shall ever be called upon to address you.

"My first and melancholy duty is to announce to you the death of my beloved mother, the Queen, and I know how deeply you, the whole nation, and, I think I may say, the whole world, sympathise with me in the irreparable loss we have all sustained.

"I need hardly say that my constant endeavour will be always to walk in her footsteps. In undertaking the heavy load which now devolves upon me, I am fully determined to be a Constitutional Sovereign in the strictest sense of the word, and, as long as there is breath in my body, to work for the good and amelioration of my people.

"I have resolved to be known by the name of

Edward, which has been borne by six of my ancestors. In doing so, I do not undervalue the name of Albert, which I inherit from my ever-to-be-lamented, great, and wise father, who, by universal consent, is, I think, deservedly known by the name of 'Albert the Good,' and I desire that his name should stand alone. In con-

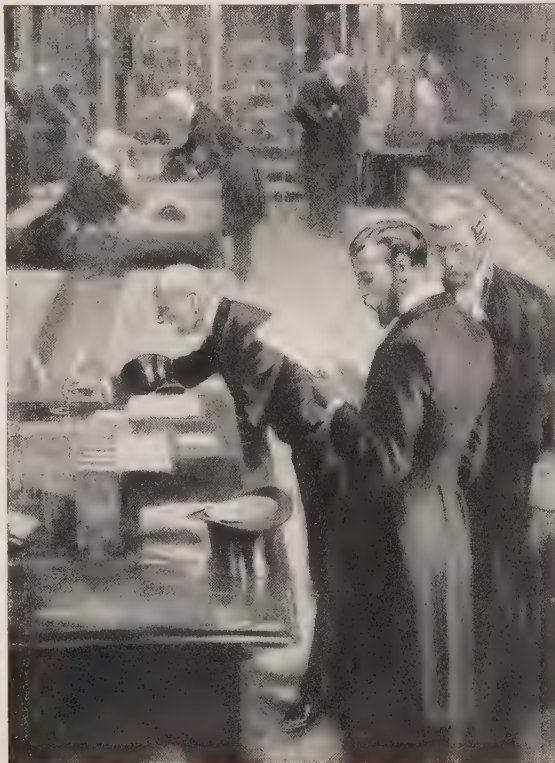
The Solemn Vow of King Edward clusion, I trust to Parliament and the nation to support me in the arduous duties which now devolve upon me by inheritance, and to which I am determined to devote my whole strength during the remainder of my life."

It was a striking speech, and it was delivered with a warmth and depth of feeling that moved every man in the audience; everybody felt that the King was solemnly and publicly dedicating himself wholly to the service of the State, and he was listened to in silent admiration. He then took his seat at the head of the Council Chamber, and the Lord Chancellor advanced with the customary oath of allegiance to the realm, and administered it to the Sovereign. Lifting his right hand, King Edward swore fealty, and after subscribing the parchment, he signed the oath relating to the maintenance and security of the Church of Scotland, and both parchments were countersigned by his son, the future King George.

Orders were then read out commanding the Secretary of State for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty to arrange for salutes to be fired in honour of his Majesty's accession, and directing the Lord Mayor of London to make the proclamation. As each order was recited by the Lord Chancellor, King Edward said, "We approve," and all the Privy Councillors added, "We agree." Thereupon the orders became law.

It was an ancient form of law-making which had come down from the days when the modern method of popular government was being very slowly worked out in a few struggling independent cities in Germany and Italy. Its survival in the great free democracies of the British Empire may seem to be an anachronism; but, as has been said, now that the Sovereign has become both the symbol of unity and the veritable link between the scattered and self-governing States of the Empire, it is probable that this Privy Council may soon be enlarged into a grand Imperial Assembly, with both advisory and legislative functions.

After the orders had been made for the proclamation, the Lord Chancellor called upon the Privy Councillors to take the oath of allegiance to the new monarch. The future King George took the Bible, and knelt down before his father and kissed his hands. King Edward was strangely moved, and, while his son knelt at his feet, he extended his hand over his head in the silent act of blessing. Each of the other Privy Councillors then passed before the King, and knelt on the left knee and kissed hands; and when the formal resumption of office by the



THE LORDS' ALLEGIANCE TO KING EDWARD

On the afternoon of January 23, both Houses of Parliament met for the purpose of the members taking the oath of allegiance to King Edward VII. The above illustration represents the scene in the House of Lords, where each peer, after taking the oath and kissing the New Testament, wrote his name on the Roll of Parliament. Earl Roberts is seen writing his name on this roll, while the Duke of York, the present King George, is standing beside him waiting to append his signature.

From a drawing by F. H. Townsend

Ministers had taken place, and the proclamation to the public had been signed, the King saluted his Councillors, and the proceedings came to an end.

The proclamation was made the next morning, January 24, 1901. In accordance with custom, the picturesque ceremony began in the quadrangle of Friary Court, on the eastern side of the Palace of St. James. At about eight o'clock Lord Roberts and the headquarter staff, in splendid

uniforms, entered Friary Court at the head of the Grenadier Guards, who carried the King's colours draped in black. They were joined by the marshals of the palace in scarlet coats of antique pattern and gold-corded shakoes, and the quadrangle then became a scene of gorgeous colour. On the balcony, from which Queen Victoria had shown herself for the first time to her people nearly sixty-four years before, emerged a group of figures in magnificent costumes. First came the Earl Marshal, the Duke of Norfolk, in brilliant attire, with the Garter sash across his left shoulder; behind him were the Deputy Garter King of Arms, and the six heralds and pursuivants. They were followed by four State trumpeters in gold-embroidered tunics and caps, and four of the King's sergeants-at-arms in dark and silver-laced costumes, who bore the King's maces.

It was one of those rare occasions when the confused and commonplace details of our modern commercial civilisation are illuminated with the after-glow of our great feudal era. It is surely wise, as well as delightful, to weave into the rather colourless web of our everyday existence a few fine strands from the romantic life of our forefathers. It helps to stir the imagination, and to quicken in our busy and practical race an invaluable sense of the historic and glorious continuity preserved by the nation throughout its progress and evolution. The least imaginative spectator must have had his thoughts carried back over the long history of his country; he must have seen, however dimly, the bygone generations who witnessed the same pageantry, listened to the same archaic words, and thrilled with the same pride in his country's past and the same faith in her future, as he did. No one was, indeed, a spectator. All present were actors, both the herald who spoke and the people who listened; and the court of the ancient palace was a fitting scene for the picturesque and moving ceremony, which transported everybody who took part in it back into the romance and poetry of the Middle Ages.

The four Royal trumpeters, the Norroy King of Arms, and two of the maces came forward on the balcony. In the background were ranged the Earl Marshal, Rouge Dragon, Bluemantle, the Somerset Herald, the York Herald, and the Windsor Herald, and with them were the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Steward. After the trumpeters had blown a long exultant flourish, the Norroy King of Arms proclaimed

the accession of King Edward the Seventh in the following terms:

"Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to call to His Mercy our late Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, of Blessed and Glorious Memory, by whose Decease the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince Albert Edward: We, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, being here assisted with those of her late Majesty's Privy Council, with numbers of other principal Gentlemen of Quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, do now hereby, with one voice and consent of tongue and heart, publish and proclaim, That the High and Mighty Prince Albert Edward is now, by the death of our late Sovereign of Happy Memory, become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India: To whom we do acknowledge all Faith and constant Obedience, with all hearty and humble Affection; beseeching God, by Whom Kings and Queens do reign, to bless the Royal Prince Edward the Seventh with long and happy years to reign over us. God save the King." As the herald

Picturesque and Historic Ceremonies gave it the proclamation lost all ceremonial formality, and became a stirring and living piece of rhetoric. He lifted up his voice in the closing prayer, and this was taken up spontaneously by the soldiers and people, and they shouted all together, "God save the King." The Royal trumpeters blew another triumphant flourish, and, as the troops stood to the salute and the King's colour was lowered, the band began to play the National Anthem, and for the first time in sixty-four years the English nation sang the older form of words. The picturesque and historic ceremony was now complete. King Edward had been proclaimed by his subjects.

The herald's procession then went on to Temple Bar, where it was met by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, with the City trumpeters and sword and mace bearers. The cavalcade of the herald halted a short distance from the old City gate, and the Rouge Dragon advanced between two trumpeters and ordered the trumpets to be sounded thrice. Thereupon the City Marshal rode forward, and asked in a loud voice, "Who comes there?" The pursuivant replied, "The Officer of Arms, who demands entrance into the City to proclaim his Royal Majesty Edward the Seventh." The silken barrier across the street was then opened to admit the Rouge Dragon with his escort, and he was conducted by the City Marshal to the Lord Mayor. After parleying with him, the Lord Mayor directed the barrier to be again opened. The Royal trumpeters blew a flourish, and the York Herald came forward and presented to the Lord Mayor the Order in Council requiring



MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS TAKING THE OATH
The procedure followed in the House of Commons was similar to that in the Upper House. On the first day, January 23, 298 members took the oath of allegiance to King Edward, and 400 by the end of the second.

From a drawing by Fred Pegram

him to proclaim his Majesty. "I am aware of the contents of this paper, having been appraised yesterday of the ceremony appointed to take place," the Lord Mayor then said; "and I have attended to perform my duty in accordance with the ancient usages and customs of the City of London." His lordship thereupon read the Order in Council, and, after another fanfare of trumpets, the proclamation was made at the entrance of the capital city of the Empire. The procession then went on to the Royal Exchange, and there again proclaimed the new monarch. In ancient times the proclamation was also made at Charing Cross and Wood Street, Cheapside; but this part of the ceremony is now rightly and generally felt to be unnecessary.

Though everyone cannot be expected to be an historian, there were few people in Great Britain, and especially in Scotland, who did not, on January 24, 1901, show a considerable interest in historical matters. The King's choice of a title was a source of great pleasure to the English, and a matter of many disputes among the Scots. Edward is the most famous name in the annals of England. It was borne by the son of Alfred the Great, Edward the Elder, who, after breaking the power of the Danes, was the first man to use the title of King of England. By a strange coincidence, Alfred the Great died in 901, and was succeeded by his son Edward. In 1901, exactly a thousand years later, Queen Victoria, who was the only monarch who can be compared with Alfred, died, and was succeeded by her son, Edward VII. Edward the Martyr and Edward the Confessor were also purely English kings; and it was because he, too, meant to be, not the descendant of a Norman conqueror, but a veritable Englishman, that the great Plantagenet King Edward I., who was crowned at Westminster in 1274, revived the old name of the son of Alfred the Great. He was one of the greatest of our lawgivers, and in his reign the Commons of England at last secured a full share of Parliamentary power. On the other hand, he was certainly not a peacemaker; he annexed Wales, and died while attempting to carry out the same policy with regard to Scotland. Perhaps it was because Edward I. and Edward III. of England were "Hammers of the Scot" that modern Scotsmen did not like King Edward to be called Edward VII. "Edward VII. of England, if you like," many of them said, "but Edward I. of Scotland." Seeing, however, that there were many English King Edwards before the Norman Conquest, even the legal title of "the seventh" was not historically accurate. Reckoning from Edward the Elder, from whom he was descended, King Edward was the tenth of that name. The English nation, however, were so delighted at the news that the most popular of their monarchs had been proclaimed as Edward that they did not mind

whether he was called the first, or the seventh, or the tenth; and in the course of a few months the generality of Scotsmen came to be of their way of thinking. After all, it is owing to the fact that Malcolm Canmore of Scotland married Margaret, the only surviving child of Edward the Outlaw, the sole heir of the Saxon line, and had by her a daughter, who married Henry I. of England, that the English monarchy is able to trace its descent

from the grandfather of Alfred the Great. In the person of the ruler of the British Empire are blended the blood of Kenneth Mac-Alpin, who became in 843 the first king of both the Picts and the Scots, and the blood of Egbert of Wessex, who, in 827, consolidated the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Indeed, the blood of the Celt and the blood of the Saxon are now thoroughly blended, not only in the monarch, but also in the people of the United Kingdom and the Oversea Dominions. It is to this circumstance that the varied genius of the Anglo-Celtic race is practically due. It is a mixed breed, and mighty because of its mixture, and its monarch is, by the diverse lines of his descent, a true representative of the great Anglo-Celtic Empire.

It is probable that no ruler ever had so vast an amount of work to do immediately after his accession as King Edward. He had at once to make arrangements to inter his beloved mother in a manner fitting to her exalted position, and consonant with the affectionate wishes of the people. Then there was a multitude of foreign kings and princes who had come to England to show their sympathy with the Royal Family and the nation, and to each of these kingly friends he had naturally to devote much time and attention. Moreover, there were urgent matters in foreign politics which required to be at once adjusted, in order to re-establish the power and the security of the Empire; and all these things had to be carried out in the midst of the most terrible war ever

waged by Great Britain since her struggle with Napoleon. King Edward began his work of peacemaking by endeavouring to remove the misunderstanding between Germany and England. This had been continually growing more acute since the German Emperor sent his notorious telegram to President Kruger, and followed this up by apparently setting out to challenge, or at least endanger, the naval supremacy of the British Empire. As a matter of fact, the Emperor William had become, in 1901, very friendly again to England. It was because he had completely detached himself from the movement of Anglophobia which was deepening and spreading among his people that he hastened to London at the news of the illness of his Royal grandmother. King Edward was touched by the good feeling shown by his Imperial nephew, and he may have tried in long and friendly talks with him to settle the



KING EDWARD'S PROCLAMATION AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE

On the morning of January 24, in the Friary Court of St. James's Palace, there was begun the proclaiming of Albert Edward, Prince of Wales as "our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India." No member of the Royal Family witnessed this picturesque and historic ceremony.

From a drawing by J. Finnemore, R.I.

The King's Work for Peace

difficult question of the naval rivalry between the two countries. On January 27 it was announced that "the King has been pleased to appoint his Majesty William II., German Emperor, King of Prussia, to be a Field Marshal in the Army on the occasion of his Majesty's birthday." Prince Henry, the brother of the Emperor, was made an Honorary Vice-Admiral, and on January 28 the

Honouring the Kaiser's Heir

Crown Prince of Prussia was invested with the Garter in the Council Chamber at Osborne House.

This ceremony was an affair of exceeding international importance, and it was carried out with great earnestness and solemnity. The Emperor William, the Duke of Connaught, and Prince Christian introduced their grand-nephew to King Edward. As the heir to the Imperial throne of Germany knelt down before him, the King was clearly moved by strong feeling. His hands seemed to tremble as he placed the ribbon over the neck of the Crown Prince and fastened the star to his breast, and, after handing over the rest of the historic symbols, he said with deep seriousness and emotion:

"I desire to express the hope that my action in conferring upon you this ancient Order may yet further strengthen and cement the good feeling which exists between the two great countries, and that we may go forward hand in hand with the high object of ensuring peace and promoting the advance of the civilisation of the world. In conferring on your Imperial and Royal Highness the ancient and most noble Order of the Garter, which was founded by my ancestors many centuries ago, I invest you with the Order of Knighthood, not only as the heir to the throne of a mighty Empire, but also as a near relative.

"It was the wish of my beloved mother, the Queen, to bestow it upon you as a mark of her favour, and I am only carrying out her wishes—and am glad to do so—to the son of my illustrious relative, the German Emperor, to whom I wish to express my thanks for having come at a moment's notice to this country, and assisted in tending and watching over the Queen, remaining with her until her last moments."

On February 5, 1901, the German Emperor and the other Royal guests departed from England. King Edward then turned to his own people, and wrote three fine and moving letters to them, in which he again dedicated his whole life to the promotion of their welfare. In the first of these letters—surely the most remarkable that any ruler ever addressed to his subjects—King Edward thus addressed his people:

"Now that the last scene has closed in the noble and ever-glorious life of my beloved mother, the Queen, I am anxious to endeavour to convey to the whole Empire the extent of the deep gratitude I feel for the heart-stirring and affectionate tributes which are everywhere borne to her memory. I wish also to express my warm recognition of those universal expressions of what I know to be genuine and loyal sympathy with me and with the Royal Family in our overwhelming sorrow. Such expressions have reached me from all parts of my vast Empire, while at home the sorrowful, reverent, and sincere enthusiasm manifested in the magnificent display by sea and land has deeply touched me.

"The consciousness of this generous spirit of devotion and loyalty among the millions of my subjects, and of the feeling that we are all sharing a common sorrow, has inspired me with courage and hope during the past most trying and momentous days.

"Encouraged by the confidence of that love and trust which the nation ever reposed in its late and fondly mourned

The King to His People

Sovereign, I shall earnestly strive to walk in her footsteps, devoting myself to the utmost of my powers to maintaining and promoting the highest interests of my people, and to the diligent and zealous fulfilment of the great and sacred responsibilities which, through the will of God, I am now called to undertake. "EDWARD. R.I."

To "My People Beyond the Seas," and to the "Princes and People of India," King Edward also addressed affectionate messages, renewing in these his resolve to follow in the footsteps of his mother and to labour in the interests of his subjects.



GOD SAVE THE KING! CITIZENS OF LONDON SINGING THE NATIONAL ANTHEM IN FRONT OF THE MANSION HOUSE AFTER THE PROCLAMATION OF KING EDWARD VII. JANUARY 24, 1901.



THE CORONATION OF EDWARD THE SEVENTH AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, AUGUST 9, 1902



CHAPTER LXVIII

THE BEGINNING OF KING EDWARD'S REIGN

Describing the State Opening of the King's First Parliament and the Gloom that Fell upon the Nation from His Majesty's Illness in the Midst of Coronation Preparations



HE blare of the heralds' trumpets announcing the accession of King Edward VII. proclaimed to the United Kingdom and the British Empire the beginning of a new era. The domestic sorrows of Queen Victoria had urged her to seek what privacy could be obtained by a life of semi-retirement. For forty years the Sovereign had withdrawn from the social life of her time, and a generation had grown up which hardly realised the important part the Sovereign is entitled to play in affairs of State. All this was now to be changed. From the first moment of his reign King Edward showed his determination to re-establish the Crown on that position of social pre-eminence which, within the limits of the Constitution, it was entitled to occupy. To this task he brought a personality familiar to every one of his subjects and amazingly popular with all classes and an experience of statecraft acquired in the lengthy term of apprenticeship he had served as Prince of Wales.

The new era was foreshadowed by an event which took place ten days after the stately obsequies of Queen Victoria. On February 14, King Edward, attended by the Queen, opened Parliament in person. The announcement of his Majesty's intention to perform this ceremony created considerable stir in the capital. To appreciate this feeling it must be understood that not for forty years had Parliament been opened with its properly prescribed ceremonies. After the death of the Prince Consort, the duty had been usually entrusted to a Royal Commission, and on the rare occasions when Queen Victoria appeared in person a very simple ceremonial had been adopted. King Edward, on the other hand, considered that on such occasions the first of the three Estates of the Realm should play a more prominent part, on the grounds that the monarchy is strengthened and its popularity enhanced by a certain amount of ceremonial magnificence. Since February 14,

1901, the people have grown accustomed to the splendid displays of Royal pageantry that have graced the assembling of Parliament, but at the time itself it was regarded almost as an innovation—a happy innovation—to the performance of which the people looked forward with eager expectation.

The King himself superintended all the details of the procession. At his direction the famous coach for which George III. had paid the enormous sum of £7,000 was redecorated and upholstered; the Royal robes to be worn on the occasion were sketched out with nice punctiliousness; the throne to be occupied by Queen Alexandra was fashioned in haste under his personal inspection, and every item of the ceremony was inquired into and discussed by him with characteristic attention. At the appointed time, the procession left Buckingham Palace, and, passing along the Mall, the Horse Guards' Parade, Whitehall, and Parliament Street, finally reached the Royal entrance beneath the Victoria Tower at Westminster, amidst scenes

of loyal enthusiasm. Crowds thronged the whole route, and expressed their feelings at the sight of the Sovereign and his beautiful consort with a long, continuous burst of cheers. The details of that procession deserve to be placed on record as a model for future generations. The Royal section of the procession was headed through the streets by the King's marshmen, followed by the King's footmen in State liveries. Immediately behind them walked a party of the Yeomen of the Guard; then came five carriages.

First Carriage: Pages of Honour, two Gentlemen Ushers, and the Exon of the Yeomen of the Guard.

Second Carriage: Gentlemen in Waiting, Field Officer in Brigade Waiting, and Silver Stick in Waiting.

Third Carriage: Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, Keeper of the Privy Purse, Comptroller of the Household, and Treasurer of the Household.

Fourth Carriage: Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, Gold



QUEEN ALEXANDRA AT THE TIME OF THE CORONATION

From a photograph by W. S. Stuart

Stick in Waiting, Woman of the Bedchamber, and Lady in Waiting.

Fifth Carriage: Master of the Horse, Lord Steward, Mistress of the Robes, and Lady of the Bedchamber.

Finally came the State coach with the King and Queen, escorted by two equerries on horseback, a detachment of Life Guards, and a bodyguard on foot walking on either side of the carriage. The great officers of State received his Majesty at Westminster, and immediately the following procession was formed up the staircase to the Robing-room:

PURSUIVANTS
HERALDS
Equerries in Waiting to his Majesty:
Captain Ponsonby,
Lt.-Col. Davidson.
Gentlemen Ushers to his Majesty:
The Hon. Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane,
Captain Stopford,
C. J. Innes-Ker, Esq.
Groom in Waiting to his Majesty:
General Godfrey Clerk.
The Comptroller of his Majesty's Household:
Viscount Valentia.
Private Secretary:
Sir Francis Knollys
The Treasurer of his Majesty's Household:
Victor Cavendish, Esq.
The Keeper of the Privy Purse:
General the Rt. Hon. Sir Dighton Probyn.
The Lord Privy Seal:
The Marquis of Salisbury,
The Lord High Chancellor:
The Earl of Halsbury.
The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod:
General Sir Michael Biddulph.
The Earl Marshal:
The Duke of Norfolk.
Garter Principal King of Arms, by his Deputy:
W. H. Weldon, Esq.
The Lord Great Chamberlain:
The Marquis of Cholmondeley

The Sword of State:
The Marquis of Londonderry.

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
ACCOMPANIED BY
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

The Lady of the Bedchamber. The Mistress of the Robes
The Woman of the Bedchamber.
The Master of the Horse: Lord Steward:
The Duke of Portland. The Earl of Pembroke.
The Lord in Waiting to his Majesty: Lord Colville of Culross.
Earl of Gosford.
Pages of Honour:
Viscount Torrington. T. Bigge, Esq.
Hon. J. Hay. H. Festing, Esq.
The Groom of the Robes: H. D. Erskine, Esq.
Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard: The Gold Stick: Captain of the Corps of Field-Marshal Gentlemen at Arms:
Earl Waldegrave. Viscount Wolsley. Lord Belper.
The Silver Stick in Waiting: The Field Officer in Brigade Waiting:
Lieut.-Col. Fenwick. Colonel H. Ricardo.
An officer of the respective Corps of the Gentlemen at Arms and Yeomen of the Guard closing the procession.

In the Robing-room his Majesty put on the magnificent garment which had been made for the occasion. It consisted of a robe with a train of great length, composed of rich crimson velvet, emblazoned with heavy gold lace. It was lined with royal ermine, spotted with small pieces of black fur, in order to produce the heraldic combination of minniver. His Majesty then passed to the House of Lords. The procession was identical with the one already described, except that the Cap of Maintenance was borne immediately before his Majesty by the Marquis of Winchester, on the right hand of the Sword of State.

Once in the House, the King seated himself on his throne, with the Queen by his side. On the steps of the throne, on the right hand, stood the peer bearing the Cap of Maintenance, and on the left stood the peer with the Sword of State. To the right of the King were placed the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, and the Earl Marshal, while the Lord Privy Seal occupied a position on the left. The Lord Great Chamberlain stood immediately below the last-mentioned official, in order to receive the Royal commands. The Lord Steward and the other State officers were stationed on the steps of the throne. It was a scene, not only magnificent, but historic. The setting was in keeping with the Royal pageant. The House was crowded with peers in their robes, and the Peers' Gallery was resplendent with fair faces and beautiful dresses.

As soon as the King and Queen were seated, the Lord Chancellor approached his Majesty, and handed him a document from which he read the terms of the declaration against the Roman Catholic Church—that oath which, a few years later, was to arouse so much

criticism. His Majesty sealed this declaration by kissing a crimson-bound copy of the Bible, and signing a scroll held by the Chancellor. This ceremony having been performed, the Commons were summoned, and as soon as they had filed into the Upper House, the King rose from his throne. Putting on his plumed hat, his Majesty read, in a clear and impressive voice, his first address to Parliament. That speech to the first British Parliament of the twentieth century was notable, not only for its references to British military operations in South Africa, China, and Ashantee, but also for the terms in which the King expressed himself with regard to certain domestic matters affecting most intimately the Royal family. In the opening words he spoke with touching dignity and simplicity of his mother.

The King's
First Speech

"My Lords and Gentlemen—I address you for the first time at a moment of national sorrow, when the whole country is mourning the irreparable loss which we have so recently sustained and which has fallen with peculiar severity upon myself. My beloved mother, during her long and glorious reign, has set an example before the world of



QUEEN ALEXANDRA WITH A FAVOURITE DOG
From a photograph by Thomas Fall



KING EDWARD'S FIRST COUNCIL, HELD AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE, JANUARY 23, 1901, BEFORE THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT
The Heir-apparent, the Duke of York, was the first to take and subscribe the oath of allegiance, and as he knelt to kiss the King's hand it was noticed that his father extended the left hand above his head as in the act of blessing. This drawing has been made especially for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.



KING EDWARD PASSING FROM THE ROBING-ROOM TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS TO OPEN HIS FIRST PARLIAMENT

Drawn by Wal Paget

what a monarch should be. It is my earnest desire to walk in her footsteps."

The King next went on to speak of the approaching visit of his son, then Duke of Cornwall and York, to Australia.

"The establishment of the Australian Commonwealth was proclaimed at Sydney on January 1, with many manifestations of popular enthusiasm and rejoicing. My dearly beloved and lamented mother had assented to the visit of the Duke of Cornwall and York to open the first Parliament of the new Commonwealth in her name. A separation from my son, especially at such a moment, cannot be otherwise than deeply painful; but I still desire to give effect to her late Majesty's wishes, and as an evidence of her interest, as well as of my own, in all that concerns the welfare of my subjects beyond the seas, I have decided that the visit to Australia shall not be abandoned, and shall be extended to New Zealand and to the Dominion of Canada."

After a special request to the gentlemen of the House of Commons to make renewed provision for the Civil List, and a brief outline of the legislation which was to be placed before both Houses, the Address closed with words which have become almost formal now, but which were felt then by all persons to have a deep and very real meaning: "I pray that Almighty God may continue to guide you in the conduct of your deliberations and may bless them with success."

The Address concluded, his Majesty bowed to his Lords and Commoners, and, taking the Queen by the hand, led the procession once more to the Robing-room. The Cap of Maintenance, which is only carried between the Robing-room and the House of Lords, was borne before him as before. Then the procession conducted him once more to the streets, where cheering, tumultuous thousands waited to see him return to Buckingham Palace.

The First

Parliament Opened

It was characteristic of King Edward that his first duty on taking up his kingship was to place his own house in order. In his desire to make the Crown a real factor in the life of the country, he had to make many alterations in the arrangements which Queen Victoria had approved. His Royal mother had systematically refused to alter anything in the Royal palaces since the time of the Prince Consort. The effect of this pathetic devotion was æsthetically disastrous. Both Windsor Castle and Buckingham

Royal Palaces

Re-adorned

Palace were hardly on a par with the home of some petty German prince, and were quite unsuitable as habitations for the Sovereign of the greatest Empire in the world. To make the necessary changes the King had not only to show great artistic talents, but also considerable financial ability. The Civil List granted him by the Commons amounted in all to £543,000 a year, a meagre income when compared with the revenues placed at the disposal of some of the European monarchs. But the King set about his task on the excellent principle of cutting his coat according to his cloth.

After careful investigation, considerable savings were made in the departments of the Lord Steward and the Lord Chamberlain; superfluous offices were put down. The Royal Buckhounds were abandoned, and the whole of the Royal Household was placed on a strictly business footing. This done, his Majesty turned his attention to the rehabilitation of the Royal palaces. With the aid of Lord Esher, Lord Redesdale, and Mr. Lionel Cust, both these residences were beautified and re-adorned. The pictures, the armour, the furniture, and porcelain were carefully cleansed, rearranged, and catalogued, with the result that it is now possible for the public to enjoy and study the whole of the Royal collections. At the same time, many works of art that had become endeared to the King by association were removed from Marlborough House and Sandringham to Windsor.



KING EDWARD READING THE ROYAL ADDRESS TO THE ASSEMBLED PARLIAMENT FROM THE THRONE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON FEBRUARY 14, 1901

From a drawing by Fred English.



THE LORDS IN THE PARLIAMENT OF 1901: LORD HALSBURY ADDRESSING THE HOUSE

From a drawing by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

King Edward had seen to all these arrangements being put in hand in a very short time. When, on February 23, an urgent summons took him to the bedside of his sister, the Empress Frederick, everything had been settled. The illness of his favourite sister, the one with whom he had corresponded since his nursery days, came as a great blow to him, following, as it did, upon the death of his mother. He set off post-haste for Cronberg, and for a week brother and sister enjoyed, unrestricted by any exterior cares, the pleasure of one another's society. The Kaiser, who was constant in his attendance at his mother's bedside, saw much of his Majesty, and undoubtedly the effect of their intercourse was shown in the more friendly relations, which commenced from that date, between Germany and England. On March 2 King Edward was compelled to return, and his arrival among his own subjects was made the occasion for another warm and enthusiastic welcome.

Although the Court was still in mourning, the second month of the King's reign was passed in an endless round of ceremonial duties. Nearly every day he was busy receiving loyal addresses from religious bodies, universities, and municipalities. All the Ambassadors, Ministers, and *Chargés d'Affaires* accredited to the Court of St. James's had to be received, in order that they might present anew the credentials which they had previously submitted to Queen Victoria. On the same day on which this last ceremony took place the King also presented medals of the Victorian Order to those soldiers who, either as members of the gun team or as bearers, took part in the funeral of his beloved mother. It was in this crowded month of March also that he had to bid good-bye to his son, who set sail in the *Ophir* on his colonial tour. As the ship moved away the King shouted from shore, "Don't fear, we'll look after the children"—characteristically simple, human words, which touched the hearts of his people.

A Crowded Month

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Four weeks of comparative rest followed these exertions. They were spent by the King for the most part at Windsor and Sandringham, where he occupied himself in seeing that all the changes he had ordered to be made had been carried out. At the same time, Queen Alexandra journeyed to Germany to be with the Empress Frederick. In May the Court returned to London, and the ceremonies connected with the accession terminated in the presentation of three remarkable addresses—remarkable,

Three Remarkable Addresses

that is, for the bodies which presented them. For the first time since the days of the Reformation the Roman Catholics of England, through their representatives of the Catholic Hierarchy, were received in audience, and by the mouth of the Cardinal Archbishop expressed their loyalty to the Throne. They were followed immediately afterwards by the Presbyterians, who in turn were succeeded by the representatives of the Jewish community. No more remarkable conjunction of deputations was needed to demonstrate that, with the Throne as a rallying point, even religious bitterness might be assuaged.

There was a gloomy prophecy extant at this time that the King would never be crowned. It was handed on by word of mouth until it had spread throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom, and even found its way into some of the newspapers. But though there were few people superstitious enough to believe it, it almost seemed that fate was dogging the footsteps of the King. On May 22 his Majesty travelled down to Southampton to witness the trial between *Shamrock II.*, the yacht with which Sir Thomas Lipton was to attempt to capture the America Cup, and *Shamrock I.* Always keenly interested in all the sports of the sea, his Majesty determined to test the capabilities of *Shamrock II.* himself. Accordingly, on his arrival, he immediately went on board the yacht, and, in a good stiff breeze, the trial began. The yacht



THE COMMONS IN THE PARLIAMENT OF 1901: MR. BALFOUR ADDRESSING THE HOUSE
From a drawing by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

carried her full press of canvas, and in turning, in order to cross the starting-line, she missed stays and came across the wind. Immediately afterwards she was struck by a heavy gust of wind, the great steel mast snapped, and the immense weight of canvas and rigging fell overboard. The King's life was saved literally by a hair's breadth, and the watchers on the shore, who had seen the accident, were only relieved from their cruel anxiety by seeing him go on board the *Erin*.

From this great danger the King returned to carry on the multitudinous affairs of State. The South African war was still dragging on, and his Majesty devoted a great deal of time to conferences with his Secretary of State for War, in reviewing soldiers going to the front, and in distributing medals to those who had returned. At the same time his lasting interest in all objects to secure the amelioration of suffering for the human race was not relaxed. He started a crusade against cancer, he redoubled his exertions on behalf of the hospital fund that bore his name, and no appeal for help or for the patronage of the Crown from any medical charity was made in vain.

The subject of the Coronation was, throughout all this year, the great topic. While the people at large anticipated with eagerness a great ceremonial which had not been witnessed for over sixty years, the event brought up for discussion two subjects of controversy. The one was the Coronation oath, with its declaration against the doctrines held by the Roman

The Coronation Oath Discussed

Catholics. A proposal to alter the oath so as to avoid hurting the religious feelings of large numbers of the King's loyal subjects was debated in both Houses. In the Lords, a Committee appointed to inquire into the matter reported in favour of the removal of the clauses objected to, but the extreme section of the Protestant party in the country wrecked the chances of conciliation, and though the discussion was carried on to the day of the Coronation

itself, no change was effected. The other topic was an alteration in the King's title. It was argued that there was no mention of his Majesty's overseas Empire in his formal title. He was simply King of Great Britain and Ireland and Emperor of India. Through the exertions of Mr. Chamberlain, an addition to this Royal and Imperial

King Beyond the Seas

superscription was arrived at which satisfied all parties. In future the King was called King of Great Britain and Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India. On July 30 a Bill embodying this alteration received the Royal Assent.

This first year of the King's reign, which had seen the death of his mother, was to witness the loss of his much-beloved sister. On August 5, while his Majesty was at Cowes, the sad news reached him of the death of the Empress Frederick. Two days later he left for Cronberg for the funeral. He was met at Homburg by the Kaiser, and uncle and nephew travelled down to the palace where the one they both held so dear had breathed her last. After the funeral, his Majesty spent some time in Germany, paid a visit to his father-in-law at Copenhagen, and finally returned to England in the second week in September. As yet his Court had been one of mourning, and it was not until twelve months had elapsed from the date of Queen Victoria's death that the gloom of the national sorrow was dispelled, and a series of brilliant functions clearly demonstrated the intention of the King to keep his position as leader of society.

With the Coronation, which had been fixed for June 26, approaching, it seemed as if a new spirit of unaccustomed gaiety had taken hold of the nation. On February 11, 1902, the first Court of the King's reign was held, and its magnificence surprised and delighted those who had been accustomed to the more sombre ceremonies of the previous reign. Even the continuance of hostilities in South Africa failed to cast a gloom over the general sunshine that



THE SOLEMN INTERCESSION ON BEHALF OF THE ROYAL INVALID AT ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL ON CORONATION DAY, JUNE 26, 1902
Holders of tickets for the Coronation service in the Abbey were invited to attend at St. Paul's at the hour fixed for the Coronation, to join in solemn supplication for King Edward's restoration to health
From a drawing by W. Ainslie



QUEEN ALEXANDRA, IN THE KING'S ABSENCE, PRESENTING COLOURS TO THE 2ND HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY AT THE CORONATION REVIEW AT ALDERSHOT, JUNE 16, 1902

To the last moment King Edward held out against the illness which threatened the Coronation ceremonies, and the first intimation the public had of his indisposition was his absence from church on June 15 and from the presentation of colours on the following day. Still he held out, and it was not until June 24 that the Coronation was definitely postponed.

From a drawing by R. Caton Woolville

prevailed, and when, on May 31, peace was declared, the country gave way unrestrainedly to its feelings of joy. The Corporation of the City came in state to present an address of congratulation upon the triumph of the King's arms in South Africa. "It is my earnest hope," said the King in reply, "that by mutual co-operation and goodwill the bitter feelings of the past may speedily be replaced by ties of loyalty and friendship, and that an era of peace and prosperity may be in store for South Africa."

On June 8, the King, accompanied by Queen Alexandra and the Prince and Princess of Wales, returned thanks to Almighty God for the restoration of peace, at St. Paul's. It was a memorable service, memorable not only for the event which it celebrated, but also for the vast gathering of all that was best and noblest in the kingdom within the walls of the great cathedral.

From the subject of peace the thoughts of the whole country turned to the Coronation. The decoration of the streets was commenced, and soon the Royal route was changed beyond recognition. Thousands began to arrive at the capital from all parts of the world. The hotels were crowded. Immense sums of money were spent in the purchase of seats. There was talk of nothing else but the crowning of the King. His Majesty devoted time and close attention to the preparations of what was intended

Preparing for the Coronation

to be not only the most splendid but the most moving sight that England had seen for generations. Everything seemed to be working smoothly towards the splendid climax of June 26, and then, suddenly, rumours got abroad that the King's health was far from good.

It began on June 14. On that day his Majesty travelled down with the Queen to Aldershot to review 40,000 troops on Laffan's Plain. From the Royal pavilion, where he stayed, he witnessed a magnificent torchlight tattoo. The

weather was cold and the rain fell incessantly. The following day his Majesty was not in church, and his absence created some uneasiness. An official explanation was immediately forthcoming. "His Majesty the King," ran the bulletin, "is unable to leave his room to-day owing to an attack of lumbago caused by a chill." Subsequent

A City of Gloom

bulletins were issued to reassure the public. It was nothing more than a chill, from which he would soon recover, it was said. It was noticed, nevertheless, that he did not go to Ascot on the 17th, as had been intended. On the 19th it was announced that the King intended to rest for a few days so as to be better able to bear the great strain of the coming ceremony. A visit to Eton College was postponed, and he remained at Windsor, taking only a few drives abroad. On the 23rd a rumour got abroad that the King was seriously ill. So persistent were the statements that inquiries were made at Windsor Castle, and the emphatic reply was received from the King's secretary that there was "not a word of truth in the report." This completely reassured the public, and London went on with the pleasant task of preparing for the Coronation.

On Tuesday, June 24, thousands of holiday-makers thronged the decorated streets. Never before had such crowds been seen or such decorations displayed in London. On the 23rd the King had returned to London, and that night a State dinner was to be held at Buckingham Palace. There seemed to be nothing to mar a happy ending to all these magnificent preparations. Then, suddenly, on the morning of June 24, a bombshell was dropped into the midst of all these rejoicings, which changed in a moment the gaily decorated capital, with its throngs of sightseers, into a city of gloom. It consisted of a medical bulletin, signed by Lord Lister, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Francis Laking, Sir Thomas Barlow, and Sir Frederick Treves.

"The King," it said briefly, "is suffering from perityphlitis. The condition on Saturday was so satisfactory that it was hoped that with care his Majesty would be able to go through the Coronation ceremony. On Monday evening a recrudescence became manifest, rendering a surgical operation necessary to-day."

Immediately after the publication of this bulletin, the operation of removing a large internal abscess was performed successfully by Sir Frederick Treves. Outside the palace a vast crowd waited to hear the result. The public anxiety was intense, almost obliterating the keen sense of disappointment at the postponement of the great ceremony. Though the losses were enormous, though thousands of people suffered financially, one thought alone at that moment filled everybody's mind. Those who witnessed the scenes in the streets will never forget the spontaneous expressions of loyal sorrow uttered by representatives of all classes.

The Sorrow of the Crowds

Though the King was in his sixtieth year, he survived an ordeal as severe as that which had almost ended his life some thirty years before. Four or five times a day the bulletins were issued, each more reassuring than the last. But the anxiety of the public did not abate until they had been convinced that the King was on the high-road to recovery. On the 26th, at the hour at which the Coronation was to have taken place, a service of intercession was held at St. Paul's, "as an act of humble supplication to Almighty God for his Majesty King Edward VII. in his sickness." It was attended by nearly all the visitors who had come from the far ends of the earth for the Coronation. On June 30, the doctors were able to announce that the King was out of immediate danger, and that if all went well he might expect to be completely recovered within a few weeks. Their anticipations were realised, and on July 15 he was able to be removed to the Royal yacht in the Solent.

To the last moment the King had held out against the disease from which he was suffering, in order that he might not disappoint his people and put them to very serious financial inconvenience by postponing the Coronation. But when, in spite of his courage, he had to succumb, his thoughts were for them rather than for himself. That the disappointment and inconvenience might be lessened, he issued instructions from his sick-bed that the entertainments and dinners

arranged for the poor on the 26th should take place, and on that day, too, he issued the Coronation Honours List. Once down on the waters of the Solent, he began to make a rapid recovery. He was nursed largely by Queen Alexandra, who was unceasing in her efforts, day and night, for the comfort of her patient. Eagerly the papers were watched each day for news of his Majesty's progress. When it became known that he could at last stand upon his feet and walk about with the assistance of a bluejacket the joy of his subjects, expressed in a thousand ways, was unmistakable. His recovery, indeed, was so surprising that shortly after his joining the Royal yacht he was enabled to announce that the Coronation would take place as early as August 9.

The King's Rapid Recovery

In the interval his Majesty kept strictly to the Victoria and Albert. At the beginning of August he made a series of trips out to sea, running one day to Brighton and standing off the front near the Duke of Fife's house in Sussex Square, while thousands of his loyal subjects swarmed on the beach to greet him with cheers. On August 6 he was sufficiently recovered to return to London, where he received a welcome which was a foretaste of the greetings that were to be accorded to him as he passed in procession three days later to Westminster Abbey. The medical bulletin assured his anxious subjects that his Majesty had borne the journey without fatigue, that he was in excellent health, and that the wound left by the operation was practically healed.

On August 8 King Edward published a message "To my people," which expressed his deep emotion at all that had occurred.

"On the eve of my Coronation, an event which I look upon as one of the most solemn and important in my life, I am anxious to express to my people at home and in the Colonies and in India my heartfelt appreciation of the deep sympathy which they have manifested towards me during the time that my life was in such imminent danger.

"The postponement of the ceremony owing to my illness caused, I fear, much inconvenience and trouble to all those who intended to celebrate it; but their disappointment was borne by them with admirable patience and temper. The prayers of my people for my recovery were heard; and I now offer up my deepest gratitude to Divine Providence for having preserved my life and given me strength to fulfil the important duties which devolve upon me as a Sovereign of this great Empire.

"EDWARD R. & I"



THE NATION'S VIGIL

The King's Coronation, fixed for June 26, 1902, was postponed on account of his serious illness.

Silent it stands, the shrine within whose walls	Not for ourselves we mourn the moment's loss,
He was to give his kingly gage to-day;	Our pleasure darkened and our sun gone down;
And silent on our hearts the sorrow falls	All thoughts are turned to where he bears the cross
Which only faith may stay.	Who should have worn the crown.
So keep we vigil; so a Nation's prayer	
Humbly before the Eternal Heart we bring,	
That of His grace and pity God may spare	
And give us back our King!	

From the drawing by Linley Sambourne, in "Punch," July 2, 1902, by permission of Messrs. Bradbury & Agnew



CHAPTER LXIX

THE CORONATION: KING AND PEOPLE

Describing the State Procession of Edward VII., his Majesty's Escorts
from Over the Seas, and the Gathering of the People to Hail their King

IT is now usual for English monarchs to defer their coronation for a year or more after their accession, but this custom is of very recent date. In times of old our rulers were crowned with the least possible delay. In the Middle Ages the postponement of a coronation would have endangered the position of a monarch. As late as the seventeenth century some men concerned in a conspiracy against James I. pleaded that "their practice against the King could not be treason, because done against him before he was crowned." And the King of the Scots at once hastened to Westminster Abbey to have the Crown of England placed upon his head. Until this was done he had no legal claim to the allegiance of the English people.

In law, the King's Peace was in abeyance during a vacancy of the throne, and this was a further reason why the interval between the proclamation and the crowning of a monarch was made as short as possible. George I. was crowned ten weeks after the death of Queen Anne, and four months after his own death the coronation of his son, George II., was carried out. George III., however, postponed the ceremony until the year following the demise of his predecessor, and this precedent has ever since been observed. But even if he had had no tradition to guide him, King Edward would not have permitted the Coronation to take place at the immediate commencement of his reign. His sorrow at the death of his venerable mother would have led him to alter the ancient custom. Being, moreover, desirous that all his subjects should take a part in his Coronation, he postponed the ceremony far beyond the first anniversary of Queen Victoria's death, until the second summer of his reign, so that his people might come together from the ends of all the earth at a season when the climate of

his capital city was likely to be radiant and soft and calm. There can be no doubt that from a national point of view the further postponement of the Coronation, consequent on the illness of the King, was a blessing in disguise. It was the opinion of Milton that traces of the direct action of Providence could be seen in the course of English history. Even in modern times, when some great task was being secretly prepared for the people of Great Britain, they have been first strangely and wonderfully chastised in order to rouse them from their sloth and luxury and vainglory. The series of irretrievable defeats which they suffered in America in 1781 at the hands of the farmers of New England

and their allies was a national chastisement of this sort. Without it, England would not have been able a few years afterwards to have held out against Napoleon, and shattered at last the power of the greatest captain in history.

To many thoughtful persons the Boer War seemed to be, like the American War of Independence, a preliminary ordeal which had been sent to prepare England for another Armageddon. But, while eliciting the old warlike instincts of the race, it provoked besides a certain vaingloriousness extremely unlike the quiet, sober, and reserved self-confidence of our ancestors. As the date of the Coronation approached, it seemed as though an essentially religious festival would be transformed into an occasion for the display of that vulgar overweeningness exhibited in London after the relief of Mafeking.

"If drunk with sight of power we
loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee
in awe;
Such boasting as the Gentiles use,
And lesser breeds without the
Law;
Lord God of Hosts, be with us
yet:
Lest we forget, lest we forget."

So the Poet of the Empire had sung some years before. The



QUEEN ALEXANDRA AND HER DOGS
From a photograph by Thomas Fall

Black Week of Colenso, Magersfontein, and Stormberg had since then humbled, and, by humbling, strengthened, the spirit of the nation; and now it was again purged, in the fire of calamity, of the baser elements that had worked into it.

So deep was the love, so great was the trust, so passionate was the loyalty given to King Edward by his people, that his sudden illness and almost unhopd for recovery changed the character of the nation. No one now feared that the august ceremony of hallowing and crowning the Peacemaker would be transformed into a loud and saturnalian revel. The sense of the peril through which it was not certain that he had safely and entirely passed altered the character of the part played by the populace in his Coronation. It did not sadden the ceremony, but sanctified it. It induced men to think more of the inner meaning of the rite and less of its external magnificence. It abated the tumult and the shouting of the multitude, but it made the King and the people, by the noble fortitude of the one and the quiet endurance of the other, far more akin. Both King and people approached the ceremonial of the Coronation with feelings very different from those with which they would have been animated had no calamity intervened to postpone it for six weeks. The festival had become a thanksgiving service as well as a rite of consecration. By making the ceremony a cause of less ostentation, the grave illness of the King and his happy recovery rendered it much more impressive in everything that appealed to the deeper emotions.

Effects of the King's Illness

Coronations are not common in the modern world. Some of the mightiest sovereigns of Europe have not been crowned. Even in England a monarch can fully and freely exercise all his functions though the diadem of Empire is never formally placed upon his brows; and several foreign nations were surprised that so practical and utilitarian a race as the English should, especially after the illness of King Edward, hasten again to spend time and trouble and treasure on the obsolete mediæval pageant of a coronation. These critics, however, failed to understand that the English rite of hallowing a king is a great religious solemnity, a great national act of surrender to the Divine will.

The coronation of an English king in the twentieth century remains what it was in the ninth century: a solemn compact between a sovereign and his subjects, ratified by an oath, and blessed by the highest dignitaries of the Church. It is a covenant by a free people and their hereditary ruler, and a common supplication from both to

A Covenant of King and People Heaven that he may be endowed with all princely virtues in the exercise of his high office. The Monarch of the British Empire cannot crown himself as the first King of Prussia did in 1701; as Napoleon did in 1804; as William the First did in 1861, and as the Tsars of Russia always do. For he does not act by and for himself. Like the ancient kings of Israel, he is anointed as priests and prophets are anointed, and it is rather in the special character of the chief pastor of his people that he carries out the sacred ritual. By means of symbols and ceremonies consecrated by the use of a thousand

years, he acts on behalf of the whole nation. It is through him that the people dedicate their kingdom to God, and lay their crown upon the altar, and implore the Divine sanction for their Empire, their power, and their dominion. So it always has been since Egbert of Wessex was anointed with holy oil and crowned with a helmet in 802. Owing to their deep feeling for religion and to their loving observance of the traditions handed down from their forefathers, the English people have kept the rite of sacring their kings close in spiritual significance to the ceremony which King David instituted nearly three thousand years ago. It is still a great and solemn national act informed by a deep and true spirit of piety.

It is certain that never in the history of Christian kingship was the religious importance of the ritual of coronation so clearly manifested as it was on Saturday, August 9, 1902. This effect was produced by the concurrence of three extraordinary circumstances. It was the greatest Imperial event in English history, for King Edward was the first English Emperor to assume the crown. It was a festival of peace, marking the conclusion of the most terrible war in which the nation had engaged since the Napoleonic era. And finally, following as it did immediately on the illness of the King, the Coronation closed and consecrated a period of trial and suspense unprecedented in the annals of the British people and its rulers.

As originally framed, the ceremony would have been an occasion for an Imperial progress on a larger and more splendid scale than the pageant of the Diamond Jubilee. Preceded by his great feudatories, and the princes of all the reigning families in the world, King Edward would have proudly ridden through miles and miles of crowded streets in the north and the south of his titanic city, to give every class of his subjects



THE KING'S FIRST PRIVY COUNCIL AFTER HIS ILLNESS, ON BOARD THE ROYAL YACHT
From a drawing by S. Begg

an opportunity of seeing the might and significance of the incomparable Empire which they had built up in about one hundred and fifty years. And though owing to his illness the procession had to be shortened and shorn of some of its splendour by the departure of many of the princely representatives of the reigning families of the world, it still retained many features that were new in the history of the British monarchy and the British race. King Edward was the first of our kings to be attended at his crowning by an illustrious group of statesmen from our self-governing colonies. He was the first to be accompanied by a glittering throng of the great tributary potentates of India. He was the first to be escorted by numerous and varied detachments of troops from our great democracies over sea, and from our Asiatic, African, and American dependencies.

The attendance of the Colonial Premiers and the Indian Princes moved the English people very deeply. It was to them a sign of the new place which they had taken in the world. The democracy of England felt at last that it was in a way to succeed at a point at which the brilliant democracy of Athens and the free commonwealth of Rome had failed. It was in a way to succeed in combining and maintaining in a permanent combination popular government, Imperial power and unity, and provincial autonomy. By aptly applying in the most diverse conditions their constitutional system, the British race had created the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia; they had settled the polity of South Africa, and developed in an extraordinary manner the population and the resources of India; while in New Zealand there were constantly being conducted on a large scale political experiments far more daring than any of those ever carried out by any ancient or modern republic. The English people were blessed with the widest liberty of thought and action aimed at by the most democratic of governments, and at the same time they lived under more stable institutions than the most powerful military despotism ever maintained. Their monarchy was the oldest in Europe, and their government the freest in the world. Thus, by reconciling the forces of liberty and conservatism, they had arrived at a pitch of power and splendour far beyond that of any other nation. All this they wished to celebrate in the Coronation of their beloved King.

Only in one respect was the Coronation deprived of any of its pomp by reason of its postponement. The special missions sent by foreign Powers to represent their Governments at Westminster Abbey were compelled to depart without waiting for the King's recovery. For the speedy



KING EDWARD VII. AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA

From a photograph by W. S. Stuart

termination of his illness could not be predicted, and it was not possible for the Court of England to retain its guests for an indeterminate period, even if they could conveniently have stayed. Some of the special ambassadors had come from the ends of the earth to pay respect to King Edward, and their absence could no longer be extended. Others from less distant countries had pressing duties waiting them at home. All the envoys had, therefore, to their deep regret, to leave our shores without fulfilling their high mission; and to avoid invidious distinction only those were invited to return who belonged to Royal families of the near kindred of King Edward and Queen Alexandra.

As a matter of fact, there was no need for the presence of the representatives of foreign Royalties at the crowning of the first English Emperor. Their absence did not lessen the inward significance of the Imperial festival.

Envoys from Distant Lands



KING EDWARD'S FIRST VISIT TO THE CITY AFTER HIS ILLNESS IN THE CORONATION YEAR

From a photograph by the Dover Street Studios

Princes and ambassadors from neighbouring Courts attend every coronation which takes place in Europe. The solemn inauguration of the reign of King Edward presented a feature never seen at any similar ceremony, ancient or modern. His crowning was not merely the renewal of an immemorial rite, the perpetuation of which places England in point of antique tradition at the head of all nations. It was the consecration of a great Empire

The Consecration of an Empire

and which owed its development and consolidation to the influence of that Crown which was about to be formally assumed by the Sovereign. Even if the princes who had come to London in June on behalf of the old and the young Powers of the world to salute the most venerable sceptre in Christendom had been able to remain until August in England, their presence would not have given to the ceremony in Westminster Abbey its distinctive character. The distinctive character of the ceremony was the attendance on the King of his faithful subjects from lands beyond the seas, who mingled in the ancient shrine with the representatives of national institutions, which, during a period of eight hundred years, had sent delegates to take part in the same place in the coronations of at least thirty of his predecessors. Thus, the Coronation of Edward VII. was essentially a domestic celebration of the British race united by the influence of the Imperial Crown, which was for the first time employed as the specific symbol of world-wide dominion.

The postponement of the Coronation had at least one happy result. It enabled our oversea democracies to take a more intimate share in the ceremony in August than they would have been able to do in June. From Canada alone, 5,000 loyal visitors had come to London, while from the more distant dominions of Australia, New

Zealand and South Africa, many a shipload of settlers sailed away to salute the new Monarch of an Empire of which they were proud to be citizens. It was only about sixteen years since that the Mother Country and her daughter states began to feel clearly and strongly that they were the joint heirs and the joint guardians of a splendid civilisation, in defence of which they were bound to stand or fall together. This feeling had gathered impetus and force at the time of the Diamond Jubilee, but even then it still remained only a feeling. Now, however, the people of the United Kingdom and the peoples of the free colonies had fought and bled together for the Crown which united them with a brotherly rivalry which had amazed the world. Now at last they knew, as they had never known before, that whatever were the differences of race, or of history, or of creed between them, they were one people, with a common inheritance, a common mission, and a common duty.

The chief benefit to Britain of the Boer War was not the conquest of South Africa. Nor was it the lesson which she learnt, at a great price, on the fateful questions of military organisation and efficiency. The supreme advantage won in that struggle was the proof which it evoked of the patriotism of her free democracies. The degree of

Colonial Patriots at the Coronation independence enjoyed by the Colonies in their relations with the Mother Country is, no doubt, a question of prime interest to statesmen, but it affects the multitude only indirectly. For it might be settled by politicians without any change taking place in the material happiness of the citizens. But the call to battle, answered spontaneously by peaceful men whose trade was not of arms, and who were under no obligation to render aid to the Mother Country, had materially affected the daily life of multitudes of persons in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Parents had



KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN THE HOMELAND OF THE QUEEN

This portrait group, which includes Queen Alexandra's sister, the Dowager Tsaritsa of Russia (seated), was taken on the occasion of their Majesties' visit to Copenhagen in 1900.

From a photograph by Miss Mary Steen

given up the sons who sustained or brightened their old age; young husbands had renounced the joys of fatherhood and exposed their children to the risk of being left orphans; men in the stock farm, the ranche, the counting-house and the store, had abandoned their means of livelihood for the dangers of the battlefield and the deadlier perils of the fever-stricken camp. And all these sacrifices had been undertaken by men of whom not one in fifty had ever seen the shores of England; yet they were all eager to prove that the attachment of the Colonies to the Empire was at least as strong as the value which they put on their own lives.

**The Empire
in London**

The soldiers of the colonial forces who came to London for the Coronation were, therefore, regarded with deep and loving interest. They were an incarnation of the strength of the spiritual bond of a scattered and yet mighty Empire. The contingent sent by Canada was by far the most numerous; it numbered 660 of all ranks, and though, to their deep regret, the Canadians were compelled to return to their own land after the postponement of the crowning of the King, some of them came back to London for the ceremony on August 9. They were not all men of British origin or speech. Among the songs with which these heroes of the Boer campaign enlivened their voyage across the Atlantic was one, "Saint Malo Beau Port de Mer," which is still sung in Brittany. The Bretons of Canada had received the old folksong from ancestors who had fought for the ancient kings of France; and they now sang it on their way to pay loyal homage to the King of England, for whom many a comrade of theirs had laid down his life on the veldt of South Africa. In addition to the men of different speech and race, there were repre-

sentatives of all the composite population of Canada. Among them were descendants of those "United Empire Loyalists," who parted company with the revolted American colonists, and whose proud title shows that even in the eighteenth century the Imperial idea existed in the hearts of British citizens beyond the seas. There were Gaelic settlers from the Gulf of St. Lawrence: there were men of Irish and Scottish origin from Ontario; there were the sons of English parents who had learned to sit their chargers in the prairies around the Rockies.

Every State in the Commonwealth of Australia was also represented at the Coronation. There were ranchers from New South Wales, the mother country of the southern seas, which alone had given the glorious tribute of 5,000 men to fight in the recent war. There were bushmen from Victoria, there were rifles from Adelaide, mounted infantry from Swan River, from tropic Brisbane, and from temperate Hobart. New Zealand, whose brave native race was not subdued without a struggle, sent with its gallant white settlers a body of loyal Maori warriors. Cape Colony and Natal, ravaged by the war, despatched some of their defenders to compare impressions of their re-born land with the Australians and the Canadians who had passed that way. The Imperial Light Horse, Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry, the South African Light Horse were represented; and so were Remington's Tigers, the Scottish Horse, and Kitchener's Fighting Scouts.

The Maoris of New Zealand were not the only soldiers of native origin sent with the colonial forces to the Coronation. From North Borneo came a little band of Dyaks, some of the head-hunters of the seas where the Pacific meets the Indian Ocean. The Sultan of Perak

**Soldiers from
the Colonies**



TROOPS OF THE EMPIRE IN THE CORONATION PROCESSION PASSING THROUGH WHITEHALL
From a photograph by Brightman



KING EDWARD'S CORONATION PROCESSION: THE ROYAL COACH IN WHITEHALL

From a photograph by Brightman

brought from the Straits, where it is always summer, his bodyguard of Malays. Ceylon sent its white-clad, sinuous Singhalese; Fiji its bronze-tinted giants, clothed in crimson, white and blue. The black skins of many a branch of the great Bantu family were seen on the London pavement; Nigerians and Haussas from West Africa; Sudanese and Swahelis from the centre and the east of the Dark Continent, wearing the uniform of the King's African Rifles. To them were added men of their race and colour who had never seen their native wilds, the descendants of West Indian slaves. The red tarbouch marked the Mohammedan guardians of Cyprus, and the yellow Mongol features of the Hong-Kong police told of England's post of observation in the Farthest East.

Soldiers of the East

But the Orientals who attracted most attention were not those from the Levant or the China Sea. One of the parks around London was peopled with an imposing contingent of the native troops of the Indian Army. That force, two hundred thousand strong, is recruited in every region of the great peninsula, from Kashmir to Cape Comorin, and from the Afghan hills to the delta of the Godavery. To hail the Emperor of India it had sent to England representatives of a vast array of races and of castes. There were Tamils from Southern India; Telugus from the East Coast; Mahrattas from the Deccan; Brahmin-Jats and Rajputs from Oudh and Rajputana; Gurkhas from Nepal; Sikhs from the Punjab; Afridis and other Pathans from the wild borderland across the Indus;

Hazaras from Afghanistan, and Mussulmans of diverse origin and locality. The crowds admired the dark, turbaned warriors in the brilliant attire of Lancers or Guides, and felt a pride in knowing that they formed part of the King's army, without, however, quite understanding all that they signified. But grey-headed men of war from the military clubs of Pall Mall had their recollection taken back five-and-forty years by the unaccustomed sight of some of these Indian uniforms. They revived memories of the heroic figures of Havelock, Outram, and the Lawrences; they recalled pictures of the Residency at Lucknow and of the Kashmir Gate at Delhi; they brought back thoughts of how India was saved, not only by the gallant resistance of the British garrison, but by the loyal fidelity of a remnant of the native army.

The Coronation was thus an occasion for the display of national joy instinct with a lofty and Imperial pride.

To this was added the feeling excited by the successful conclusion of the South African War. In the short time which had elapsed between his accession and crowning King

Edward had won the admiration of the world and the loving gratitude of his own people by displaying his remarkable qualities as a pacificator. The Coronation of the Peacemaker was a festival of peace. And so honourable a peace was it on both sides that both the Briton and the Boer could rejoice in it. The chain which unites the scattered British possessions over all the globe had been strengthened by a new link at a point where it had

A Festival of Peace



BUCKINGHAM PALACE

August 8th 1902.To my People

On the eve of my coronation, on which I look upon as one of the most solemn & important in my life. I am anxious to express to my People at Home & in the Colonies & in India my heartfelt appreciation of the deep sympathy

which they have manifested towards me during the time that my life was in such imminent danger.

The first moment of the ceremony being for my attempt to ascend. I am much indebted to all those who interested themselves to lighten it & find that this affair would be known by them with admirable patience & sympathy.

The progress of my People was found & I am glad of my deep gratitude to Divine Providence for having preserved my life & given me energy to fulfill the important duties which devolve upon me as the Sovereign of this great Empire.

Edward R. I

THE KING'S LETTER TO THE NATION

A reduced facsimile of the letter addressed by King Edward to his people on the day before his Coronation

threatened to break, and the declaration made by the Boers of their desire to form part of the Empire had restored to England her old self-confidence.

Yet no signs of triumph and pride were seen in the streets. On the eventful day the mood of the people resembled in colour and character the heavens above their head. Although it was the season in which the sun usually attains an almost overpowering splendour, the skies of London were of a sober and neutral grey, yet touched at times with a quiet, softened and silvery beauty.

The Waiting**People**

Sometimes rain seemed about to fall, and an autumnal coldness came upon the air, but the dark, heavy, sagging clouds sailed slowly over the streets, instead of showering down on the metropolis.

It was with feelings similar to those aroused when the Prince of Wales went forth to give thanks for his resurgence from a bed of death in 1872 that the people of London gathered at daybreak on August 9, 1902, to watch him ride out to be anointed and crowned. The vast multitude which collected between Buckingham Palace and Westminster Abbey was strangely quiet and strangely thoughtful. It was even more subdued in manner and anxious in mind than the crowd which assembled on Thanksgiving Day, thirty years before. Many of the spectators still felt doubtful whether their beloved ruler would ever live to wear the diadem of empire. They were apprehensive of news arriving at any moment that King Edward had had a relapse, and that the ceremony would again have to be postponed.

Not until the stupendous thunder of the massed cannon rolled through London and announced that the King had left his Palace did they believe that all was well with him. Some of them were dozing on the kerb along the line of route when the line of dawn began to appear in the sky, and for many long hours they waited on, wistfully patient, all animated by one desire, one desire only, to see King Edward go forth to be crowned, and to see him return safely with his beautiful Queen. There was now no exultation in their hearts, and no radiance of joy on their faces. Only a feeling of hope, that had in it somewhat of a religious sentiment, kept them gathered in an immense assembly in silent expectation. Their number was marvellous. At the time that Queen Victoria was crowned London was a city with one million five hundred thousand inhabitants. At the date of her son's coronation, six million seven hundred thousand people were living in the capital of an Empire of nearly four hundred million souls. It would be impossible to reckon how many of the incomparable population of London were packed that day along the shortened line of route. Small as the space comparatively was, everybody in the metropolis seemed to have thronged into it, not attracted by the spectacle of gorgeous power unrolled before their eyes, but moved by an anxious desire to see for themselves their beloved King restored to health.

This was proved by the manner in which they gazed in the silence of expectation at the pageant of the Coronation. There were three processions: the Royal Family procession, the Prince of Wales's procession, and the King's Procession. Although the first long train of splendid carriages contained, besides the members of the Royal Family, many distinguished foreign princes, the multitude of spectators scarcely paid any attention to it. Even the Prince of Wales's procession excited little enthusiasm. Our future King and Queen were themselves heartily welcomed, but their retinue was not acclaimed, for everybody was waiting in an intense solicitude for the great event. Profound indeed was the general feeling of relief when the detonation of sixty-two cannon carried over London the tidings that the King had at last set forth for Westminster Abbey.

The gorgeous procession slowly moved through London, a broad stream of scarlet and gold. Headed by the band of the First Life

The Vanguard of the Procession

Guards in their glittering State uniforms, came the cavalcade of Royal Horse Guards, with the King's Bargemaster and twelve Watermen, who formed in their quaint livery a pageant of mediæval picturesqueness. This advanced guard of the Sovereign's escort was followed by the equipages of the pages, maids of honour, and great officers of the King's household. After them rode the brilliant and distinguished throng of the aides-de-camp of King Edward. They were drawn from the Naval and Marine forces, the Army, the Yeomanry, the Militia, and the Volunteers. Among them—a vision of green and white, and scarlet and gold—were three Indian Princes: the handsome young Maharajah of Gwalior from Central India,

who had served with the British forces in China and provided a hospital-ship for the Indian contingent in the Chinese campaign; the Maharajah of Cooch-Behar, who was a brilliant officer of the Bengal Cavalry; and Sir Pertab Singh, the famous Maharajah of Idar and leader of the Imperial Service troops. In this part of the procession about one hundred officers took part, and, with their many-coloured uniforms and their splendid chargers, they made a fine and a stirring spectacle.

An Historic Group of Officers

For many of them were, like Colonel Park, who led the Devons on Wagon Hill, and Colonel Plumer, who fought in a brilliant manner the most uphill struggle in South Africa, men renowned by their skill and daring in war. By a very happy arrangement, the aides-de-camp were followed by the three officers who had recently commanded British forces successfully in the far ends of the earth. There was Lord Kitchener with his bronzed face and steadfast eyes, and in a line with him were Admiral Sir Edward Seymour and Sir Alfred Gaselee.

At the sight of Lord Kitchener the quiet and expectant multitude of spectators broke for the first time in the day into a full-throated cheer. Deeply intent as the people were on seeing and greeting their King, they remembered that his Coronation was, above all things, a festival of peace, and so they hailed the great captain by whose efforts that peace had been brought about. But the distinguished sailor and soldier who then dressed by the hero of the hour deserved hardly less well from the cheering multitude. They formed with him an historic group; the naval officer who had taken Tientsin and paved the way for the relief of the Peking Legations; the gallant and unassuming Indian general who had relieved those legations; and the man who had avenged Gordon and stamped out despotism in the Soudan, and pacified and consolidated the States of South Africa. These three conquerors were accompanied

by the Headquarter Staff of the Army, in which were found many of the men who had assisted them in their victorious careers. The rear of this brilliant military display was brought up by Lord Roberts, who was covered with honours earned in fifty years of fighting for the Empire.

Then came in ranks of four his Majesty's Marshalsmen. They were twenty-five grey-headed Yeomen of the Guard, clad in the glorious attire of the Tudor period. Another band of brilliant soldiers intervened: these were the equerries to the King, and among them were Prince Albert and Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, and Prince Charles of Denmark. They were followed by an escort of colonial mounted troops, plainly dressed in fighting khaki, and an escort of Indian cavalry arrayed in brilliantly coloured turbans and tunics. This was the part of the Royal progress which excited most enthusiasm. But it was not so much from the wealth of colour which it brought to the pageant that it stirred the hearts of the spectators, but from its Imperial significance. The people felt that their beloved ruler must indeed be an Emperor when they saw riding in his train a bodyguard drawn from the youth of Canada, South Africa, and Australasia, beside whom rode, united in common fealty, the reckless Pathan from beyond the Kaibar, the Sikh of Ludiana, the Moslem of Delhi, the Mahratta of Bombay, and the fighting Rajput of Upper and Central India.

They passed amid the acclamations of the crowd, and then there was a silence that could be felt, as a coach that seemed to have come from fairyland appeared behind the dancing plumes of the Guards. For in that coach sat Edward the Seventh and his lovely Queen. To the amazement of the spectators the King appeared in the best of health and spirits. But though his face was of a ruddy brown, it had grown thinner, and there was at least one remarkable sign of the suffering which he had undergone;

The Coming of the King



BRITONS FROM OVERSEA AT THE CORONATION: THE INDIAN AND COLONIAL ESCORT PASSING THROUGH THE CANADIAN ARCH
From a photograph by R. W. Thomas

his beard that used to be grey was now as white as snow. The strange pause made by the people as he passed by, smiling though full of grave dignity, showed how deeply they were moved by his altered appearance. Nothing could have endeared him so much to them as the sharp and sudden peril which he had faced so bravely and surmounted so happily. Loyalty to the Throne is a British instinct, and of it the King was always assured in abundant measure. But this loyalty was something quite different from the personal affection which had been quickened and consecrated by the emotions elicited from the people in that dark week in June to which they had looked forward with so exuberant a joy.

British Affection for the Throne

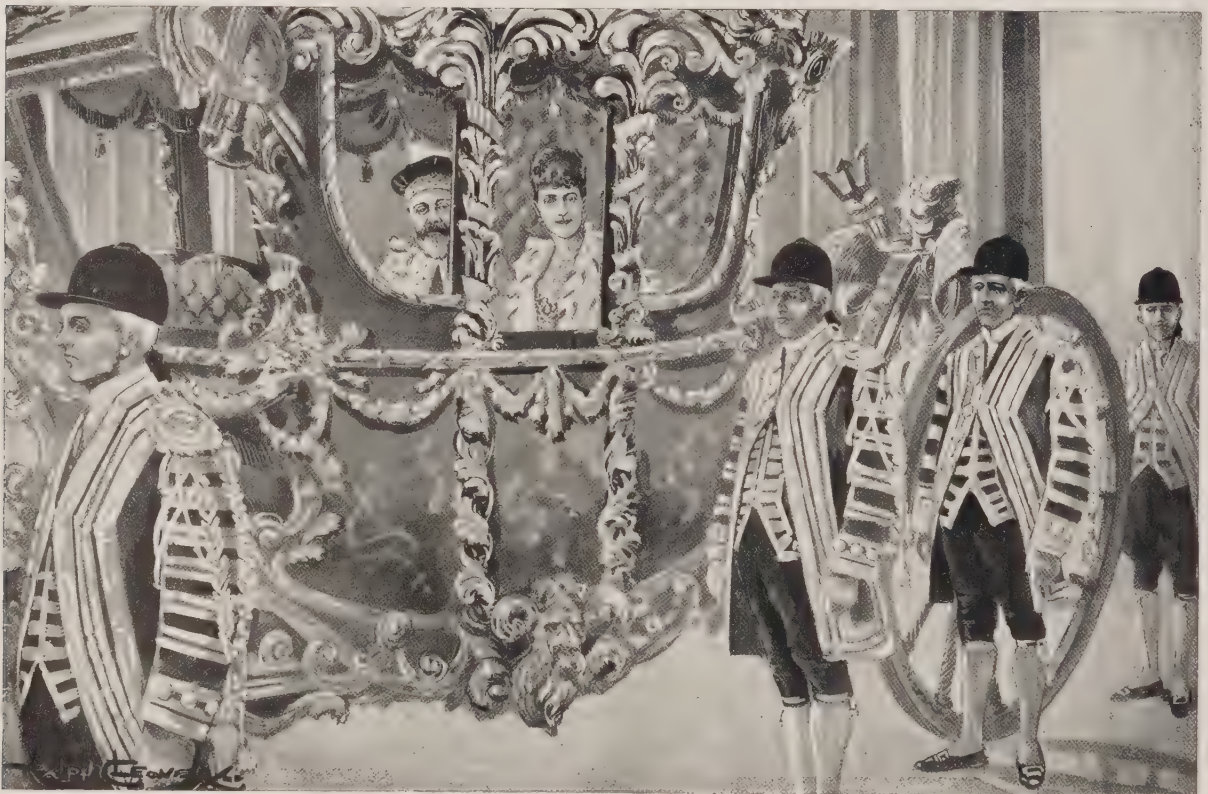
As a French writer observed at the time, the English Monarchy seemed, even in its misfortunes, to be mysteriously favoured by fortune. After the display of passionate devotion amid which Queen Victoria lived and died, no man could have imagined that it was possible for the popular feeling of loyalty to increase in both depth and intensity. Yet as King Edward came forth among his people to receive his crown, he was given in the streets of his capital city a welcome such as his mother never had. It was not the irrepressible outburst of triumphant acclamation that greeted him which showed what was the measure of the general emotion, but the wonderful stillness that came upon the innumerable multitude as he drew near. The conclamation of the assembled inhabitants of the metropolis of the British Empire is in itself a marvellous and incomparable thing. But far more significant on this occasion than the cheering of the gathered multitudes of London was their silence. The cheers that heralded his approach travelled down the streets, gathering in force as they travelled, like thunder rolling rapidly across the sky and preparing to burst instantly overhead. Yet so intense was the expectation that, instead of being, like the people of any other nation, moved by the common impulse to

break out into a frenzy of acclamation, every man seemed to be a silent, solitary watcher, waiting to see with his own eyes that the King was well and happy before he greeted him on his Coronation progress.

But when at last the King appeared in his fairy-like coach, clad in a crimson robe and wearing on his head the Cap of Estate of crimson velvet edged with ermine, and with Queen Alexandra sitting by his side, a beautiful figure in a purple robe and coronet, there was a storm of deep-chested cheers in deafening unison. In some places men and women in the ecstasy of excitement flung themselves between the armed soldiers and pressed forward down the route, keeping pace with the Royal coach, and shouting in a frenzy of loyalty and affection. So, in a scene of the wildest enthusiasm ever seen in England, King Edward rode down Whitehall to the minster where for thirteen centuries the Sovereigns of England have been anointed and crowned.

Is there in the modern world a highway more suited to an historic and regal ceremony than that into which the Royal coach entered when it passed through the Horse Guards arch and turned towards the Abbey? Ancient Rome itself could recall no vision of Empire so boundless as that conjured up by the splendid edifices to the right and left, and the long, magnificent and towered forum in front. It was not only the silent appeal made by these buildings to the imagination which enlarged the stage for the spectators, and expanded a short thoroughfare into a world-empire. In the open space between the great Government offices there was an actual concourse of the living witnesses of Imperial expansion. Ranged at the base of the palaces of Imperial administration was a great host of the sons of the Empire, the Indian and Colonial Guards of Honour, telling by their strange differences of complexion and costume from what widely distant ends of the earth they were come to wait upon him who held "dominion over palm and pine."

Witnesses to Empire Expansion



EDWARD VII. AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN THE CORONATION COACH ON THEIR WAY TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY
From a drawing by Ralph Cleaver.



CHAPTER LXX

THE CORONATION: KING AND EMPIRE

Showing the Historical Foundations and Traditions Symbolised in the Ceremony, and How its Imperial Significance was Demonstrated by the Great Gathering within Westminster Abbey

OTHER buildings there may be which surpass Westminster Abbey in beauty and grandeur, but there is none which has been entwined with so many threads into the history of a whole nation. In it is still shown the tomb of King Sebert of the East Saxons, who is said to have built the first minster thirteen hundred years ago. There lie the canonised bones of the last of the old Anglo-Saxon kings, Edward the Confessor, who was the veritable founder of the national sanctuary. There, around him, repose the greatest of his successors to the English throne, Edward I., Edward III., Henry IV., and other far forerunners of Edward the Peacemaker. And there, with but a single exception, has every English sovereign from the Conqueror downwards come for his coronation. This custom is a marvellous example of the continuity of our national life, and it shows more than anything else that there was no violent break in our traditions even in the age of the Norman dominion. No accident, no chapter of accidents, has made the venerable Abbey the centre of a great Empire. A long, unbroken chain of great historical events has given to it its supreme importance.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor the laws of Alfred the Great, which had been set aside by the Danish usurpers, were restored. This happy event led the English people ever afterwards to regard his period of rule as the Golden Age of England. For five centuries the church in which he was buried was one of the great pilgrim shrines of the country. To it the people came to pray for good government. The English nation has an extraordinary genius for politics. They have only two famous native saints of the mediæval era—Edward the Confessor and Thomas à Becket. And both of them seem to have been

canonised mainly by reason of the passionate reverence which the populace felt for them because they represented in different ways the popular side in politics. It is a significant fact that when Becket, the first Englishman to rise to high office after the Conquest, was at the height of his power, in 1163, one of his principal acts was to get the last of the English kings canonised as Saint Edward the Confessor. Long before this, however, the popular memory of the Confessor had become the supreme political tradition of England. In order to show that they intended to govern according to the good old English laws, William the Conqueror and his descendants came to Westminster

Abbey to receive the crown by the graveside of Saint Edward. Up to the days of Henry VIII. kings and Commons lived in the shadow of the Abbey in which the saint reposed. The great victories won by English armies were celebrated beneath its roof; its stately Chapter House was the cradle of the parliamentary government of England and her colonies; and in the course of nine hundred years the soil of the old Abbey church became sacred with the dust of the greatest kings, warriors, statesmen, churchmen, and poets of the land.

But of all the gatherings that had taken place in the Abbey church at Westminster since William the Conqueror came there at the head of his Norman soldiery on Christmas Day, 1066, none equalled in beauty, splendour, and significance the assembly collected at the coronation of King Edward the Seventh. It is not extravagant to say that the ceremony of August 9, 1902, marked a new era in the annals of the British Empire and of the world. It was the fruit of sixty years of astounding progress in the evolution of the human race. The French writer who described the ceremonial as a splendid anachronism had eyes only for the gorgeous pageantry of the event.



THE CORONATION CHAIR, WITH THE STONE OF DESTINY
The Stone of Destiny—the Scottish Coronation Stone, was brought by Edward I. from Scots to Westminster Abbey in 1296, since when all English kings have been crowned upon it.

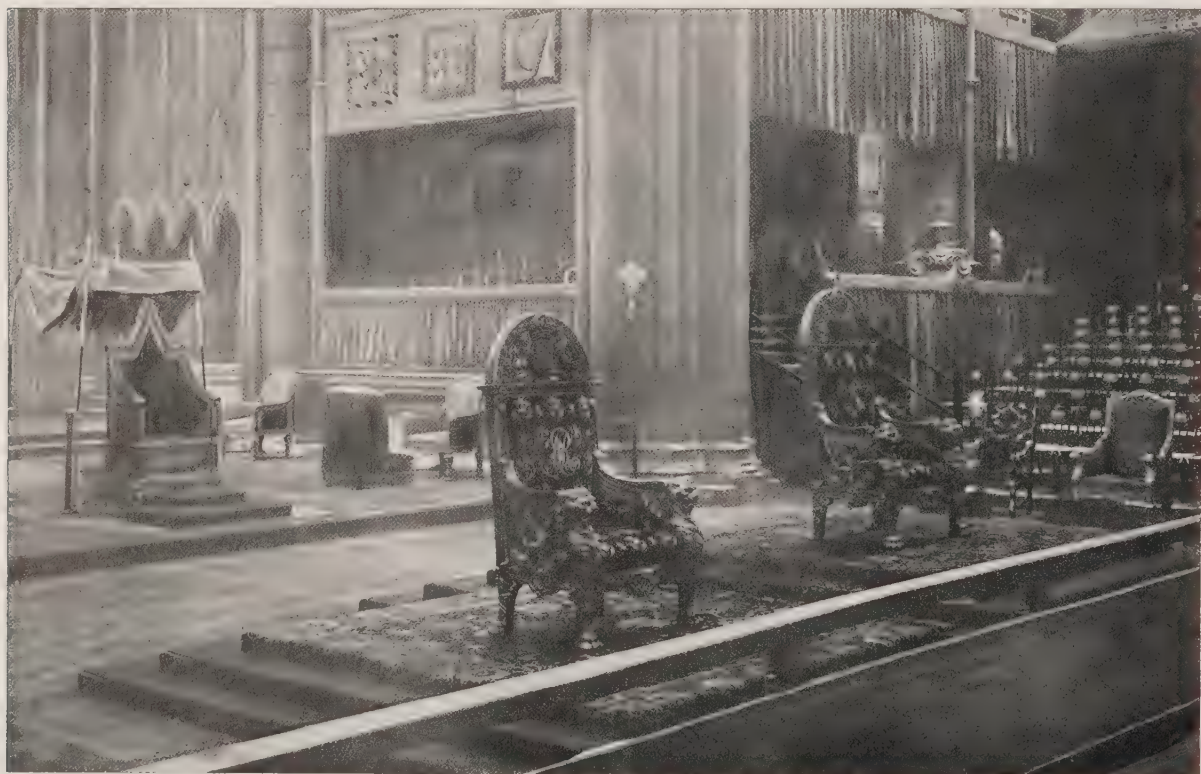
It was no mere spectacle retained by an ancient people proud of its ancient customs. No doubt, in the eighteenth century the English coronation became for a while little more than a brilliant but empty rite. In the Georgian age especially, when the monarchy, having been re-established on a new statutory basis, needed to be decked out in its antique trappings in order to display its hereditary nature to a nation divided on dynastic questions, the ritual declined into a mere pageant. In the reign of King Edward, however, the ceremony had not only recovered all its pristine meaning, but it had acquired a new and a high importance of a twofold nature. It was the consecration of the Imperial idea conceived in the last generation of the nineteenth century; it was the recognition by the mightiest of democracies of an hereditary crown as the symbol of the world-wide domination of their race. The King's place in the realm was a higher one, when he assumed his crown, than that occupied by Queen Victoria when she sat in the same historic chair in Westminster Abbey sixty-four years before. Popular as was the young Queen in 1838, it was the general opinion at that epoch that the statesmen of both parties and the Parliament which produced them were the real pillars of the State. It was deemed a happy accident that the new Sovereign possessed engaging qualities which made the defence of the Crown an easy task; but all the same it was agreed

The Constitution Transformed

that the three estates of the realm constituted the veritable framework of the nation, of which the monarch was only a removable figurehead. But now the situation was reversed. The three estates were again assembled in the Abbey, manifesting to the world the continuity of English traditions; but, instead of their being the supports of the monarchy, the architecture of the Constitution had been completely transformed. The monarchy was no longer the ornament of the structure, but the keystone which

kept all the portions of the fabric in place. When Queen Victoria was crowned the populace had little political power. It was illiterate; it had no newspapers, and if a cheap Press had existed it could not have read its productions. It took no part in the creation of public opinion, and it was not allowed to organise itself. All these disabilities had practically been removed at the beginning of the twentieth century, and King Edward went forth to be crowned, not as the figurehead of a small governing class, but as the veritable leader of an enfranchised, intelligent, and prepotent democracy. A French republican who published a study of the British Constitution in 1902, summed up his conclusions by saying that "if ever a conflict arose between the English monarchy and the English Parliament the immense majority of the working classes and peasantry would range themselves on the side of the Crown." The fact is that the coronation of King Edward closed that long and troubled period in English history which opened at the Norman Conquest.

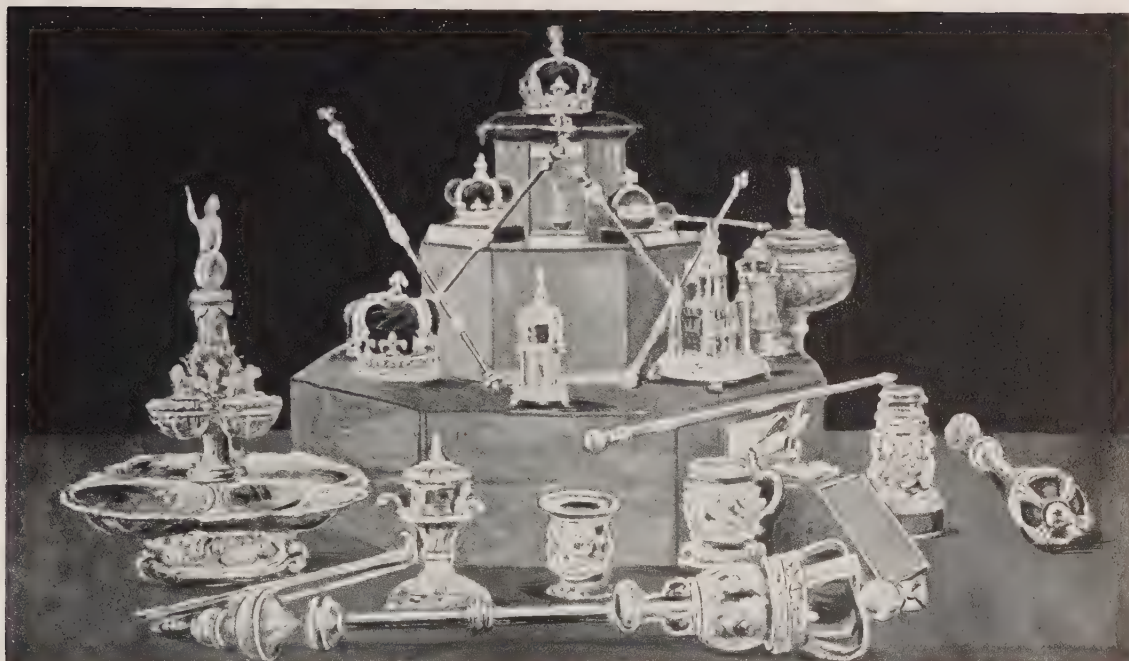
At the beginning of this chapter there was given a brief historical retrospect, which no doubt, at first glance, did not seem to be directly connected with the coronation of King Edward. But the connection will appear clear. From prehistoric times (as recent researches have shown) the English Government has always been monarchical, but until the days of the Norman Conquest the power of the English monarchy was seldom exercised at the expense of the freedom of the people. The freemen, no doubt, had scarcely any initiating authority, but little of national importance was carried out without their consent. This form of government was destroyed in the days of the Norman Conquest. The victorious invaders were organised into a fierce and high-handed governing caste, and even when the Norman element was extirpated or blended, their traditions of a ruling class survived in the



THE INTERIOR OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY AS ARRANGED FOR THE CORONATION

In the centre is the Coronation Chair, with the Stone of Destiny, where King Edward was anointed, and in the foreground are the two Chairs of State, where the King and Queen were enthroned

From a photograph by the Rotary Photographic Company



THE IMPERIAL REGALIA OF THE BRITISH CROWN

The Regalia of England are kept in the Tower of London. They include the new crown made for Queen Victoria's coronation (at the top of the picture), St. Edward's Crown, the Prince of Wales's Crown, the Queen's Diadem, St. Edward's Staff, the Royal Sceptre (with the cross), the Rod of Equity (with the dove), the Queen's Sceptre, the Orb, the Queen's Orb, the Swords of Mercy and Justice, and the ampulla for the holy oil.

oligarchy of the eighteenth century. The plutocracy produced by the modern industrial revolution succeeded to some extent in grasping some of the power held by the landed interest, but it only enlisted on its side the middle classes; the rich trader was really more afraid than the old territorial oligarchy had been of the power which an indiscriminate suffrage would put in the hands of the democracy. It was not until Disraeli saw that the introduction of manhood suffrage into France in 1848 resulted in the re-establishment of a conservative form of government that the English populace began really to recover the position which it had lost under the feudal system.

"There was a time," says Freeman, the famous historian of the Norman Conquest, "when every freeman of England could raise his voice or clash his weapon in the assembly which chose bishops and ealdormen and kings; when he could boast that the laws which he obeyed were laws of his own framing, and that the men who bore rule over him were rulers of his own choosing." At the coronation of King Edward the self-same rights had at last been won back by the people in forms better suited to our times; and to all the feudal traditions attaching to the ceremony there was now added a popular sanction which had not existed even when Queen Victoria was crowned.

The British democracy, it is certain, is the most utilitarian in its aims in all the world. It has little interest in abstract theories of politics. It drives continually at practice, and it devotes all its energies to the solutions of such practical questions as the regulation of wages and hours of labour, the housing of the poor, the organisation of trades, old age pensions, and small holdings. Yet in spite of the practical and utilitarian aims of our working classes, their devotion to the Crown is extraordinary. In order to find a parallel to their deep and passionate sense of loyalty we must go back to the age before the Norman Conquest, and read in our ancient literature—such as the poem on the Battle of Maldon in 991—of the personal feeling of attachment between the English freeman

and his chief. With their ancient freedom the English people have recovered their ancient loyalty—a thing so different from the patriotism of the Latin races that it fills the modern Frenchman with the same wonder as it filled the ancient Roman.

As has already been pointed out, along with this revival of democratic feeling for the Crown there has been evolved a new sense of the Imperial importance of the monarchy.

The democratic character of the Coronation has been manifested in the streets; the Imperial character of the ceremony was fully brought out in Westminster

Abbey. At half-past nine on the morning of August 9, 1902, eight thousand persons assembled in the ancient minster, forming, in their glittering and many-coloured costumes, a vast jewelled cross in the nave and the transepts. Merely as a pageant the scene was incomparable; in its picturesqueness and magnificent pomp it excelled any spectacle seen in England in the Middle Ages. Through the old windows, subdued by the gem-like colouring of the stained glass, filtered a dim light, a dim light which infused into everything a sense of calm dignity and proud reticence. From the dim azure floor a forest of grey pillars rose and united into arches, and then lost themselves in the faint grey mist which hangs for ever in the high roof of the Abbey.

In the arches were galleries filled with spectators in gorgeous attire, but so high and distant that they blurred into a confused mass of rich colour. Prelates and priests in cloth of gold; peers and peeresses in ermine and crimson, courtiers and soldiers in scarlet and yellow; knights in the mediæval dress of the orders of chivalry; ladies standing out like flowers in their raiment of softly iridescent tints on which jewels glistened like dewdrops. It was not a kaleidoscopic effect like a bed of variegated tulips, but a fine and lovely harmony. The blue and old gold of the carpets and hangings blended with the grey hues of the ancient stones, and framed the rich mosaic of rainbow-like colours and softened it in a wonderful manner.

Nearly five hours elapsed between the opening of the Abbey doors to the myriad of guests and the arrival of

British Devotion to the Crown



THE GREAT CORONATION NAVAL REVIEW, AUGUST 16, 1902: THE FLEET ASSEMBLED BEFORE KING EDWARD AT SPITHEAD
From a drawing by H. Seppings Wright

the King. But so magnificent and so interesting was the spectacle which the spectators made for each other that the long period of waiting was full of delight to the eyes and entertainment to the mind. Even to those who arrived in the early morning, and spent eight hours in the Abbey, the time seemed short—such were the varied splendour and historical significance of the scene. All the political and social elements of the British Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century were represented at this great national festival.

The Forces of the British Empire By passing in review some of the members of the imposing company who, by their origin, position, or achievements, were representative of their age, some idea can be obtained of the forces of the British Empire, and of its relations with the other Powers of the world at the moment when Edward the Peacemaker assumed the Imperial Crown.

Although, as has been seen, the special embassies sent by foreign countries to the Coronation of Edward the Peacemaker were compelled by the illness of the King to depart without fulfilling their mission, a considerable number of members of the reigning houses of Europe came back to see him crowned. They were all of near kindred to the King and Queen. Although it is not customary for Sovereign Rulers to attend Coronations, one reigning prince sat in the choir of Westminster Abbey. He was the Grand Duke of Hesse, the eldest son of Princess Alice, whose devotion to her father has made her name a household word in England. Next him was seated the heir of Greece, representing his father, King George of the Hellenes, brother of Queen Alexandra. By the Duke of Sparta was his uncle, the Crown Prince of Denmark, whose line rivals that of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha in its genius for mounting and adorning thrones. Even his youngest brother, Prince Charles, who was riding in the King's procession, was soon to find in Norway a crown for himself and his charming English wife, Princess Maud. On the other side of the choir were Prince and Princess Henry of Prussia, both grandchildren of Queen Victoria. Beside them was a Royal couple from the picturesque but troubled Balkans—the Crown Prince of Rumania with his wife, a Princess of Saxe-Coburg, but born a maid of Kent when her father was Duke of Edinburgh.

There can be no doubt that the work of Edward the Peacemaker was remarkably facilitated by the ties which in the last hundred years have connected the English Royal Family with the reigning houses of Europe. One good result has at least been produced by the wide democratic movement of the nineteenth century. An end has been made to the dynastic wars born of the personal ambitions and the personal rivalries of despotic rulers. It is now politicians and journalists who chiefly stir up unnecessary strife between nations. In the very rare cases in which war cannot be said to be unnecessary, and a whole people begins to rage against another people in a quarrel based on general economic or territorial grounds, the bonds of affection connecting the families of their rulers are often a powerful factor in preserving the peace of the world.

Had the Court of France been as closely united in 1870 with the Courts of Germany as the Court of England was in the reign of King Edward it is probable that some means more civilised than the terrible weapons of modern warfare would have been used in settling the differences between the French and the Prussians. King Edward's remarkable success in the pleasant fields of diplomacy was, no doubt, largely due to his native genius for finding a peaceful solution to the

"The Uncle of Europe" most difficult problems in politics; but the work which he carried out with such apparent ease would have been much harder to accomplish if he had not been, as the French used to call him, "the Uncle of Europe." The fact that the German Emperor was his nephew, that the Empress of Russia was his niece, and the Tsar the nephew of Queen Alexandra, enabled him to settle in direct kindly personal intercourse discussions which might have grown too formal, too intricate, and, perhaps, too heated, if they had been conducted by the Ministers and Ambassadors of the various Powers.

Now that space and time have been bridged and shortened by modern inventions, the world has become like a great village. Every country now neighbours the other, and gossips about the other, and occasionally a good deal of petty spite and jealousy is mingled with the gossip. In the course of time, no doubt, everybody in our great village will be on a footing of kindly intimacy, but the sudden and close acquaintanceship seems at present to have revealed more causes of friction than of friendship. Until constant intercourse has worn down all angularities, intermarriage between the heads of great households appears to be the best means of preventing strife and bloodshed in the village. Never has the hereditary principle of monarchy been so patently useful as it is in the present age of transition in the history of the human race. By giving to the ties between the various Royal families strength and permanence, it links all the monarchical races together, and forms out of their rulers a kind of Royal Chamber in which the great questions which may one day be discussed by the Parliament of the World are already capable of being settled in peaceful consultation. The purely Republican form of government has thus become a hindrance rather than a help to the future federation of the world.

Maratha Empire, together with the young Maharajahs of Gwalior and Cooch-Behar, who had taken part in the procession. In order, perhaps, to symbolise the impartiality of the British Empire to its various creeds, Aga Khan, the great Mohammedan theologian, was seated among a row of Scots divines. The Mohammedan, a man with a strong and intelligent face, was the powerful head of a sect more numerous than the descendants of the men who followed John Knox.

In looking from their stalls, the Indian potentates must have been impressed with the world-wide extent of the Empire which had absorbed their ancient domains. Not far from them sat the Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, in his knightly robes of blue. Sir Wilfrid Laurier is of French race, sprung from the countrymen of Montcalm, from whom Wolfe won Quebec; but so accomplished is he that, even as a speaker of English, he showed when he first came to London that he was one of the best orators of the age. Close to him was the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Richard Seddon, the most advanced democratic Minister in the world, and at the same time the most passionate Imperialist. On the north side of the choir sat Sir



THE ROYAL YACHT, WITH KING EDWARD ON BOARD, PASSING THROUGH THE FLEET AT THE CORONATION REVIEW

From a photograph by Stephen Cribb

It was from the House of Lords that the historic development of the House of Commons proceeded, and it seems probable that from the Council of Kings will eventually be evolved the Council of the Nations.

In the absence of the special envoys, the Ambassadors accredited to the Court of St. James's represented their government at the Coronation. One special mission, however, remained. The Ras Makunen from Abyssinia, with his dark face and white robes, stood for the line descended from the Queen of Sheba. At some distance from him, among famous diplomatists of Europe, was the representative of our new ally, Japan. He, unfortunately, had discarded the flowing flowery robe of the Land of the Rising Sun for the less picturesque costume of the Western world. But ranged against the screen in the places of highest honour was a line of Indian feudatory princes, whose jewels rivalled in splendour those of the regalia about to be assumed by their

Princes of India at Westminster

Imperial suzerain. In one stall sat the Maharajah of Jaipur, the Lord of the Coral City, where he presides over the solemn worship of the Hindu Sun-god. Beside him was another Rajput prince, the Maharajah of Bikaner; then the Maharajah of Idar, better known as Sir Pertab Singh; and the Maharajah of Kolhapur, descended from the founder of the ancient

Edmund Barton, the Prime Minister of the new Commonwealth of Australia, of which the first Parliament had been opened fifteen months before by the Heir to the Crown. Sir Robert Bond, the Prime Minister of the oldest British Colony, Newfoundland, was seated above the black chief of the Barotsis, who came from the newest territory acquired by English pioneers, Rhodesia, named after that empire-builder who had died in the prime of his life five months before the Coronation. Pacified South Africa was represented by the Minister of loyal Natal, Sir Albert Hine, and two governors of the Crown colonies, Sir West Ridgway and Sir Walter Sendall, graced the ceremony. Besides the elected Ministers of the self-governing communities were sent men of various origin and training who had been sent from England to administer distant and diverse territories; some with ornamental, others with almost autocratic powers, and all variously recruited from the historic peerage, from the rich industrial class, from the camp, from the University, and from the bureaucracy of Whitehall. Thus were mingled together the democracies of the great white dominions over sea and the administrators of dominions in every climate of the world. Having all helped to consolidate the British Empire, they had recently met together for the first time at a conference devised with the object of further promoting Imperial union.



THE CORONATION REVIEW: THE DREADNOUGHT FIRING A SALUTE AS HIS MAJESTY'S YACHT REACHED THE LINES

From a photograph by Stephen Cribb

Among the British statesmen in the choir were two political opponents who had more in common with one another than with many of the men of their own party. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, wearing for the last time the robes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, represented the race of country gentlemen who for one hundred and fifty years had been supreme in the government

Political Leaders at the Coronation

of England, but were now growing rare even on the Conservative benches in the House of Commons. Close to him was Sir William Vernon Harcourt, his predecessor at the Treasury, and a cadet of ancient family, who, though a Liberal with a Radical audacity in imposing on the rich the main burden of taxation, would not have been out of place in a Cabinet in a Whig oligarchy of the eighteenth century. Both these statesmen stood for the great tradition of English Parliamentary life. Of the new type of political leader created by the new era, Mr. Chamberlain was the most remarkable example present at the Coronation. Beginning as a Republican, he reflected with greater clearness than any other man the vicissitudes of democratic opinion, and, like Mr. Seddon, of New Zealand, with whom he had much in common, he ended by becoming a resolute and energetic Imperialist. Sitting in the choir with him was his early friend, Sir Charles Dilke, who has already been seen, in the chapter on King Edward's illness in 1871, propagating Republicanism in various parts of England.

But Sir Charles had also felt long since a new influence. Many years before he had invented the term "Greater Britain," and devoted all his energies to educating his fellow Radicals in Imperialism. There can, indeed, be little doubt that it was to him that Mr. Chamberlain owed in large degree the inspiration for that gospel of Imperialism which made him at the close of the nineteenth century the pre-eminent figure of the political world of the British Empire.

All the traditions of English feudalism conserved in the glowing verse of Shakespeare were vivified that day in the ancient Abbey. Even before the Sovereigns

arrived with their sumptuous escort, the centre of the minster was a scene of great splendour. Great galleries with dim blue hangings concealed the transept containing the tombs and monuments of statesmen who had laid the foundations of Empire, and hid the little corner in which reposed the great poets and prose writers whose genius had carried the English language to the end of the earth. On the right hand sat the peers in their white-caped robes of crimson and their coronets; on the left were four hundred peeresses in velvet and miniver and rich embroideries.

These noble ladies, wearing their attire of State as only English women can wear it, formed a picture of womanly grace and dignity which could not be matched by the daughters of any country in the world. It cannot, however, be said that the peerage showed to advantage in the greatest State ceremony in English history. At the Coronation of King Edward there were six hundred and fifty-one temporal lords on Garter's Roll. Only four hundred of these noblemen attended in Westminster Abbey to pay homage to their Sovereign. It is often alleged that many members of the peerage know little and care less about the continuity of tradition represented in their order. Perhaps this indifference accounted for the absence of nearly one-third of their number. To those who are conversant with the admiration which the antiquity of our Constitution justly arouses in well-informed foreigners, it is incomprehensible that so many noble lords should have refused to come in attendance on their King on this great day. A Coronation is the

Historical Primacy of the Peerage

one occasion in a reign on which the peerage is able to assert its historical primacy among the subjects of the Crown. Its prominence in the ceremonial rite, and the homage which it alone is permitted to offer to the Sovereign, may now be only symbolical usages. But this is not the generation to think lightly of constitutional symbolism. When Queen Victoria was crowned many intelligent persons regarded the ceremony as a useless anachronism, bound

rapidly to perish in the progress of modern ideas. Nevertheless, it has survived in a social and political development astounding in magnitude. For the very reason that it was an ancient symbol the English Crown acquired in the general progress of the Empire a new and larger life, influence, and significance. Englishmen, therefore, have now no right to despise the symbolical usages which have come down to them from their forefathers, and surely those persons who are members of an order which is an essential part of the Constitution ought to be extremely careful of its privileges. Name after name of the red-robed peers sitting in Westminster Abbey recalled a stage in the making of the British nation. They personified that continuity of national tradition which Britain alone of all the peoples of the world possesses. It is true that hardly a score of them were of a lineage of any importance in the fourteenth century. The Wars of the Roses almost exterminated the nobility of Norman blood. But a perusal of Garter's Roll brings before the mind a splendid panorama of the evolution of England since that age of expansion when the nation, freed at last from Continental trammels, created its modern language and set out on its career of conquest of the world.

It is much to be regretted that Lord Salisbury was prevented by a grievous sickness from taking part in the Coronation. Like another Robert Cecil, three hundred years before, he had guided England out of one century into another as a last adviser of a great Queen, and the first Minister of a new reign. The reappearance at the close of the nineteenth century of a Cecil in the high position in which his ancestors stood at the close of the sixteenth century surely shows how beneficial a power the historic peerage can exercise in maintaining the continuity of English traditions. When one looks at the other prominent nations of the world, and sees them cut off from their historic past, or else lacking in traditions and

having no other ideal than that of material prosperity, Great Britain may congratulate herself on the uninterrupted tradition of her history. For thereby she can show to her neighbours and her rivals that the retention by a people of its ancient usages and institutions is not only compatible with unsurpassed power and prestige in the modern world, but that their possession by stimulating

The Most Ancient national pride may prove a continuing **Institution of all** source of those qualities. It was a significant spectacle at the Coronation to see a baron whose title was created in the lifetime of the signers of the Magna Charta paying homage to the King under the eyes of the Prime Minister of the democracy of New Zealand, whose insignia of a Privy Councillor showed that he was a member of a body instituted before the existence of the oldest order of the peerage. Still more worthy of remark was the fact that the most ancient institution represented that day in Westminster Abbey was the monarchy itself. Long before the Privy Council was organised, long before the first barony by tenure was conferred, long before the earliest constitution of the Parliament, the King of England was on his throne. Recent researches have indeed made it seem highly probable that the English monarchy is, in its ultimate origin, older than Christianity. When the Angles and Saxons emerged into the dim light of history, hundreds of years before they invaded Briton, their kings were the chief forces in the social and political life of the race, and even then their lineage was so ancient that it was traced in legends back to the gods.

If the scene in Westminster Abbey on August 9, 1902, only served to recall to the eight thousand persons who took part in it by how many threads their lives were united to the lives of their forefathers, even as a pageant the Coronation would have been a national blessing. But, as we shall now see, the ceremony was something more than a pageant; it was a solemn, awe-inspiring act of religion.



THE PEOPLE'S REJOICINGS ON THE NIGHT OF THE CORONATION: ILLUMINATIONS IN COCKSPUR STREET, LONDON

From a drawing by Edward Read



EDWARD VII., KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA

From a drawing by S. Bozz



ALEXANDRA, QUEEN-CONSORT OF EDWARD VII
From a drawing by S. Begg



CHAPTER LXXI

THE CORONATION: HALLOWING OF THE KING

How the Ancient English Ceremony of Crowning the King was Carried Out at Westminster Abbey on August 9, 1902, when the Seventh Edward Assumed the Imperial Diadem

THIS is a very practical age, but the force of symbols and imagery is as great as ever it was, only one must grasp their significance and historical value in order to appreciate their importance. This is especially the case in regard to the rites of the English Coronation Service. Being the oldest ceremony of the kind in living use in Christendom, it is in many respects a survival of mediæval feudalism. In the long centuries through which the ceremonial has endured, the entire range of human thought has been transformed, and the British race has been one of the first to lead humanity into new and larger paths. It is indisputable that the feudal ceremonies and the venerable rites of the English Coronation have not the same importance for the

The Meaning of the Coronation

present generation as they had for its remote forefathers. The loyalty of the people does not depend on the anointing with oil or on the act of crowning; the allegiance of the peers of the realm is not nowadays confirmed by their individual acts of homage. But the ancient and splendid function is not a less strong and lasting bond between King and people than it was in the far-gone days when it was held to have a sacramental efficacy. It is, no doubt, a mediæval survival; but it has survived for an end, and when its meaning is clearly understood it is seen to be still instinct with vital purpose. The service is not only an epitome of the historical foundations on which the English monarchy and the English polity have been erected; it is an impressive and solemn acknowledgment of the duties and the rights of the monarch, and the duties and the rights of the people, and a humble prayer that they both may worthily discharge the great and sacred trust committed to their joint care.

The sacring or hallowing of the King is the original name of the Coronation Service. It is modelled on the form for the consecration of a bishop, but, as has already been pointed out, it is based on a custom much older than Christianity. The ceremony of anointing with oil comes down from the time when Saul and David and Solomon were in this manner consecrated as kingly priests. When at the Reformation the custom of anointing bishops ceased to be followed, and only the monarch was hallowed with balm and oil, his person came to be regarded with peculiar sanctity. And on the sacred character of the Sovereign, derived from his special consecration with chrism, was founded the claim to the headship of the Church made by Henry VIII. As the bishops were deprived of unction, the King remained invested with a sanctity and a mystical power greater than

any conferred on the episcopal order. It is because the Coronation is essentially an act of religious consecration that it is conducted entirely by ecclesiastics. The nobles and high officers of the State who take a part in it do so only as acolytes or subordinate lay assistants.

On August 9, 1902, the rite of hallowing the Peacemaker began at ten o'clock by the Procession of the Regalia. It was brought by the Chapter of Westminster from the Jerusalem Chamber, where it had lain overnight, to the Chapel of Edward the Confessor behind the high altar. The King's scholars of Westminster, the choirs of the Abbey and of the Chapel Royal, and the canons and minor canons of Westminster, formed the procession. The regalia consisted of the Queen's sceptre and ivory rod, the sceptre with the cross, the sceptre with the dove, the orb with the cross, Saint Edward's Staff, the patin and the chalice, the Holy Bible, the Queen's Crown, Saint Edward's Crown, and the Imperial Crown. There were four swords, each of a symbolical nature: the Sword of Mercy, with blunted end, was the chief; the Sword of Justice to the Spirituality was pointed, and so was the Sword of Justice to the Temporality; and besides these was the great Sword of State. The most interesting thing in the regalia was the golden eagle or Ampulla, in which the oil for the anointing was placed and blessed at the altar by the Bishop of the Chapter in the presence of the eight thousand spectators.

A picturesque legend attaches to the Ampulla. It is said that when Thomas Becket was an exile in France, a heavenly visitant appeared before him carrying the golden eagle filled with unearthly chrism. "If the Kings of England are anointed with this," said the Divine messenger, "one of them shall recover the Holy Land."

Procession of the Regalia And this prophecy was perhaps in some measure fulfilled in the succeeding reign of Richard the Lion-hearted.

When the Litany had been sung and the oil in the Ampulla had been hallowed, the regalia was taken in procession through the crowded Abbey to the western porch and left with the peers appointed to bring it to the sanctuary. Some time afterwards the first of the Royal Processions entered, led by the daughters of the King. The Duchess of Fife, the Princess Victoria, and Princess Maud passed slowly through the admiring ranks of their father's subjects, followed by their aunts, Princess Helena, the Duchess of Argyll, and Princess Beatrice. Two aged forms in the procession of the Royal Family represented a generation older than that of King Edward. Leaning on his staff was the Duke of Cambridge, who for two months in 1819 had been the heir-presumptive to the crown of England; and



HIS MAJESTY EDWARD VII. TAKING THE CORONATION OATH

From a painting by S. Begg

close to him was his sister, the venerable Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz; both of them had come to the Abbey sixty-four years before at the coronation of Queen Victoria.

The Procession of the Prince and Princess of Wales came behind the glittering retinue of the princely representatives of many of the reigning houses of Europe. Clad in their robes of State, the Royal couple paced along the nave amid the expectant crowd, who regarded them with loving interest. The Heir-Apparent and his Consort were come to the Coronation fresh from a great act of Imperial work. In a voyage of fifty thousand miles to each of the self-governing communities of the Empire, the Prince of Wales had quickened by his presence and his inspiring eloquence the Imperial sentiment of the great democracies overseas, whose chief bond of union was their loyalty to the crown which the Peacemaker was about to assume.

By this time the King's Procession had arrived at the Abbey. King Edward and his Queen entered their retiring rooms, and having put on their robes they advanced up the nave into the choir. No statelier pageant was ever seen in

England than the proceeding of their Majesties to the west door of the Abbey. The postponement of the Coronation had given time for the ceremony to be organised with a perfection of detail seldom achieved in an English spectacle. Nothing marred the solemn beauty of the scene. The tiers of eight thousand spectators in robes of State formed on either hand towering banks of rich colouring for the regal pageant to pass through. And the procession itself was a vision of unsurpassed splendour and dignity. As it slowly defiled to the sound of jubilant music, it offered an embazoned lesson in the continuity of our national life. Each person who moved in it had

by his office, by his name, or by the emblems which he bore, a high historical significance. First came the Chaplains in Ordinary, then the Prebendaries of Westminster in red copes embroidered with gold. Behind them were five pursuivants in tabards of figured silk damask, and the officers of the orders of knighthood. Mr. Dymoke, the King's Champion, carried the Standard of England; the O'Connor Don bore the Standard of Ireland; Mr. Wedderburn held by hereditary right the Standard of Scotland, and the Duke of Wellington bore the Union Standard. Four Knights of the Garter, appointed to hold the canopy over the King's head during the anointing, formed an interesting group. They were Lord Rosebery, the Orator of the Empire; Lord Derby, a Viceroy of Canada, and the head of the most distinguished of political families; Lord Spencer, the last of the great Whigs; and Lord Cadogan, the great London landowner. Behind the blue-mantled Knights of the Garter came two other great Ministers, the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Balfour. It was not, however, as Prime Minister of the United

Kingdom that Mr. Balfour took an active part in the Coronation, but only as Lord Keeper of the King's Privy Seal. It is a strange fact that the Prime Minister of the Mother of Parliaments is a personage unknown in constitutional law and State ceremonial, and consequently no place is reserved for him at national festivals. This is due to the comparatively recent origin of his office. It was only after the Restoration that the Cabinet system in Parliamentary Government began to acquire

its present form and importance, and thus the chief of the Cabinet is still a parvenu in our ancient State. The Lord Chancellors of England and Ireland, who followed Mr. Balfour, represented offices of far more ancient dignity; and still more ancient than theirs was the office of the aged man who tottered behind them under the weight of his vestments. For Dr. Temple, the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, was on this day next to the King and Queen in importance. It was from him, the holder of a position established in England by a Christian missionary in the sixth century, that the monarch was to receive his crown. From him, too, the Queen Consort should have received her diadem; but as it was feared that the long and trying ceremony would overtax the strength of the old and feeble Primate, Dr. MacLagan, who walked in front of him, had been entrusted with the performance of this duty.

The Archbishop was followed by a herald and two pursuivants; and then, preceded by high officers of State, bearing her regalia, Queen Alexandra crossed the threshold of the Abbey, and the joyful music of the march to which her procession moved was drowned by the conclamation of "Vivat Regina Alexandra! Vivat Regina Alexandra! Vivat, vivat, vivat!"

It was the supreme moment in the life of the sweet and lovely descendant of King Canute, and she bore herself with supreme dignity. Her marvellous beauty was set off with an incomparable distinction of bearing and manner. Surely was never so beautiful a queen seen before in Westminster Abbey in the nine centuries of its existence, and to the wonder of her beauty there was added the wonder of her perennial youthfulness. Her attire was extraordinarily simple. Unlike every other lady present, she wore no ornaments in her hair, for a diadem with the blazing Koh-i-noor set in it was soon to be placed on her fair brow. She was dressed in white, and yet, by reason of her immense and sumptuous purple train, her attire was of a regal magnificence. Broided with gold and stamped with Imperial crowns, the train was borne by eight pages in brilliant scarlet, four on each side, and the end of it was carried by the Mistress of the Robes, the Duchess of Buccleuch, who also had a long streaming train borne by a page in blue. Two bishops in glittering vestments, and ten gentlemen-at-arms in brave attire, walked by the side of the Queen.



EMPIRE AND PEACE

From the cartoon by Linley Sanbourne in "Punch," August 13, 1902, by permission of the proprietors, Messrs. Bradbury, Agnew & Co., Ltd.

Four duchesses, distinguished by their beauty—the Duchess of Marlborough, the Duchess of Montrose, the Duchess of Portland, and the Duchess of Sutherland—were appointed to hold over the Queen a rich pall of cloth of gold at her anointing. The whole group formed the most fascinating picture in the Coronation ceremony. It moved with the

The Queen's Procession

Queen, as she took her way by the north of her throne to her seat in the south of the sanctuary. The Dean and Canons passed before her to the further corner, and there the bearers of her regalia handed over the Royal emblems to one of the ecclesiastics, who laid them on the high altar.

In the meantime, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, and the Earl Marshal on his right hand, and a King of Arms, stood at the entrance to the sanctuary waiting for King Edward. The music grew more triumphant, the mouths of the silver trumpets sounded a loud and long acclaim, and the King's Procession, in its heraldic splendours, came in a broad stream of glowing colours up the nave. At the head of the regalia the sceptre of the cross was borne by the Duke of Argyll. Lord Carrington carried Saint Edward's Staff, and Lord Grey de Ruthyn and Lord Loudoun the golden spurs. Two famous field marshals, Lord Roberts and Lord Wolseley, who had fought for the Imperial sway of England in every quarter of the globe, carried, sharp and naked, the Sword of Spiritual Justice and the Sword of Temporal Justice. Between them was the pointless Sword of Mercy, in the hands of the Duke of Grafton. Then, divided from the field marshals by the blazoned tabards of a row of heralds, was an ornate cluster of high officials and nobles who by long tradition walked in front of the Sovereign. Here was the Lord Mayor of London exercising the ancient privilege of bearing the City Mace in this place of honour. The Sword of State was borne by Lord Londonderry, and to the Duke of Marlborough fell on this great day the distinction of carrying the most significant symbol in the regalia—the Imperial Crown. Then, clad in his Royal crimson robe of State, with the cap of State on his head, and in his purple train upheld by eight pages, came the King. "Vivat Rex Edwardus! Vivat Rex Edwardus!

Vivat, vivat, vivat!" came the shout, and the cry of joy was taken up more musically by the choir, and given out in a blaze of sound.

As King Edward moved up the choir a great and a strange silence fell upon the vast multitude of spectators. At last he was come to receive his crown, this beloved King, who so lately had stood by the open door of death, and looked steadfastly in, and saw it close beneath his gaze. The extraordinary stillness showed that everybody present was filled and overpowered by a single emotion. In the half-light which filtered in through the painted glass, King Edward seemed for a second only the dusky shadow of a king. Then one saw that, though pale with emotion, he walked firmly and straight. His step was as secure as if he had known no infirmity, and the beauty of his manner was especially remarkable. It cannot be an easy thing for a king—who, after all, is crowned only once in his life—to go through all the trying details of the ceremony in the presence of an immense company, whose eyes watch every movement. But King Edward did it all, easily and finely, and without any mark of self-consciousness. His inclination to the Queen as he passed into the sanctuary touched everybody who saw it. Kneeling at the faldstool by his chair, he said a short prayer, and the Coronation Service opened with the Recognition.

King Edward stood up and showed himself to the multitude. By his side was the venerable Primate of England, who presented him to the people, saying: "Sirs, I here present unto you King Edward, the Undoubted King of this Realm: Wherefore ALL you who are come this day to do your Homage, Are you willing to do the same?" From every arch of the ancient Abbey rang the answering shout: "God Save King Edward!" In it the feelings of the

multitude at last found an expression. It was a wild acclaim—exultant, fierce, half-barbaric, as though the King's lieges had, as of old, drawn their swords and filled the air with the gleam of steel, as they filled it with the passionate protest of an undying devotion to the Throne. Then, after the silver trumpets had sounded, and the calm voices of two bishops were heard in the opening of the Communion Service, the Coronation was for a moment turned into a national Thanksgiving with the Archbishop's prayer.



THE BEGINNING OF THE CORONATION SERVICE: CLERGY BEARING THE REGALIA FROM THE JERUSALEM CHAMBER TO THE ABBEY
From a photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company



THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY ANOINTING HIS MAJESTY WITH THE HOLY OIL

From a drawing by S. Begg

"O God, who providest for Thy people by Thy power, and rulest over them in love : Grant unto this Thy servant Edward, our King, *for whose recovery we now give Thee heartfelt thanks*, the spirit of wisdom and government, that being devoted unto Thee with all his heart, he may so wisely govern this kingdom, that in his time Thy Church and people may continue in safety and prosperity ; and that, persevering in good works unto the end, he may through Thy mercy come to Thine everlasting kingdom ; through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord."

The Epistle and Gospel were read by two bishops, and the Creed recited, and the King placed on his head a cap of State, and prepared to make the covenant with his people, the substance of which dates from at least the earliest days of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchy. The Archbishop of Canterbury advanced to the King, and said :

"Sir, is your Majesty willing to take the oath ?"
"I am willing," answered King Edward, in a loud, clear voice that rang through the Abbey.

"Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the People of this United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the respective Laws and Customs of the same?" said the Archbishop.

"I solemnly promise so to do," replied the King.

"Will you to the utmost of your power cause Law and Justice, in Mercy, to be executed in all your judgments?" asked the Archbishop.

"I will!" exclaimed the King.

"Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the True profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law? And will you maintain and preserve inviolably the Settlement of the Church of England, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, as by Law established in England? And will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of England and to the Church therein committed to

their charge, all such Rights and Privileges as by Law do or shall appertain to them, or any of them?" said the Bishop.

"All this I promise to do," King Edward answered.

The sincerity with which he spoke showed that he did not regard the ancient covenant between him and his people as a piece of mediæval formalism, but as a solemn and a vital thing. Kneeling on the steps of the altar, he laid his right hand upon the Holy Gospel in the great Bible, and in strong, vibrant tones, heard by every person in the great multitude, he declared : "These things which I have heretofore promised, I will perform and keep. So help me God." If ever a man took an oath for life and death, meaning to keep it through life and unto death, the great Peacemaker was then that man. As he kissed the Bible and signed the oath there was a deep silence in the Abbey which was far more eloquent than the loudest cheers : and under the stress of an emotion too deep, too sacred for noise, and too intense to be concealed, many ladies began to cry.

The first part of the service was now over. Rising from the altar steps, King Edward VII. moved to the chair made by Edward I. to hold the famous stone of Scone, the most ancient and the most romantic seat of coronation in the world. Dismissing the picturesque legends which have been woven about it, the stone can be traced back to that strangely remote period when neither Celt nor Saxon had invaded the British Isles. The country was then peopled by the Picts, or Iberians, a small, dark-haired race un-

acquainted with the use of bronze or iron, and employing weapons of stone. They built Stonehenge in England, and, spreading into Scotland, erected there another open-air temple of the same kind, in the centre of which the "Stone of Destiny" was placed. The usage of crowning the chief on it, and the strange superstitions attaching to that usage, were adopted by the invading Gaels. When a ruler sat down to be crowned, the stone was reputed to groan aloud if the sitter was of Royal race, and

The Stone of Destiny

to remain silent if he was a pretender. All the Scottish kings from Fergus to John of Balliol were crowned on the mystic stone, and Kenneth MacAlpin, in the ninth century, had engraven on it, in Latin, the words:

If fates go right, where'er this stone is found
The Scots shall monarchs of that realm be crowned.

a prophecy which, in spite of all that was done by Edward I., was fulfilled at the accession of James I. Now the Peacemaker, in whose veins, as we have seen, the blood of Kenneth MacAlpin and Alfred the Great was mingled, sat on the Stone of Destiny to be anointed while the choir sang, as choirs had sung in Westminster Abbey for a thousand years, "Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed Solomon king; and all the people rejoiced, and said: God save the king! Long live the king! May the king live for ever!"

Before the anthem was ended, the curtains on the north of the altar parted, and a glimmering pall of cloth of gold was carried out and held over King Edward by Lord Rosebery and the other three Knights of the Garter appointed to this duty. The Lord Great

Anointed with Holy Oil

Chamberlain disrobed the King of his crimson raiment, and a canon took the Ampulla and anointing spoon from the

altar and poured out the holy oil into the spoon and presented it to the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury. "Thee I have anointed with holy oil, as kings, priests, and prophets were anointed," said the Primate, anointing the forehead of the King in the form of a cross. "Be thy breast anointed with holy oil," he repeated, putting

his hand through a slit made for the purpose in the coat of red sarcenet now worn by the King. The Archbishop then anointed the King on the palms of both hands, and, standing over him, blessed him, saying: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who by His Father was anointed with the oil of gladness above His fellows, by His holy anointing pour down upon your head and heart the blessing of the Holy Ghost, and prosper the works of your hands; that by the assistance of His Heavenly grace you may preserve the people committed to your charge in wealth, peace, and godliness; and after a long and glorious course of ruling this temporal kingdom, wisely, justly, and religiously, you may at last be made partaker of an eternal kingdom, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord."

From this solemn moment King Edward technically became the Sovereign. By a symbolic rite which carries the mind back to the days of early Judaism when a king was both priest and warrior, he had been made *hadi* churchman, *hadi* knight, and he was

immediately invested with the priest-like vestments of his kingship. The Knights of the Garter gave back the pall to the Lord Chamberlain, and King Edward stood up, and an albe of white cambric was put on him, and over this was placed a short coat of cloth of gold, called the Close Pall, and a sword-belt. The living inspiration which subsists in the ancient ceremonial

Invested with the was finely displayed when the aged Sword of Justice Archbishop of Canterbury tottered to the altar, assisted by the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Winchester, and took the kingly sword and placed it in the right hand of the King. Though enfeebled by age and sickness, the Primate recovered for a moment somewhat of his old rough sonorousness of voice, as he said to the King: "With this sword do justice, stop the growth of iniquity, protect the Holy Church of God, help and defend widows and orphans, restore the things that are gone to decay, maintain the things that are restored, punish and reform what is amiss, and confirm what is in good order: that doing these things you may be glorious in all virtue; and so faithfully serve our Lord Jesus Christ in this life, that you may reign for ever with Him in the life which is to come."

The great thing that is wanted to counteract the hard, dry, and unlovely materialism of the present age is spiritual force; and of all the vehicles of this spiritual force, there is none so generally efficacious as a grave and beautiful symbolism which irradiates the imagination and moves the heart. A finer example of symbolism than the next rite in the Coronation it would be hard to conceive. The kingly sword was girded on the King by his Chamberlain,

but the King ungirded it, and gave it to the Archbishop, and he placed it again upon the altar of God. Had King Edward been strong enough, he would have carried out the Oblation of the Sword himself, but the redemption was performed by his sword-bearer, Lord Londonderry, who redeemed the sword from the Dean of Westminster at the price of a bag of silver, and bore it naked before his Majesty during the rest of the solemnity. All this was done as a public recognition by the King that his power came from God. The oblation used to be performed after the crowning, but it was more significant as the Peacemaker did it.

The King was then clothed with the Imperial Mantle. This was the last garment of righteousness which he assumed in his priestly character, and in the rest of the service his kingly powers were made manifest. The Archbishop of Canterbury put on the fourth finger of his right hand the ancient wedding-ring of England, which, by its legend, connects the weak little kingdom of Edward the Confessor with the vast



KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA IN THEIR CORONATION ROBES
From a photograph taken after the Coronation ceremony by Messrs. Russell & Son



THE CORONATION OF KING EDWARD VII. AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY ON AUGUST 9, 1902

and mighty empire of Edward the Peacemaker. It is said that Saint Edward was sitting at his palace in Westminster when a beggar came to the gate. Having nothing else at hand to give, the King took the ring off his finger, and gave it to the poor, ragged man. Some time afterwards two pilgrims from the Holy Land brought the ring back to the King. It had been given them in a vision by Saint John the Evangelist, who then said that he had been the beggar. It is really singular that so many legends of ancient date should attach to the regalia of England; it is one of the marks of the incomparable antiquity of the English crown. Unfortunately, the supreme symbol of regality—the crown of Saint Edward—is of modern manufacture. Up to the reign of Charles I. every monarch of England was crowned with the actual crown worn by Alfred the Great in 871, and inherited by Saint Edward the Confessor, and named after him. It was, however, lost in the days of Cromwell, and the crown used in its place at subsequent coronations was made in 1660.

But besides the modern crown known as Saint Edward's Crown, there was another diadem, which the older Sovereigns used to assume after the rites of coronation were ended. This was the Imperial Crown, of which the legend went back to the time of Alfred the Great and the veritable history to the days of Henry VIII. Baulked in his attempt to become emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, the Tudor monarch asserted his dignity in the face of his successful rival, Charles V. of Spain, by formally investing the crown of England with the epithet "Imperial." At that time it was only an epithet, yet that epithet stood for an idea, and when Queen Elizabeth and her great captains turned to the New World and to India, what was a mere epithet quickly became a pregnant fact. The idea, however, cannot be said to have been fully realised until August 9, 1902, when for the first time a veritable Emperor sat on the Stone of Destiny in Westminster Abbey. And as there was no

crown in the regalia of antique origin, as we count antiquity in the annals of our monarchy, it was surely befitting that at the first coronation which was an Imperial festival, the precedent should be formally established of placing upon the head of the Sovereign, in the presence of his people, the emblem which had inherited the title, four centuries old, of Imperial Crown.

Such were the reasons which led King Edward to disregard the tradition followed at his mother's coronation. Instead of assuming the modern Saint Edward's Crown, the Peacemaker ordered the Primate to use at the Imperial Coronation the Imperial Crown. Seated in the chair made by Edward I., Edward VII. received from the Archbishop the Imperial robe and orb. The sceptre with the cross was placed in his right hand, representing kingly power and justice; and the sceptre with the dove, representing equity and mercy, was delivered into his left hand. The Duke of Newcastle, as Lord of the Manor of Worksop, stood by the Coronation Chair and supported, according to the ancient privileges of his family, his Majesty's right arm. In this posture, the long ordeal of all the antique and intricate preliminaries over at last, King Edward stood ready to be crowned.

But at this supreme moment, when the very act of coronation was imminent, the apprehension which had ceased to be felt for the King, who had gone through his trying part with grave and manly dignity, began to be entertained for the aged Primate. Archbishop Temple had up to this point held himself erect, and preserved his deep and penetrating voice. Now, however, signs of extreme physical weakness became increasingly evident in his actions. Attended by a band of prelates, he went to the altar, and took in his hands the Imperial Crown, and murmured, rather than recited, the Coronation prayer:

"O God, the Crown of the faithful: Bless, we beseech Thee, and sanctify this day Thy servant EDWARD our King: and as Thou dost this day set a Crown of pure gold

upon his head, so enrich his Royal Heart with Thine abundant Grace, and crown him with all princely virtues, through the King Eternal Jesus Christ our Lord."

Assisted by his bishops, he almost stumbled down the altar steps, followed by a canon carrying the diadem on a cushion. As the Archbishop took up the crown, it was patent that the long ceremony had completely overtaxed

The King is his strength. Under the stress and effort of the solemn, ancient, and moving rites, which **Crowned at Last** had again and again produced an intensity of feeling that made women in the audience burst into tears and shook the nerves of all the men who took part in the scene, the aged and ailing Primate had almost succumbed. He raised the crown, and was about to put it on in the wrong way. With a gesture of infinite kindness, King Edward helped him to place it rightly. Slowly, slowly, with trembling hands, the crown was raised on high, and the jewels in it danced in the dim air under the quivering of the old, feeble man's hands. At all times the crowning of a monarch is a solemn act. To-day it was doubly impressive, by reason first of the new Imperial significance added to the ancient rite, and by reason, secondly, of the postponement of the ceremony, when the Empire at the hour of its loftiest pride was suddenly downcast with forebodings, lest it should never be accomplished. To the spectators who had passed through the dark days of June, the faltering of the Archbishop caused an emotion of terror. The tension lasted but a moment. With a great effort the venerable Primate bent forward, and the crown descended gently and truly on the brow of the King. The Coronation which everybody thought would never take place was consummated. The pent-up feelings of the vast multitude broke out in a mad, triumphant shout of "God Save the King." The bugles rang out, the massed artillery at the Tower proclaimed to London the joyful tidings, and lightnings, running under the seven seas, flashed to the Empire in all the ends of the earth the glad news that the Emperor-King had at last been crowned with his Imperial Crown.

While his subjects of all races and all colours were celebrating the event in lands far beyond the seas, the Peacemaker rose up from the Stone of Destiny and, turning to the west, appeared before the multitude in Westminster Abbey, arrayed in all the attributes of majesty, crowned with the Imperial Crown, robed with the Imperial Robe, and bearing in either hand the Orb of Empire and the Sceptre of Dominion. Passing with a regal grace of manner to his throne, he was lifted up into it by archbishops, bishops, and peers. The great officers who had borne the regalia assembled at his feet, and the Primate stood before him and cried:

"Stand firm, and hold from henceforth the seat and state of Royal and Imperial dignity which is this day delivered unto you, and the Lord God Almighty establish your Throne in righteousness, that it may stand fast for evermore, like as the sun before Him, and as the faithful witness in heaven."

The ending thronisation being thus completed, King Edward received the homage of the peers. Two pathetic incidents occurred in this part of the ceremony. The aged Archbishop of Canterbury was the first to kneel at the King's feet and say: "I, Frederick, Archbishop of Canterbury, will be faithful and true, and faith and truth will bear unto you our Sovereign Lord, and your heirs, kings of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. And I will do and truly acknowledge the service of the lands I claim to hold of you, as in right of the Church. So help me God."

He then added, with deep emotion, "God bless you, sir; God be with you, sir," and endeavoured to rise to kiss the King. But his strength failed him, and though King Edward rose from his throne and took him by the hands to help him to his feet, he must have fallen if three bishops kneeling by had not sprung up and supported him. Some time before the Coronation the view had been generally expressed that as the Primate was known to be ailing, someone else should perform his arduous duties. But the courageous old Primate was resolved that the tradition of a thousand years, which assigned the crowning of our kings to the Archbishop of Canterbury, should not be broken at the Coronation of the Peacemaker. In spite of his weakness, the great rite was consummated in perfect order; for his enfeeblement, instead of detracting from the solemnity of the occasion, added a touching dignity to the ceremony. He was a figure of valiant old age, struggling with the power which awaits us all, to achieve a final act of duty. After

Homage of the Archbishop had done homage for the **Church and State** spiritual lords, the Prince of Wales performed the same act on behalf of himself and the other Princes of the Blood Royal. Taking off his coronet, he knelt at his father's knees, and said: "I, George, Prince of Wales, do become your liegeman of life and limb, and of earthly worship, and faith and truth I will bear unto you, to live and die, against all manner of folks. So help me God."

Then, arising, he touched the crown on his father's head

and kissed him. He had performed the graceful ceremony with dignity and reverence, but it had an unexpected conclusion, which formed the most moving episode in the Coronation. As he was about to descend the steps, King Edward caught him by the end of his robe and, with his left hand, drew him down by the shoulder. The Sovereign and the liegeman disappeared, and only a father and a son were face to face. With a gesture of infinite tenderness and fatherly love, the Royal sire drew to his arms his only remaining son, and in the sight of his people kissed him twice and gripped both his hands and shook them in a strong emotion. Queen Alexandra's eyes glistened with tears as she looked on her husband and her only boy. She knew what memory it was which made them forget the pomp and circumstance of State, and drew them together in strange grief, while all the Empire was ringing with joy. Two young manly figures should have knelt at their father's knees at the most



RESTING AFTER THE STRESS OF THE CORONATION

The King was not thoroughly convalescent at the Coronation, and he spent the month following the ceremony on the Royal yacht recruiting his health

From a photo by Hughes & Mullins

glorious moment in his life, and though one of them had passed away, he was not forgotten. The scene lasted only an instant, yet its importance was profound and permanent. In it was bound up much of the secret of the Imperial greatness of England; for there can be no doubt that the influence exerted by the Crown on the imagination of the British race is in large measure due to the sentiment inspired by the domestic life of the Royal Family.

If the homage of the Prince of Wales ended in an incident which appealed to the tender



THE CORONATION PROCESSION RETURNING FROM THE ABBEY

The upper picture shows the brilliant group of great naval and military leaders in the procession, and in the lower picture the Royal coach is seen.

From photographs by Brightman

In 1068, seventeen months after the coronation of William the Conqueror, Ealdred, Archbishop of York, crowned Queen Mathilda at Westminster Abbey. Owing to the infirmity of Archbishop Temple, this ancient precedent was revived on August 9, 1902, and Dr. Maclagan, Archbishop of York, proceeded to crown Queen Alexandra. The coronation of the Queen was a graceful epilogue to the august drama of the sacring of the

ties of union between the Crown and the people, the homage of the temporal peers was a testimony to that continuity of tradition which gives to our institutions so wonderful a stability. On the five steps of the throne knelt, in the order of their several degrees, the fifteenth Duke of Norfolk, the sixteenth Marquess of Winchester, the twentieth Earl of Shrewsbury, the twelfth Viscount of Falkland, and the twenty-first Baron de Ros. On behalf of the five orders of the Second Estate these noblemen of ancient lineage touched the crown on King Edward's head, and kissed him on the cheek, and took the oath of fealty to him. This was the most purely feudal of all the Coronation Service, and one of the men who performed it, Lord de Ros, bore a title more ancient in origin than the English Parliament; for it was conferred upon his ancestor in 1264, just when the victory of Lewes had placed at the head of the English people that wonderful Frenchman, Simon de Montfort, who in 1265 convened the first House of Commons. When the homage was done, the drums were beaten, the trumpets were sounded, and all the people in the Abbey shouted, crying out: "God save King Edward! Long live King Edward! May the King live for ever!" With the thunder of their voices the solemnity of hallowing and crowning the Peacemaker ended.

D 66

King. Of the twenty-three Queens-Consort who have knelt at the altar in Westminster Abbey to receive the crown, none can have exceeded Queen Alexandra in beauty and dignity. There were many points of difference between her crowning and the crowning of the King. She was crowned and anointed kneeling, while the King during the ceremonies sat in the Coronation Chair. The Queen, moreover, was anointed only on the head; she did not take the orb, nor was she invested with special robes for the ceremony. From a spectacular point of view, however, her coronation was the lovelier of the two rites. The presence about her in the sanctuary of beautiful and graceful women enhanced her own beauty, and the scene at her anointing, when four charming and stately duchesses, in their glittering raiments of State, held above her the pall of the cloth of gold, was a picture outvying in regal splendour and loveliness the canvases of Veronese. At the moment when she received the crown, all the Abbey lightened up, as, with a rhythmical movement of gleaming arms, the four hundred peeresses placed on their heads their crimson-capped coronets.

As she advanced from the altar, bearing nobly on her head the crown in which the Koh-i-noor flashed, and carrying in either hand her sceptre and ivory rod, she seemed, as she came down from the altar, a queen from Fairyland. Her

reverence as she passed the King on her way back to her throne, and his bow in return, made a charming effect. The architecture of the ancient Abbey formed a setting for the scene such as little children see in their dreams of a bygone age, when kings and queens went about in crowns and stately robes amid their subjects, who were also clad in picturesque attire. Indeed, a coach of the very kind that

**A Scene from
Fairyland**

is used in Fairyland was drawn up at the door of the minster. King Edward and Queen Alexandra entered it, and as they rode back to their palace, the children of London found themselves at last in that enchanted land where all beautiful dreams come true. They saw a real king with a real crown on his head, happy with his people's happiness, sitting by the side of a crowned and radiant queen in a real fairy coach.

But great as the joy of the children was, the joy of their parents was greater. As the pearly twilight melted into the dim purple of a summer night, the immense crowd filling all the great streets of the capital city of the Empire shook off at last its feeling of nervous incredulity, and began in the glow of the illuminations to rejoice in its good fortune. It was an orderly crowd; it was a marvellously orderly crowd; but, nevertheless, it was nearly mad with delight.

King Edward was deeply moved by the profound affection which his people showed to him. How fully he reciprocated their love was seen on the day of his crowning, when, in the following letter to the Prime Minister, he offered as a gift to the nation his Osborne estate.

"Buckingham Palace,

Coronation Day, 1902.

"Under the will of the King's much beloved mother, the Osborne estate is, as Mr. Balfour is aware, the private estate of the Sovereign.

"Having to spend a considerable part of the year in the capital of his kingdom and its neighbourhood, and Windsor, and having also strong home ties in the county of Norfolk, which have existed now for nearly forty years, the King feels that he will be unable to make adequate use of Osborne as a Royal residence, and accordingly he has determined to offer the property in the Isle of Wight as a gift to the nation.

"As Osborne is sacred to the memory of the late Queen, it is the King's wish that, with the exception of those apartments which were in the personal occupation of her Majesty, his people shall always have access to the house, which must ever be associated with her beloved memory.

"As regards the rest of the building, the King hopes that it may be devoted to national purposes, and be converted into a convalescent home for officers of the Navy and Army whose health has been impaired in rendering service to their country. If, in order to give full legal effect to the King's wishes, it is found that an application to Parliament is necessary, the King trusts that Mr. Balfour will see that the necessary steps are in due course taken."

This magnificent gift was surely more than sufficient to convince the people that their beloved King was the most thoughtful, as well as the kindest, of men and monarchs. The Peacemaker, however, was not content with giving this example of his loving care. A Coronation gift of £115,000 was subscribed by all classes of his subjects, and presented to him. It was a sum worthy of acceptance by a king, but his Majesty devoted it to his Hospital Fund for London.

Five days after his coronation, King Edward went in State to Portsmouth to conclude the great Imperial festival by a review of the Fleet. Before he sailed through the long and terrible lines of ironclads, forming a stupendous armada collected without taking a single vessel from its post of vigilance on distant seas, the Peacemaker summed up in a short speech the lessons which he and his subjects had learnt at the Coronation: "We are unfeignedly

**Lessons of the
Coronation**

grateful for the mercies which it has pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe to us and to our people. And we trust that now we are happily at peace again with all the world, that the recent rejoicings, in which the whole Empire has shared, may send us forward, each in his own station, to work with renewed earnestness for the maintenance and improvement of our noble heritage, and the accomplishment of ends that become a great people. For myself I shall ever be stimulated in my exertions for the welfare of the Empire by the ineffaceable recollection of a tribute of loyalty and affection which has touched me deeply."



CORONATION NIGHT IN LONDON: THE ILLUMINATED CITY SEEN FROM THE CAMPANILE OF WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL
From a drawing by H. C. Seppings Wright



CHAPTER LXXII

THE CORONATION DURBAR AT DELHI

Describing the Historic Scene of Oriental Splendour when the First King-Emperor was Proclaimed at the Ancient Capital of India

THE sublimity of an immense mountain cannot be felt when the spectator stands very near to it. We stand too near to the nineteenth century to appreciate fully the extraordinary achievements of that wonderful age; besides, we are, happily, still too busy continuing the work begun by our fathers to spend much time in mere admiration of their deeds. Only on rare and solemn occasions are we able to pause for a brief while, and survey the mighty results of the long and arduous labours of our race. The Coronation of King Edward was an occasion of this sort; but a still finer opportunity was given at the Durbar at Delhi, on January 1, 1903, for surveying the majestic work done by Great Britain in the lifetime of many men still living.

In this case distance of space produced an effect similar to that of distance of time. It enabled one to see almost recent events in an historical perspective. It was now clear that modern India was the most impressive phenomenon in history, and the greatest wonder in the world. At a time when Britons were painted savages wandering in the woods the Indians were a highly civilised race, who had already left upon the annals, the religion, and the thought of mankind a mark deeper than that made by any other nation. But a British Sovereign had at last accomplished in India what Alexander the Great had never dreamed of doing; what Akbar had dreamed of but failed to perform; what conqueror after conqueror had vainly essayed and sadly dismissed as a task beyond the powers of men. Under British rule three hundred million people, scattered over one and a half million square miles, and divided by religion, language, and origin into hundreds of distinct races and hostile nations, had been pacified and united and consolidated into a single whole. For thousands of years India had been a mere geographical expression; on January 1, 1903, it was a tremendous living organism.

From the earliest times, Southern Asia has ever been unequalled for the wealth and colour and picturesqueness of its State pageants. Native rulers found that the show of power

was even more effective in maintaining their positions than the use of power; so they dazzled the senses and captured the imagination of their subjects by the gorgeous and impressive pomp of their processions and assemblies.

Durbar is a Persian word which has come to mean a king's audience chamber and the meetings of his great feudatories held therein. Even in Biblical times, a Durbar was the chief means used by a mighty ruler to impress upon his chiefs and his people the reality and the greatness of his power. And Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, was well advised in calling together all the native races of the vast continent which he governed, in order to proclaim the marvellous fact that, for the first time in the history of the world, a veritable Emperor of India had been anointed and crowned. He was also well advised in making this Durbar the most magnificent ever seen, even in Asia. The barbaric festivals of the ancient East and the splendid triumphs of ancient Rome were pale in comparison with the Delhi pageant, at which Edward VII. was proclaimed Kaiser-i-Hind on January 1, 1903.

So vast was the assembly at the great Durbar that no city in India was spacious enough to serve as a stage to it. Tradition appointed Delhi as the scene of the ceremony. It was here that thirteen great imperial towns had grown and flourished and fallen under those Hindu and Mohammedan rulers who had proclaimed themselves Emperors, but had failed, nevertheless, to weld India into a single whole. It was here that a descendant of the Great Mogul had been set up as Emperor during the Indian Mutiny. It was here that John Nicholson had died, in 1857, as he led the storming party which recaptured the metropolis of India and re-established the rule of the British Raj. It was here that Queen Victoria had been proclaimed Empress of India in 1877. And now, on the plain outside the historic city, a town as immense as Greater London was suddenly erected by the command of the Viceroy, in order that the first Kaiser-i-Hind might receive through his representative the homage of one-fifth of the human race.



LORD CURZON, KING EDWARD'S REPRESENTATIVE AT THE DURBAR

From a photograph by the London Stereoscopic Co.

Just by the historic ridge from which the English army, in 1857, conducted its operations against Delhi an amphitheatre was built in the Mogul style of architecture. So spacious was it that fifteen thousand spectators were able to watch the ceremony from the seats lining the inner slope and shaded by arcaded galleries.

The amphitheatre was shaped like a horseshoe, and at the inner base was the viceregal dais, raised upon pillars and surmounted by a domed canopy. Beyond the amphitheatre stretched the Durbar city, where, a few months before, there had been nothing but rice-fields. It was illuminated with electric light and tramcars plied down its main streets. And the tramcars were necessary. The camp of the Oudh Talukdars was seven and a half miles from the viceregal dais, and if a Punjab chief had desired to visit a ruler in the Bombay camp, he would have had to travel nine miles. It was incomparably the greatest Durbar which had ever been held in Asia, and it was bathed in the romantic atmosphere of the Arabian Nights.

The scenes in the street were an extraordinary mixture of mediæval romance and ultra-modernity. Indian chiefs, clad in gorgeous silks and satins and weighed down by gems of priceless worth, rode by in white camel carriages or on elephants with golden trappings, escorted by their soldiers in strange, barbaric, but beautifully coloured raiment. By their side were English men and women in motor-cars and on bicycles. All the costumes invented by man were to be found, from that of Adam to that of a field-marshal.

The ceremony opened at half-past twelve in the brilliant golden sunshine of an Indian winter's day. The amphitheatre was a blaze of colour, for all the glory and the pride of India were assembled there—Pathans, Rajput chieftains,

Baluchi rulers, Mohammedan maharajahs, and princes from the border states. One could scarcely look anywhere without seeing a jewel flaming in the sunlight. The strangest figures of all were the Shan chiefs from Burmah. They wore solid gold dresses, belling out like pagoda roofs, and great winged helmets of shining gold. Beside them were envoys from China, Japan, Afghanistan, Siam, and America, and the Great Powers of the Old World, and a multitude of soldiers and officials, and beautiful English women.

Behind the dais was a gallery enclosed with lattice framework, and here the Maharanis and other princely native women of India watched the Durbar. Among them was the mother of the Maharajah of Bharatpur, who held in her arms the baby ruler of the famous Rajput state.

All the fifteen thousand guests were in their places by eleven o'clock. Then, through the ceremonial entrance to the amphitheatre, marched in a small band of very old men, some English, some Indian, and some Eurasian. The strains of "See, the conquering hero comes!" rang loud and triumphant through the arena. All the assembled multitude sprang to their feet in honour of the men who were entering. They did not look like heroes, these

white-haired, enfeebled, limping creatures, who vainly endeavoured to march in step to the music, and carry themselves upright like soldiers. The natives among them clearly belonged to the lower classes, for their garments were plain and poor. Some were dressed in very old-fashioned tunics which once were stained with blood, but were now faded by the sun. But nobody noticed their worn and tarnished clothes. These six hundred men were the remnant of the small and isolated



TYPES OF THE RETAINERS OF THE GREAT INDIAN FEUDATORIES OF EDWARD VII. AT THE IMPERIAL DURBAR

The extraordinary diversity of the races of India was displayed in the great procession of the retainers of the ruling chiefs at the Durbar, and was, perhaps, the most wonderful incident in that historic assemblage. For two hours the procession marched past the Viceroy's throne, a wonderful pageant of bizarre magnificence and grandeur. The illustration is taken from a drawing by R. Caton Woodville



THE STATE ENTRY OF THE VICEROY OF INDIA AND THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT INTO DELHI FOR THE IMPERIAL DURBAR, DECEMBER 29, 1902
The elephant ridden by the Viceroy and Lady Curzon was the animal which had also carried Lord Lytton at the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1878.
The elephants were escorted by spearmen and by mace-bearers carrying silver maces surmounted by Tudor crowns. The picture is reproduced from a drawing by Melton Prior

forces which, forty-five years before, cut off for long months from the outer world, under the flaming sun of an Indian summer, had, in the stress of continual battle and the more deadly stress of pestilence, held India for the Empire on the Ridge of Delhi, in the Residency at Lucknow, and on many another bloody field. In the terrible

days when the whole fabric of British power was shaken to its foundations by a movement of revolt which swept with the force and suddenness of a tropical tornado

through the immense land, this handful of heroes had kept the flag flying till the army of the re-conquest arrived, and stamped out the Mutiny. Such was the reason why the whole assemblage rose to salute the band of veterans. But for them, where would have been all the pageantry of the Delhi Durbar, and all the promises of a splendid future for our Indian Empire? The vast multitude of spectators shouted themselves hoarse, as they looked upon the pathetic remnant of the humble warriors on whose heroic courage the entire power of a great empire had been re-established. The entry of the veterans was in many respects the most memorable incident of the great Durbar. Even the arrival of the Viceroy and Vicereine and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught did not produce so deep and lasting an impression, though they were in magnificent state, heralded by a salute fired by an English army of forty thousand men.

Lord Curzon is a man of fine presence. And as he took his seat on the splendid throne in the centre of the dais he seemed indeed a king of men. In spite of their priceless jewels and iridescent raiment, the great Oriental chieftains around the dais were less impressive figures than the quiet, dignified Englishman who stood, bathed in the glory of the Eastern sun, holding in his two strong hands the power delegated to him by the mightiest of earthly monarchs. The drums rolled, the bugles sounded, and the massed bands poured out a peal of triumphant music. This was a

summons to the Herald. His trumpeters answered it in the distance, and then the Herald himself, a gigantic and stately figure, clad in garments of gold and seated on a jet-black charger, appeared, attended by six English and six native trumpeters. At the command of the Viceroy he read the proclamation signed by Edward VII., in which the King-Emperor said: "We do hereby charge and command Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor George Nathaniel Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Our Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to hold at Delhi on January 1, 1903, an Imperial Durbar for the purpose of declaring the completion of the solemnity of Our Coronation, and We direct that at the Durbar this Proclamation shall be read for the information of all whom it may concern."

"Given at Our Court of St. James's, the 1st day of October, 1902, in the second year of Our Reign."

"God save the King-Emperor!" exclaimed the Herald in a resonant voice that rang through the vast arena. The crowd rose to their feet as one man, and the massed bands struck up the National Anthem. Then there was a solemn silence, as, rising from his throne, Lord Curzon addressed the Durbar. "In this arena," he said, "nearly one-fifth of the entire human race is represented. Should it be asked how it is that any one sentiment can draw together these vast and scattered forces and make them one, the answer is that they are all animated by the same

feeling of loyalty, and that they all bow before the same throne. Loyalty to the King-Emperor!" Emperor of India is synonymous with confidence in the equity and benignity of his rule. His government has given freedom from invasion and anarchy to the millions of his people; to some it has guaranteed their rights and privileges; to others it has opened ever-widening avenues of honourable employment; to the masses it dispenses mercy in the hour of suffering; and to all it endeavours

to give equal justice, immunity from oppression, and the blessings of enlightenment and peace. To have won such a dominion as India is a great achievement. To hold it by fair and righteous dealing is a greater. To weld it by prudent statesmanship into a single and compact whole will be, and is, the greatest of all.

"These," Lord Curzon went on to say, "are the ideas and aims embodied in the summoning of this Coronation Durbar." Then, standing erect and strong, his left foot resting on a footstool, the Viceroy read the greeting sent by the first Emperor of India to his three hundred million subjects:

"It gives me much pleasure to send a message of greeting to my Indian people on the solemn occasion when they are celebrating my Coronation. Only a small number of the Indian Princes and Representatives were able to be present at the ceremony which took place in London, and I accordingly instructed my Viceroy and Governor-General to hold a great Durbar at Delhi, in order to afford an opportunity to all the Indian Princes, Chiefs, and Peoples, and to the Officials of my Government, to commemorate this auspicious event. Ever since my visit to India in 1875 I have regarded that country and its peoples with deep affection, and I am conscious of their earnest and loyal devotion to my House

The Emperor's Greeting to India and Throne. During recent years many evidences of their attachment have reached me, and my Indian troops have rendered conspicuous services in the wars and victories of my Empire.

"I confidently hope that my beloved Son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales may before long be able to make themselves personally acquainted with India and the country which I have always desired that they should see, and which they are equally anxious to visit. Gladly would I have come to India upon this eventful occasion myself, had this been found possible. I have, however, sent my dear brother, the Duke of Connaught, who is already so well known in India, in order that my Family may be represented at the ceremony held to celebrate my Coronation.

"My desire, since I succeeded to the Throne of my revered Mother, the late Queen Victoria, the First Empress of India, has been to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable administration which secured for her in so wonderful a degree the veneration and affection of her Indian subjects. To all my feudatories and subjects throughout India I renew the assurance of my regard for their liberties, of respect for their dignities and rights, of interest in their advancement, and of devotion to their welfare, which are the supreme aim and object of my rule, and which, under the blessing of Almighty God, will lead to the increasing prosperity of my Indian Empire and the greater happiness of its peoples."

The Royal message was greeted with a vast acclaim.

"Princes and peoples of India," said the Viceroy, "these are the words of the Sovereign whose Coronation we are assembled to celebrate. They provide a stimulus and an inspiration to the officers who serve him, and they breathe the lessons of magnanimity and goodwill to all. Under

Providence, the India of the future will be an India of expanding industry, of awakened faculties, of increasing prosperity, and of more widely distributed comfort and wealth. I have faith in the conscience and purpose of my own country, and I believe in the almost illimitable capacities of this. But under no other conditions can

this future be realised than the unchallenged supremacy of the Paramount Power, and under no other controlling authority is this capable of being maintained than that of the British Crown. Let us pray that, under the blessing of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, the Sovereignty and power of King Edward VII. may last for long years, that the well-being of his subjects may grow from day to day, that the administration of his officers may be stamped with wisdom and virtue, and that the security and beneficence of his dominions may endure for ever.

"Long live the King-Emperor of India!"

A tumultuous shout went up to the skies. The trumpets of the herald rang out, and the herald himself rose in his stirrups and waved his helmet and cried, "Three cheers for the King-Emperor!" The immense assembly leaped up, and gave for the first Emperor of India three mighty cheers. The cheering was taken up by forty thousand soldiers, and the thunder of their voices rolled over the great plain, over the Ridge, and over the gate of the ancient capital city where John Nicholson was sleeping.

At last the cheering and the music died away, and the host of feudatory princes filed out to do homage to the representative and the brother of the King-Emperor. Each chief seemed to vie with his neighbour in making a magnificent display of jewels. Every sword was encrusted with diamonds and rubies, every mantle was embroidered with dazzling designs in precious stones. Never, surely, in the history of the world was there such an array of magnificence as the hundred native rulers of India formed when they

approached Lord Curzon and the Duke of Connaught. First came the lord of the Deccan, the Nizam of Haiderabad, a Mohammedan prince ruling over a population of twelve million Hindus. He was followed by the great Mahratta ruler, the Gaekwar of Baroda, in a white dress with a red turban and jewels of fabulous splendour; his was one of the richest states in India. Then came the Rajah of Mysore, a man with very large dominions; the Maharajah of Kashmir; the Rajput princes; the Hindu princes; the Mahratta chiefs; the Sikhs; the Indian Mussulmans; Pathan chiefs; potentates from Burmah; and

Mongoloid chiefs from the Shan states.

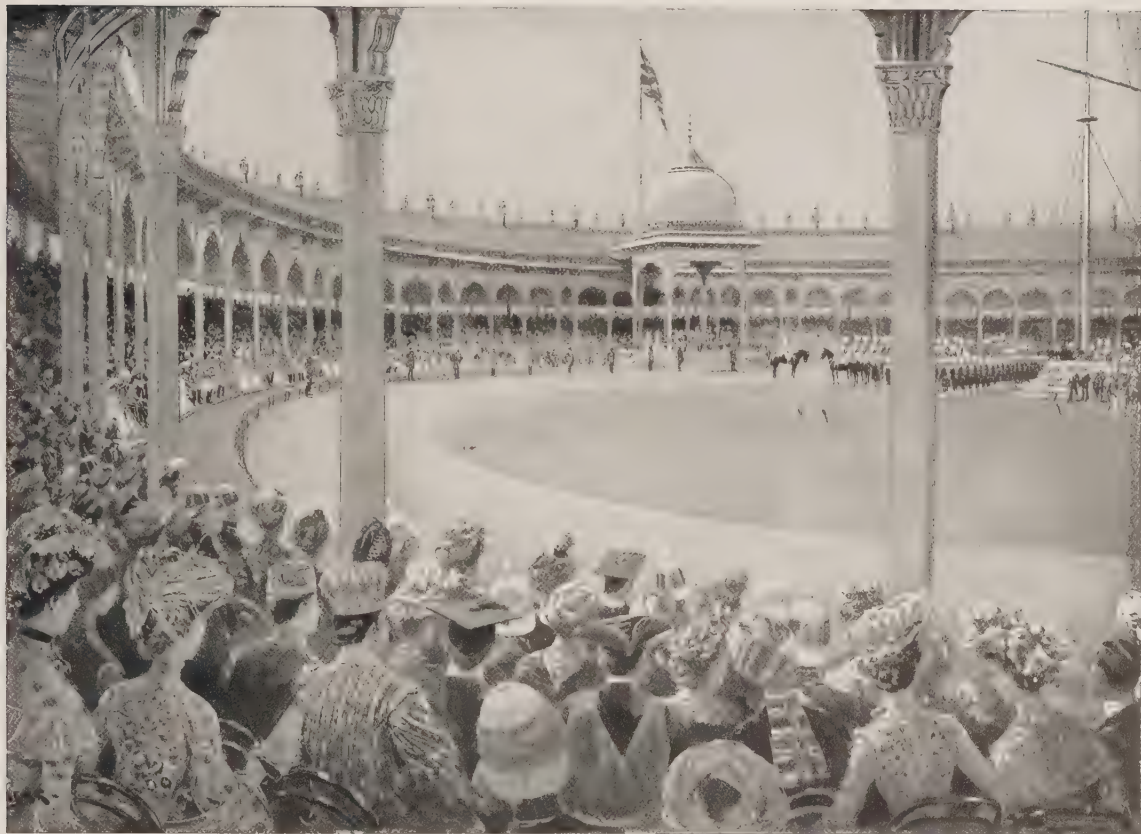
The most striking figure of all was the Sultan Shah Begum of Bhopal. Bhopal is the sole state in India ruled by a woman, and it was only eighteen months since the Sultan Shah Begum had succeeded, on the death of her mother, to the throne. She was married, but her husband had, according to the customs of Bhopal, no social standing; he was little more than a drone in the beehive in Central India over which, like a queen bee, the Begum reigned.

The extraordinary diversity of the races of India was displayed in picturesque grandeur by the closing pageant of the incomparable Durbar. Each of the great feudatory



THE VICEROY AND THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT REVIEWING THE VETERANS OF THE INDIAN MUTINY

From a drawing by Melton Prior



THE PROCLAMATION OF THE FIRST EMPEROR OF INDIA AT THE CORONATION DURBAR AT DELHI ON JANUARY 1, 1903

The Proclamation, signed by King Edward, was read to the great assembly in the huge Durbar arena by the Chief Herald, who was attended by six English and six native trumpeters. The trumpets then sounded, the Royal Standard was unfurled, the massed bands pealed forth the National Anthem, and the great event was announced far and wide by the artillery on the vast plain outside the city. A Royal message was read by Lord Curzon, and the ceremony closed with the homage of the feudatory princes to the Viceroy. The illustration is from a drawing by S. Begg after Melton Prior

princes had brought with him a host of wild, barbaric retainers, and these filed into the arena to salute the Viceroy and Vicereine and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. In many respects the review of soldiery of the native potentates was the most wonderful incident of the great historic assemblage. It was a scene from a world which

A Bizarre Pageant of Eastern Pomp

is now rapidly passing away, from a world which existed at a time when Great Britain was a waste of savagery. There one could see, in a kind of sunset glory, all the splendid pageantry of life which has obtained from time immemorial in that vast, bright, and strange land.

So huge was the procession that it took two hours for it to wind in and out of the arena past the throne of the Viceroy and his multitude of distinguished guests. State after state marched by, each one more bizarre and picturesque than the last. Monstrous elephants, hung with flaming jewels and topped by great howdahs of precious metal, were followed by squadrons of camel-riders in chain armour and troops of glittering mail-clad knights on horses blazing in silver and gold. Even cannon were made of solid gold. There were warriors in brazen shields with long spears, who still wore the quilted coats and the quilted head-dresses which, in the days before gunpowder was used, made them almost invulnerable.

The whole procession in which they took part was, indeed, a pathetic display of obsolete magnificence. The harmonies of colour were of an inconceivable gorgeousness; nothing remotely comparable to the scene was ever witnessed in the Western world. And yet how little it stirred the imagination! There was no real power

beneath all this superb and majestic show of power. One saw in a flash how easy it had been for Great Britain in the eighteenth century to obtain a commanding position in India. It was not by bodily prowess that she subdued this great country, but by intellectual force. Her men were not braver than many of the nations they conquered, but wiser and more alert of mind. It was by that small part of the inventive genius of her people which is directed to the arts and weapons of war that she was able to impose on ancient India the blessings of unity, peace, and intellectual progress. Thus her power there rests, in ultimate analysis, on a moral and intellectual foundation.

She came to India not as a mistress, but as a schoolmistress. In very ancient times the Hindus were the teachers of the human race. Now the torch of progress has passed into the hands of the people of a little island in the Western world, and they have set themselves the task of handing it back to the nation that first lighted it. It is a hundred and fifty years since the English people began seriously to apply themselves to the work of bringing about a general renaissance in India, and during the last part of the nineteenth century a tremendous advance has been effected. It

The Durbar's Real Significance

was the fact of this advance which made the great Durbar for the proclamation of the crowning of the Imperial Peacemaker an event of high and lasting importance. Each of the diverse races of the strange continent recognised at last that in the person of the King-Emperor they had found a common object of loyalty, love, and veneration; and each of them looked forward to growing, under his wise, just, benign, and far-seeing government, into a powerful and integral part of his wide-world Empire.



CHAPTER LXXIII

BRITAIN UNDER EDWARD VII: 1901-1905

The History of Domestic Politics from the Close of the South African War to the Fall of the Conservative Government at the End of 1905

THE new Parliament which had been elected in October, 1900, was not directly affected by the death of Queen Victoria and the succession of King Edward. The election had been fought on the South African question. The Government had been returned to power with a scarcely diminished majority. Some changes were made in the Ministry, but these were already effected before the close of the year. Lord Salisbury, retaining his position at the head of the Government, retired from the immediate control of the Foreign Office, having realised that the strain of combining the duties of Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary was too great.

His place was taken by Lord Lansdowne; not without causing some perturbation in the minds of the public at large, which was disposed to hold him responsible for the late blunders of the War Office—a matter on which the supporters of the Government in the Press had expressed themselves no less vigorously than the Opposition.

Some time elapsed before the new Foreign Secretary fully recovered the confidence in his capacity and firmness which had been so seriously shaken. At the same time, it was felt that the guiding hand of the Prime Minister would not be withdrawn, and there was little fear among those who appreciated Lord Salisbury's unparalleled knowledge or who had learnt to rely on his wisdom that British prestige would be lowered by the change. Mr. Brodrick was promoted to occupy the vacancy thus created at the War Office; while Lord Selborne went to the Admiralty in succession to Mr. Goschen, whose age and failing health caused him to resign the post which he had long held to the satisfaction of the Government and the Opposition alike.

With its effective majority, the Government could look upon itself as secured in office for the full term of a Parliament's life, unless it should be shipwrecked by some entirely unforeseen events. That is, it was hardly conceivable that Ministers would fail to command a majority in the House of Commons. It was not, perhaps, equally clear that the party in power had the complete confidence of the country at large; what the country had declared with absolute conviction was that it would not entrust the government to the Liberal party under the existing conditions. The South African War was not over; and while everyone knew that the party under whose auspices the war had begun would carry it through, skilfully or unskilfully, the Liberals did not command a similar confidence on that vital point.

That party, in fact, was divided into two, or perhaps three, sections. One section, which, roughly speaking, comprised the most advanced of the Radicals and the avowed Socialists, had been in sympathy with the Boer republics from the outset. They believed that public opinion in England had been engineered by South African capitalists in their own interests, and that the nation had been tricked into a war of aggression against a small people which was legitimately determined to maintain its own liberties. On the other side, there were the Liberal Imperialists, who from the outset had given the Government vigorous support in the war policy from a conviction that President Kruger was deliberately aiming at substituting a Dutch for a British ascendancy in South Africa. Between these two sections stood the mass of the party, who had an uneasy feeling that the war ought to have been avoided, and that although, having been entered upon, it must be fought out, every step taken by the Government in doing so must be viewed with critical suspicion. These divisions in the Liberal ranks, coupled with the feeling that it is not wise to "change horses in the middle of a stream," amply accounted for the large abstentions which left the Government in possession of its overwhelming majority at the General Election.

Divisions in the Liberal Ranks

During the first months of King Edward's reign the dissensions showed little enough sign of abatement. In spite of the efforts to reconcile the extreme wings on the part of a few Liberal politicians and newspapers, it seemed as if the party, already rent in two by the Home Rule question, would again be broken into irreconcilable factions; and yet there was a strong feeling of dissatisfaction with an administration which many of its own supporters had accused of incompetence in no measured language.

It was at this stage that the last Liberal Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, was induced once more to emerge from the aloofness into which he had withdrawn, and to make a pronouncement upon public affairs. He had definitely retired from the leadership of the Liberal party. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, his successor in that thankless position, was popularly associated with the Pro-Boer section of the party, and was certainly not in sympathy with the Imperialist section—so far, at least, as the war was concerned. Lord Rosebery, on the other hand, had done more than any living man to foster an Imperial spirit in the Liberal party. There was a very general impression that it lay in the power of Lord Rosebery, one of the few men in public life whose personality appealed to the popular imagination, to re-create a vigorous Liberal party.

Confidence in the Government

In December, 1901, Lord Rosebery, supported by the Liberal Imperialist leaders, delivered the famous Chesterfield speech, in which he developed the principles of Imperialism, while in effect preferring an indictment of the inefficiency of the existing administration, and claiming that competent statesmanship should be perfectly capable of putting an end to the struggle going on in South Africa. It was an appeal to the Liberal party to make efficiency its watchword; to prove that an alternative administration which could do its work thoroughly and competently was not impossible; to set itself to the work that had to be done, instead of committing itself to extensive programmes embracing everything which each fraction of the party wanted to get done first. The speech was hailed with enthusiasm, not only by the greater number of Liberals, but by not a few of those who had given a grudging support to the Unionists. It emphasised and pointed the public demand that the Government should find a way of bringing the war to a conclusion.

But it did not unite the Liberal party, although for the moment it had seemed possible that would be its effect. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman took a very early opportunity for dissociating himself from certain of the views put forward by Lord Rosebery, both with regard to peace negotiations and the recommendation of "a clean slate." Lord Rosebery would not be tempted to raise his own standard in opposition to the Liberal leader, and resumed the position of candid friend to the Liberal party, while the Parliamentary chiefs of the two sections continued to emphasise their difference on the great question of the hour.

Events, however, combined somewhat curiously to bring about what had been the apparent aim of the Chesterfield speech. To this there were four contributing factors. First, Mr. Cecil Rhodes died while the dissensions were at their height. That very remarkable man had been in life the incarnation of that aggressive Imperialism which, in the pursuit of a large ideal, is not over-scrupulous as to the means which it employs. In the eyes of one set of observers, Mr. Rhodes' peculiar methods loomed so large that they obscured his ideals; for others, the ideals filled their vision, and the methods were insignificant. Men's sentiments towards Mr. Rhodes accentuated the differences arising from the two points of view. His death and the testamentary disposition of his great wealth caused many previously hostile judgments to be much modified, and simplified the removal of previous misunderstandings.

In the second place, the serious illness of the King, falling at the very moment when his Coronation was on the point of taking place, followed by a recovery which his people had hardly dared to hope for, had that emotional effect on the public mind which always tends, for the time being at least, to diminish the acrimony of partisan differences.

In the third place, the Boer leaders came to terms with Lord Kitchener in South Africa. The whole nation hailed the announcement of peace with unqualified delight, and it soon became clear that the Liberals, though still by no means

in perfect agreement regarding the measures to be immediately adopted, were substantially at one with regard to general principles.

The fourth reconciling factor was the introduction by the Government of domestic measures on which Liberals could sink all differences and unite whole-heartedly to expend their utmost energies in attacking the Government.

The measures in question were two in number. One was the Government's Education Bill, the other the imposition of a shilling tax on imported corn.

For nearly half a century Great Britain had given an unqualified adherence to Free Trade. Every Ministry, of whatever colour, had taken for granted that Protection was an exploded economic fallacy. The Corn Tax now introduced by a Conservative Government was fastened upon by a unanimous opposition as a Protectionist measure, a tax on the food of the people. On behalf of the Government, however, it was affirmed that the tax was merely a revival, for revenue purposes, of a duty which had been retained by Liberal Governments long after the acceptance of the principle of Free Trade; that it was not in fact protective, and that it would have no effect whatever upon the price of bread. Everyone, in fact, was satisfied that if a rise in price of bread followed, demonstrably due to the tax, it would be taken off again.

Very much more immediately effective was the Education Bill. From a controversial point of view the great question was that of financing the voluntary, or denominational, schools. It was proposed, broadly speaking, that the voluntary schools should retain their denominational character, but should be financed out of public funds. The Anglican clergy and the Roman Catholics argued that religious teaching is an essential feature in any real education, and that

religious teaching which puts on one side doctrines regarded as fundamental by those bodies is, in fact, anti-religious. On the other hand, Nonconformists in general argued that religious teaching, as far as children are concerned, should be restricted to those matters in respect of which all professedly Christian bodies are in agreement. This latter principle was recognised in the Board schools. Here, then, was the crux. If the same principles were applied to the denominational schools they would lose their *raison d'être*, since they had been originally built and maintained with the express intention of bringing up the children who attended them as Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and so on. If, on the other hand, the principle were not applied, then Nonconformist ratepayers would be paying money to be expended on educating children in beliefs which those ratepayers held to be erroneous. But no adjustments could get rid of the difficulty that the denominationalists were determined to secure that their schools should

retain their definite denominational atmosphere unimpaired; while the Nonconformists were equally determined to resist the appropriation of their money, as ratepayers, to the maintenance of denominational teaching of which they disapproved. The Government Bill, though it did not perfectly satisfy the most energetic advocates of



LORD ROSEBERY

Lord Rosebery, the last Liberal Premier under Queen Victoria, practically held aloof from party politics throughout King Edward's reign, and confined himself to the part of the "candid friend"

From a photograph by Jerrard

denominationalism, did in effect ensure that the schools should be maintained in their full denominational character while they were practically to be maintained out of public funds. The unanimity of the Liberals in their opposition to the Bill undoubtedly did much towards restoring the solidarity of the party, not only in the House of Commons, but also in the country at large.

The Education Bill passed to its final stages in an autumn session. Some months before this consummation important changes had taken place in the structure of the Ministry.

The Retirement of Lord Salisbury Lord Salisbury, almost immediately after the announcement that peace had been concluded in South Africa, resigned the office of Prime Minister, which, except for one brief interval, he had held since 1886. His retirement placed Mr. Arthur Balfour at the head of the Ministry and gave the leadership of the Unionist Party in the House of Lords to the Duke of Devonshire. Some further withdrawals, including that of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, led to a slight reconstruction of the Cabinet. Mr. Ritchie was transferred from the Home Office to the Exchequer; but the only notable addition to the Cabinet was that of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, since Mr. George Wyndham's position was only formally affected by his elevation to Cabinet rank, while he remained, as before, Chief Secretary for Ireland. Next to the retirement of Lord Salisbury, the most important event personal to Ministers was the departure of the Colonial Secretary, towards the close of the year, on a visit to South Africa.

The Parliamentary session in the spring of 1903 presented the unwonted spectacle of the introduction of an Irish Land Bill, on the general principles of which all the parties in the House found themselves ready to agree. The Bill was, in fact, to a great extent the outcome of a conference held towards the close of the preceding year between representatives of the landlord interest and of the tenant interest. Its object may be described as that of terminating the system of dual ownership and of further facilitating the process of converting tenants into proprietors without injustice to the landlords. The adjustment proposed was accepted as satisfactory on the whole by the majority both of landlords and tenants, and the British taxpayer, who took the risks of the adjustment, accepted the burden in a not ungenerous spirit. All other questions, however, faded into a sudden insignificance in the presence of a sensation provided by the Colonial Secretary on his return from his South African tour.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, ever since his severance from the Liberal party in 1886, had become a vigorous, and latterly very much the most vigorous, exponent of unqualified Imperialism. The modern, practically universally accepted doctrines as to the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies were, before 1880, little more than the private creed of a few of those political prophets who received very little honour in their own country.

But during the last two decades of the nineteenth century the British public was waking up to the fact that there was a British Empire, and that under the British flag British nations were growing up across the seas. Mr. Chamberlain became the most energetic apostle of the new Imperialism, and his position as Colonial Secretary made his advocacy of the new doctrines all the more impressive.

Precisely two months after his return from South Africa the Colonial Secretary made that famous speech which entirely changed the complexion of political parties in this country. He had come home possessed by the conviction that the consolidation of the British Empire was the one vital question, beside which all others were of an insignificance almost despicable. The colonists had shown a splendid loyalty to the Mother Country in the late war.

Their conduct had given triumphant evidence of the might and majesty of the united Empire. To preserve and to strengthen that unity must be the great object of statesmanship; but that end could be achieved only by ensuring a permanent identity of interests between the Mother Country and the daughter nations. The sentimental bond of union might bear the strain, as it had so recently done, once and again; but it could not be relied upon permanently as sufficient. A permanent bond must be found in the identification of commercial interests obtainable by a system of preferential tariffs.

For the first time for half a century a statesman of the front rank in England had challenged the universal applicability of the principles of Free Trade. In its first presentation, Mr. Chamberlain's proposal was put forward rather as being in the nature of a possible economic sacrifice for the sake of a vast political gain than as an attack upon the economic validity of Free Trade principles. But Free Trade had passed so completely into the category of things which no one ever dreams of disputing about, like the multiplication table or the law of gravitation, that the world read the Birmingham speech with a sort of stunned amazement. At the very moment when Mr. Chamberlain was delivering it the Prime Minister,

Mr. Balfour, was pouring the coldest of cold water upon a deputation pleading for a continuation of the Corn Tax. But when men began to recover from their first startled astonishment, realising that the man who had made this startling pronouncement was none other

Mr. Chamberlain than the Parliamentary colleague of John Bright, the representative of the city of Birmingham, they began also to wonder whether they had not, perhaps, been taking too much for granted. Some economic sacrifice might, after all, be well worth the making for the sake of Imperial unity. An utterance of Lord Rosebery's seemed for the moment to suggest that Mr. Chamberlain's proposal ought not to be summarily rejected; but it was not long before Lord Rosebery explained his conviction that further examination



THE KING EDWARD STATUE AT KING'S LYNN
From the statuette in bronze by W. R. Colton, A.R.A., presented to Queen Alexandra by the sculptor

would, in fact, prove Mr. Chamberlain's scheme to be wholly impracticable. And to this view the whole body of Liberals adhered with only very rare exceptions. The conviction was very soon established that the Colonies had no desire whatever for Free Trade within the Empire, and that food-stuffs and raw materials would have to be taxed if the colonists were to obtain any appreciable benefits from a preferential tariff.

In a very short time, however, the Imperial advantages of Colonial Preference ceased to be held forward as the one aim of Tariff Reformers.

It had not taken the Liberals long to make up their minds that the economic sacrifice involved by Colonial Preference would not tend in the least to Imperial unification; and they were thoroughly convinced that the economic prosperity of England was bound up with Free Trade. On the other side, however, the Prime Minister announced that he had no settled convictions on the general question, and that an inquiry was desirable. His comments appeared to point to the theory that duties on goods imported from foreign countries were useful weapons in the armoury of diplomacy, that tariff walls might be broken down by unmasking the batteries of retaliation. The third stage was reached when Mr. Chamberlain began to proclaim that British industries were being ruined by unfair competition with the foreigner, who, under the shadow of Protection, could sell his goods in his own country at lower prices than the British exporter, while his surplus product was thrown on the British market at less than cost price.

Thus a threefold programme was developed for Tariff Reformers, as Mr. Chamberlain's supporters began to be called. Completeness was achieved with the argument that the growing national expenditure made it necessary to tap new sources of revenue, a demand which would be satisfactorily met by the duties paid on imported goods.

Unionists, however, hesitated to throw over completely the doctrines which they had hitherto been accustomed to regard as outside the range of serious discussion. That minority, indeed, who in their hearts had always believed in Protection, but had remained silent because of the futility of preaching to the deaf, now felt themselves free to speak their minds. A very considerable body of enthusiastic converts also flung themselves energetically into the fray. On the other hand, there were still large numbers

who found an attraction in the ideas of colonial preference and of retaliation, but shrank from the idea of Protection, and, above all, from the programme calculated to increase the cost of foodstuffs. Finally, there was a section whose Free Trade convictions remained entirely unshaken.

The Cabinet was no less divided than the party. In September, four months after the turmoil began, three uncompromising Free Traders, including the Chancellor of the Exchequer, withdrew from the Ministry; Mr. Chamberlain's own resignation was even at that moment in the

Prime Minister's hands. He had been moved to take that step by the desire to be absolutely unfettered in advocating his own views before the country. A month later, the Duke of Devonshire, the official chief of the Unionist party in the House of Lords, and the former leader of the Liberal Unionists in the House of Commons, resigned as a Free Trader. It was becoming daily more certain that the Tariff Reformers would dominate the Unionist party.

The Government majority in Parliament was not directly affected by the fiscal problem, since fiscal reform could

not actually be initiated without a General Election. But on the question itself it was sufficiently obvious that the opinion of leaders among the Unionists was divided; while it became equally conspicuous that the attack on Free Trade had produced a unity among the Liberal leaders such as, perhaps, nothing else could have done. Whether it had produced among the electorate a similar solidarity of one party, and a similar disagreement in the other, remained to be seen. It was certainly the conviction of the fiscal reformers that the working man was bound to give ear to the doctrine that Tariff Reform would bring increased employment and better wages, and that the foreign producer, not the British consumer, would pay the import duties.

While the country continued to be deluged from the Press and from platforms with torrents of rhetoric and argument on both sides of the fiscal question, a new subject of controversy arose in South

Africa in 1904. It was affirmed that the mines there could not be run by white labour, that black labour was not available, and that it was practically necessary to import a very large number of coolies from China. The demanded importation of Chinese labour was duly authorised. But Chinese labour could be imported in bulk under conditions for the Chinese labourer which, in the view of many critics,

could only be enforced at the expense of public morality, and were not practically distinguishable from slavery. On behalf of the Government it was argued, in the first

place, that the temporary employment of Chinese labour was the only alternative to shutting down the mining industry, the development of which was essential to the country if its financial prosperity was to be restored. Next, it was urged that the conditions were by no means so intolerable as represented; and next, that at the worst the Chinese coolie was quite as well off as he would be if he stayed at home.

The whole subject was one which lent itself to highly rhetorical treatment, and hence, perhaps, it bulked somewhat more largely in the eyes of the public than its intrinsic importance demanded. A measure of much importance was the Government Bill for dealing with licences in the liquor trade. Temperance reformers held, broadly speaking, that the large number of existing public houses was to a great extent responsible for the amount of drunkenness, and they had long been agitating to obtain a heavy reduction. Licences were granted technically for a year, and had to be annually



A FINE BUST-SCULPTURE OF KING EDWARD

Specially photographed from a new sculpture by Alfred Drury, A.R.A., by courtesy of the sculptor

Chinese Labour in South Africa

renewed. But a renewal had habitually been granted, except in case of flagrant misconduct, and hence publicans had regarded their tenure as practically secure, though that security had the sanction of custom only, not of law. The temperance theory demanded the extinction of licences not only in cases of misconduct, but wherever they were superfluous, and there were further acute differences of opinion as to what constitutes superfluousness.

The problem, then, was to provide for the extinction of licences, locally regarded as superfluous, without injustice to the licence holders. Here, obviously, there was a remarkably wide margin for differences of opinion. The Government

The Licensing Act of 1905

Bill provided for compensation on the higher scale, to be provided by the licensed trade, while it transferred the authority to refuse licences from the magistrates to Quarter Sessions, which would, in general, be much less ready to refuse renewals. The rate at which licences could be withdrawn was also limited by the amount authorised to be levied from the trade as compensation. The Bill was attacked by the Opposition, first as giving a legal sanction to the doctrine that the licence holder had a vested interest in the licence; secondly, on the ground that the trade and not the Government ought to settle the compensation which they might think fit to pay; thirdly, that the magistrates ought to be free to exercise their own discretion without restriction. Finally, it was claimed that there should be a time limit set, of seven or fourteen years, after which date it should be understood that no title whatever to compensation should be recognised, and the State should have an entirely free hand for raising the licence duties at its discretion. The onslaught of the Opposition, however, failed to prevent the Bill from passing into law in due course.

Towards the close of the year great excitement arose over what was known as the North Sea incident. The war between Russia and Japan was in active progress. The Russian fleet left the Baltic on its way to the Far East. In passing through the North Sea, certain of the Russian ships poured a heavy fire into a fleet of Hull fishing boats, which, as was afterwards explained, they had imagined to be Japanese torpedo craft. The Russian Government, however, assented to an inquiry into this extraordinary proceeding by an international tribunal, and nothing more

serious came of an incident which for a moment had threatened to involve exceedingly grave consequences.

The fiscal question continued throughout 1905 to occupy the first place in the public mind. From the time when it had become prominent, the numerous bye-elections which had taken place had gone markedly against the Government. The Opposition clamoured for an appeal to the country; the Government declined to admit that there was any reason to suppose that it had lost the confidence of the nation. Even in the House of Commons, however, there were signs that the Government majority could not be relied upon with quite the same confidence as before. An actual defeat was sustained in July on an Irish question in Committee of Supply. Still, however, Mr. Balfour was of opinion that the defeat did not afford sufficient ground either for resignation or dissolution, and the session closed without any change.

During the autumn, however, the dissensions between the sections of the Unionist party on the fiscal question increased in bitterness, the Chamberlain section regarding those who were known as the Free Fooders with extreme hostility. For a moment it appeared possible that a corresponding division might be created in the Liberal ranks on the question of Home Rule. This was caused by an emphatic declaration in favour of that policy on the part of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, which caused Lord Rosebery once again to declare in the most emphatic terms that he could not fight under the Home Rule banner. Those Liberal leaders, however, who had been most closely associated with Lord Rosebery made haste to declare that, if the Liberals returned to power after a

The Conservative General Election, there could be no possible question of their including Home Rule in their programme. The majority would be won on wholly different issues and could not be utilised legitimately to carry out such a constitutional revolution. At the same time, the emphatic demand of the fiscal reformers for the inclusion in the Unionist programme of an avowed scheme for general tariffs showed that a direct appeal to the country on that issue had become imperative. On December 4 Mr. Balfour resigned office, and the Liberal leader accepted the task of forming an Administration, pending the General Election which was bound to follow.



THE NORTH SEA OUTRAGE: THE RUSSIAN BALTIC FLEET FIRING UPON HULL FISHING BOATS

Towards the end of 1905, while the Russo-Japanese War was in active progress, great excitement was caused by the extraordinary action of the Baltic Fleet, on its way to the Far East, in pouring a heavy fire into a fleet of Hull fishing boats, under a delusion, born of a panic of nervousness, that they were Japanese torpedo boats. One boat was sunk and two men were killed.

Drawn by Norman Wilkinson



MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN MAKING HIS FAMOUS "PREFERENTIAL TARIFFS" SPEECH AT THE BIRMINGHAM TOWN HALL ON MAY 15, 1903

Two months after his return from his South African tour Mr. Chamberlain made the famous speech which entirely changed the complexion of political parties in this country, giving birth to the whole Tariff Reform movement. He said: "We should set ourselves a great example of community of interest, and, above all, that community of sacrifice, on which alone the Empire can permanently rest. The Colonies are trying to promote this union, which I regard as of so much importance, in their own way and by their own means. And first among those means is the offer of preferential tariffs."

Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.



CHAPTER LXXIV

BRITAIN UNDER EDWARD VII—1905-1910

Recounting the Political Events Under the Liberal Government: the Education Deadlock, Army Reorganisation, Licensing, Old Age Pensions and the Budget of 1909

IN spite of pessimistic prophecies, there was no public indication that the Liberal leader found any difficulty in constructing his Cabinet. It was, indeed, understood that Lord Rosebery would not take office; but all the most prominent members of the party were offered and accepted seats, including those of the Imperialist wing, and also those who had been most vigorously denounced as Pro-Boers. The character of the Ministry was held to indicate that Imperial interests would not be ignored, and Lord Rosebery's expressions of confidence on that head no doubt dissipated the doubts of many electors whose anxiety was aroused by the Liberal leader's personal record in connection with the South African War. There was no question that if a Liberal majority were returned, the temporary Ministry would become permanent without material modification. A month after Mr. Balfour's resignation the country was in the throes of a General Election.

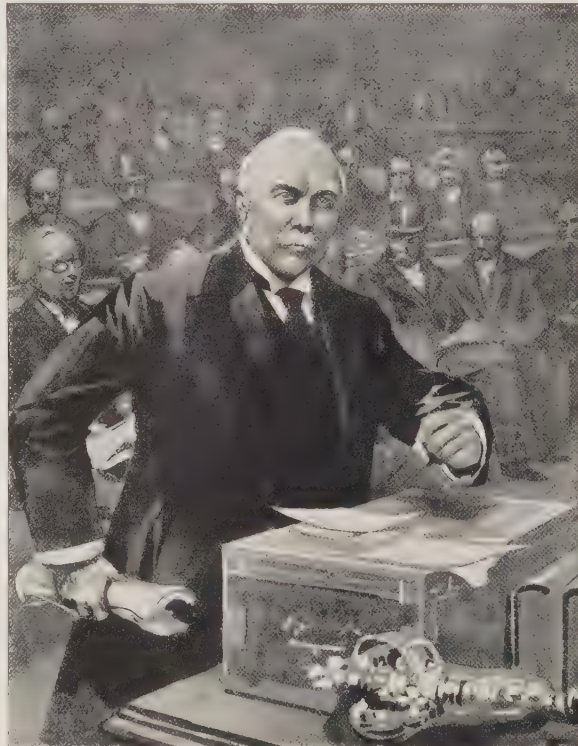
It had been anticipated in all quarters that the Unionists, bereft of Free Traders, would find themselves in a minority; and those Unionists who were stalwarts on the Free Trade question were, with rare exceptions, not afraid to give their support to the new Government. The result, however, of the General Election held in January, 1906, surpassed the least hopeful prognostications of the Unionists and the wildest anticipations of the Free Traders. The members returned as officially belonging to the Liberal party numbered 377, a majority of 84 over all other parties combined. But of the rest there were 53 Labour members who could be practically counted upon to vote with the Ministerialists on very nearly

every question, and 83 Nationalists, who were unlikely to oppose the Government except on questions where Nonconformist and Roman Catholic opinions would inevitably be antagonistic. The entire body of Unionists made up less than one-fourth of the whole House.

So far, then, as the House of Commons was concerned, Ministers could go their own way so long as they remained in agreement among themselves. Tariff Reformers, however, declared that the Government majority had been won not on the fiscal question, but by misrepresentations with regard to Chinese labour and by promises to reduce the price of bread. This was based upon certain placards representing a big Free Trade loaf and a diminutive Protectionist loaf. At any rate, the Tariff Reformers were

more convinced than ever that their views had been rejected at the polls only because the country had not had time to assimilate the new idea, which had not been preached with sufficient whole-heartedness.

Ministers, on the other hand, were scarcely disposed to reckon that they had been returned to office only that they might put an end to Chinese labour in South Africa and abstain from introducing tariffs on imports. On the fiscal question they claimed that the country had given an emphatic and unmistakable answer; consequently that must be regarded as outside the region of discussion at the Colonial Conference which was on the point of assembling. As to Chinese labour, they were pledged to oppose any further importations and to effect the repatriation of the coolies as rapidly as was possible without disorganising the existing system. But they conceived that they had also received a general authority to give effect to the views which they had repeatedly



SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN SPEAKING IN THE HOUSE
From a drawing by Max Cowper

expressed when in opposition, as to wastefulness in the public expenditure and other matters in respect of which they had severely criticised and battled with the late Government—notably the education and licensing problems. Moreover, both parties had declared themselves very strongly on the subject of providing pensions for the aged poor. But whereas the fiscal reformers had pointed to tariffs on imports as the source from which funds would be obtained for expenditure on social reform, the Liberals had to demonstrate that they could provide the additional revenue without any divagations from the straight path of Free Trade.

The session of 1906, however, did not open with the promise of much that was violently subversive in the way of domestic legislation. Trade unions were conciliated when a Government Bill was withdrawn in favour of one proposed by the Labour members for the protection of trade union funds from liabilities to which they had been declared subject by the judicial decision known as the *Taff Vale* judgment some three years before. The battle of the session, however, was to be concerned with two measures—the Plural Voting Bill, which was to prevent any individual from recording a vote in more than one constituency; and the new Education Bill, intended to remedy the grievances of the Nonconformist ratepayers, some of whom had for a considerable time past expressed their conscientious objection to paying for dogmatic teaching by the process known as *Passive Resistance*. The two fundamental principles to be enforced by the Government measure were—full public control over schools supported by public funds, and the abolition of religious tests for teachers as debarring all but professed Anglicans from becoming teachers in Church schools.

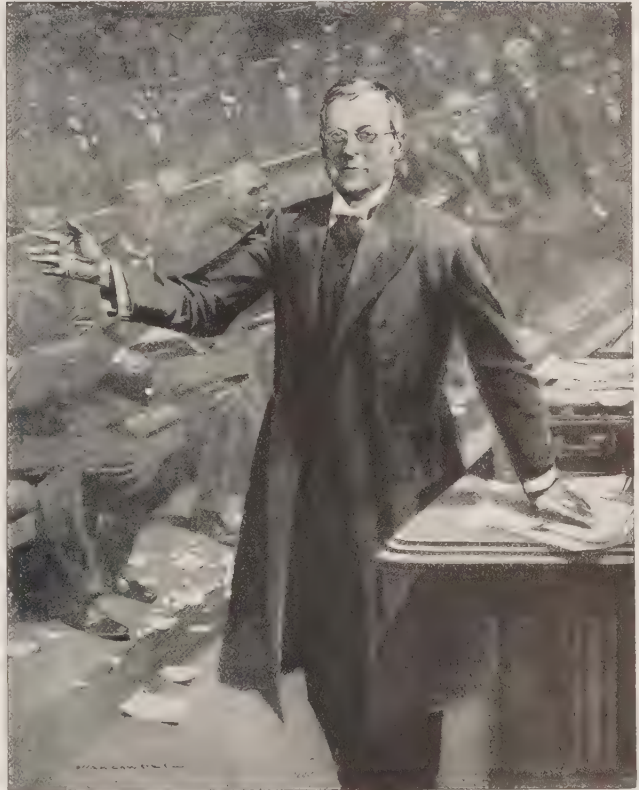
The Plural Voters Bill was opposed on the ground that it was a purely party measure intended solely to cancel a large number of Unionist votes, because the great majority of plural voters were known to belong to that party.

It was claimed that such a measure ought not in any case to be introduced except as forming part of a complete scheme of redistribution or readjustment of voting power, such as had been contemplated by the late Government. But any scheme which aimed at an equitable adjustment of voting power was bound to reduce the number of representatives from Ireland, and was therefore evaded by a Liberal Government which relied on Irish support. The Government Bill was, of course, passed in the Commons, but ultimately gave the House of Lords the first opportunity that had offered for a long time of expressing an opinion antagonistic to that of the House of Commons, with which it had been in complete accord for eleven years. The House of Lords ultimately threw the Bill out.

The Education Bill was a much more complicated matter. There was undoubtedly a very real desire on all sides that religious differences should cease to block the way in the establishment of a sound scheme of national education. The difficulty lay in the vehement conviction of a large number of Anglicans that denominational religious teaching is in effect anti-religious, and of a large number of Nonconformists that the teaching of specifically Anglican dogma was not to be tolerated in State-supported schools. The problem was to discover a

The Education Impasse

compromise which would be tolerably acceptable to both Anglicans and Nonconformists. There was, indeed, a section of the community who would have cut the Gordian knot by striking religious teaching out of the school curriculum entirely; but there was a general conviction that the great mass of parents would revolt against secular education at any price. The Government Bill proposed to abolish the



MR. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL INTRODUCING THE EDUCATION BILL,
APRIL 9, 1906
From a drawing by Max Cowper

system under which voluntary schools were supported by public funds. But it proposed to enable local authorities to take over such schools. When they were taken over the local authority was to have full control. The teachers were not to be subjected to any religious tests whatever; they were not to be required

The Government to give any religious instruction, and were
Compromise to be permitted to give denominational instruction only under exceptional conditions.

In such cases the whole cost, including the maintenance of buildings, was to fall upon the public funds; while the owners of the buildings were to retain the use of them out of school hours. In the transferred schools special facilities were to be provided for denominational teaching, provided that the parents of four-fifths of the children attending the school desired it.

The Bill was accepted by the great bulk of the Liberal party as a working compromise, although, naturally, it could not satisfy the advocates of secular education, and conceded more to the Church than was approved by the extreme Nonconformists. On the other hand, the great majority of the Anglican clergy, the Roman Catholics, and the Conservative party repudiated the idea that the Bill offered a settlement at all. The Bill, in fact, left a great deal to the option of the local educational authority, whereas it was obvious that the Church party regarded local educational authorities as partisan bodies which might generally be presumed to be hostile to the Church; very much as in the case of the Unionist Education Bill they had assumed that managers elected by the ratepayers were to be counted as in solid opposition to managers appointed by the denomination. When the Bill came before the House of Lords, it was subjected to a drastic process of amendment. The Commons rejected the Lord's

amendments *en bloc*; the Lords, in reply, reaffirmed them; and the Bill was killed, since the Government would not adopt it as amended. The Prime Minister's speech on this occasion was an indication that the Liberal Government was not prepared to recognise the right of the House of Lords to override Liberal legislation.

In 1907 the Parliamentary proceedings were somewhat less sensational. A new feature, however, was introduced into

Mr. Asquith's Budget. The time had come when Chancellors of the Exchequer must recognise that the tax upon incomes had definitely become an established part of the financial system. For many years after its introduction they had regarded it as temporary, and had repeatedly spoken of the good time coming when it should be dispensed with; yet it never had been dispensed with, nor, in the face of a constantly increasing expenditure, was there any prospect that it ever would be dispensed with. But it had always been felt that its incidence was unsatisfactory, and ought to be amended.

Abatements had been allowed in respect of small incomes. It was now proposed to recognise a distinction between earned incomes and incomes which had not been earned by the persons enjoying them. Where a person's total income was less than £2,000 per year he would in future pay a reduced income tax on so much of it as was directly earned. The principle of graduation was further extended in respect of the death duties, so that an increased proportion of larger estates was to be appropriated by the Treasury on the owner's decease.

The most important measure of the year, however, was the War Minister's great scheme of military reconstruction. The South African War had revealed grave defects in the existing system. Soldiers had been urging a reconstruction, and successive War Minister had striven to devise new methods whereby an efficient army should be enabled to take the field at short notice. Lord Roberts, in particular, had seized every opportunity of insisting on the view that the British Army ought to be made not only efficient within narrow limits, but capable of matching itself in the field against the armies of Continental nations, an ideal obviously unattainable without the adoption of universal military training. While military opinion in general supported this view, it had found few advocates among the civilian population and practically none among politicians. In fact, all that it was open for a War Minister to do was to evolve a system under which the maximum of efficiency should be obtained under a purely voluntary system of service.

The subject of reorganisation is too technical to be here dealt with in detail. As regards the regular Army, Mr. Haldane's scheme effected certain reductions in the paper strength of the forces; but it was maintained that under it the effective force for mobilisation would really be not smaller, but considerably larger. Expert criticism was directed mainly against the weakening of garrison artillery, to which it was replied that this would be compensated by the arrangements made for the second line, as certain parts of the work could be efficiently performed by troops whose training had been comparatively slight. As regards the second line—that is to say, the forces not composed of professional soldiers, to which the task of home defence would ultimately be entrusted in case of war—the existing bodies of Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers were to be reorganised as a body known as the Territorials. It was expected that the numbers joining the Territorial force would prove sufficient for the needs of the country; that the training contemplated would secure greater efficiency at the outbreak of war; while the machinery for

bringing them into active use would be greatly improved. The Army reform was supplemented by declarations that the Government intended to maintain what was called the two-power standard for the Navy—that is to say, a naval strength with a margin of superiority over the two most powerful navies possessed by other states.

The approach of a constitutional struggle over the powers of the House of Lords was foreshadowed both in and out of Parliament in this year. The lines on which the Government intended to proceed, at their own convenience, were intimated in a resolution declaring that the powers of the Upper House must be so restricted as to ensure that the final decision of the House of Commons should prevail within the limits of a single Parliament. But it was generally understood that Ministers did not intend, on the one hand, to translate the resolution into immediate legislation; or, on the other hand, to admit that the rejection of their measures by the peers should be regarded as ground for a dissolution.

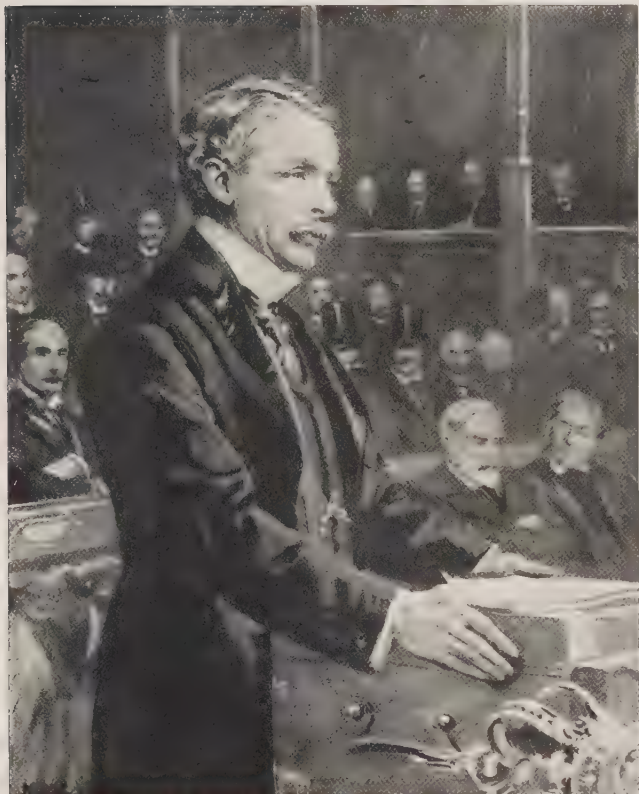
The programme of 1908 was more vehemently controversial than that of the previous year. The Government was about to return to the charge on the question of

education, which always had the unfortunate effect of rousing sectarian antagonism to its highest power. The time had also arrived when it was necessary to deal with the licensing problem; and the licensed trade was a body so highly organised and so powerful that any attack on its interests had in the past habitually recoiled with disastrous effects on those responsible for it. Brewers and publicans were already suffering from a diminished consumption, and were complaining of the strain entailed by providing compensation for non-renewal of licences. On the other hand, the advanced temperance reformers had been

A Fighting Programme



MR. ASQUITH BRINGING IN THE DEATH DUTIES BUDGET OF 1907
From a drawing by Max Cowper



MR. LLOYD GEORGE INTRODUCING THE LAND VALUES BUDGET OF 1909
From a drawing by Arthur Garratt

rendered more eager than ever for drastic measures by the Licensing Act of the late Government, which was regarded as having conferred an additional and fictitious value on licences. Any Bill which would not by its moderation deprive the Government of the support of the temperance enthusiasts would inevitably arouse the most determined opposition of the whole licensed trade. Again, some demonstration was required that the existing fiscal system was adequate to enable the Government to carry out measures of social reform, notably that of providing pensions for the aged poor, to which Mr. Chamberlain had pointed as a probable outcome of Tariff Reform.

The strength of the Government was, moreover, temporarily affected by a change in its personnel, which took place in April. At the close of the preceding year some alarm had been created by the state of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's health. As leader of the Opposition, Sir Henry had failed to command the complete confidence of his party, which, as has been seen, had shown signs of impending disruption during a somewhat extended period. The graver causes of friction and misunderstanding had been removed; nevertheless, when Mr. Balfour resigned, the public at large had been exceedingly doubtful whether the internal differences reputed to exist within the party would not prove too serious for the maintenance of its unity.

These fears had been gradually but completely dissipated during the two years of Sir Henry's Premiership. His skill and tact had brought together in his Cabinet the ablest and most trusted representatives of every section, had allowed to each its due influence in the party counsels, and had enabled Ministers to work with a harmony which had never been seriously threatened. In fact, at the beginning of 1908 Sir Henry had acquired a warmth of affection and confidence among all the supporters of the

Government in the House of Commons, and a respect and admiration throughout the country, such as no one had dreamed of two years before. Hence, when it was announced that for imperative medical reasons he was compelled to retire, and would be succeeded as Prime Minister by Mr. Asquith, doubts once more arose whether the new Premier would continue to preserve harmony among his colleagues and his party. There were, moreover, doubts as to the general effect which would be produced by the greater prominence given in a slightly reconstructed Ministry to the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, and to Mr. Winston Churchill, who were somewhat too freely stigmatised as demagogues.

Policy, however, remained unaffected by the changes which took place. There were no defections from the Government; and such withdrawals as took place for non-political reasons were made good by the advancement of younger men of conspicuous ability. The Budget was Mr. Asquith's Budget, and Mr. Lloyd George's personality at the Exchequer was not to make itself felt till the following year.

When Mr. Asquith's Old Age Pension scheme was produced it was found that it made provision for allotting a pension of 5s. a week to everyone, subject to certain specified exceptions, who was over 70 years of age, and was not actually in possession of so much as 10s. a week. Undoubtedly there were many Conservatives who viewed with alarm any scheme securing provision for old age out of public funds, as tending directly to discourage thrift, and as being fundamentally Socialistic. On the other hand, Mr. Chamberlain, in particular, had repeatedly insisted upon old age pensions as a legitimate demand on the part of the working classes, which ought to be met as soon as the public revenue permitted; and election placards had invited votes for Mr. Balfour and old age pensions. No

very strenuous opposition, therefore, could be made to the principle of the Government Bill, which was criticised mainly on two grounds: that the money appropriated to it was more urgently required for other public purposes, notably for the Army and Navy; and that the scheme itself was demoralising, since it gave nothing to those who by their own thrift avoided

Pensions for the Aged indigence, while it made provision for those who had made no efforts to save. On the other hand, there were, of course, those who were dissatisfied with the measure only because it did not go a great deal further. The Bill passed through both Houses, though not without being subjected to a considerable fire of criticism; and the supporters of the Government declared that the other side would have killed the Bill in the House of Lords but for fear of the outcry which would have been raised by so unpopular a step.

No Education Bill could really hope to be popular. The religious controversy was intensely and fundamentally real to devoted Anglicans or Roman Catholics and devoted Nonconformists. For the one group it was impossible to concede that their schools should cease to be the centres of denominational teaching, or that sound teaching could be given except by teachers who had passed a test of orthodoxy. For the other group it was equally impossible to concede that where only one school is available, that school should be permitted to retain a denominational atmosphere. Besides these were large numbers of persons who, without feeling strongly themselves, recognised that those who did feel strongly were warranted in making a firm stand, and were entitled to the support of their coreligionists. But what the public desired mainly was that the interminable controversy should be finally brought to an end, and should cease to occupy the whole stage to the detriment of education in general.



COLOURS STACKED FOR PRESENTATION TO TERRITORIAL UNITS

The Government Bill, then, was once more put forward as a compromise. In single-school areas voluntary schools could not be recognised. Elsewhere they would be recognised, and would receive grants, but not rate aid, provided that they maintained the necessary standard of efficiency. In single-school areas the regular undenominational

The Second Education Bill

instruction would be given, with facilities for additional denominational instruction out of the regular school hours. The Opposition, however, maintained that the so-called undenominational instruction ought not to be given in single-school areas, as being in its actual effects really sectarian; and that the voluntary schools would inevitably perish if they were refused aid from the rates. Neither side was prepared to adopt secular education, even if accompanied by facilities for denominational instruction outside of school hours—a solution of the difficulty towards which many observers were finding themselves reluctantly driven.

The great object of the Government was to pass a Bill which should command general assent. It was clear that their Bill, as it stood, would not receive that assent, but it seemed possible that its propositions might be so modified as to be accepted by representative Churchmen. There was much negotiating among leaders on both sides, and towards the end of the year the general feeling that an adjustment ought to be possible seemed to have found warrant when the Bill was replaced by a new one, which was supposed to embody proposals sufficiently acceptable to those who had been most strenuous in their efforts to arrive at a not unjust compromise. Unhappily, however, the hopes aroused were destined to disappointment. It failed to command the support of extremists, and, finally, it appeared that there was no possibility of reconciling the maximum of financial aid which the Government would concede with the minimum demanded by all but the most

conciliatory of the Church party. Since it was now hopeless to think of the Bill as securing a permanent settlement, it was finally withdrawn.

Controversy on the subject of education was sufficiently acrimonious; but it was mild in comparison with the effect of the Licensing Bill. The measure was drastic. It provided for the compulsory annual reduction of the number of licensed houses all over the country, within a fixed period, to the number reckoned as sufficient to meet the legitimate needs of the population according to its density. Within this period, fixed at fourteen years, the whole number of licences would be reduced by one-third. During this period, compensation was to be paid for the loss of licences corresponding to the annual value of the licence down to the date of the time limit. This compensation was to be paid by the trade. After the time limit of fourteen years had been reached, licences were to be treated strictly as annual, and as carrying with

them no sort of claim to renewal. The Bill was received with a storm of indignation by the whole licensed trade.

It was denied that the reduction in the number of licences would diminish drunkenness. On the contrary, it was urged that it would lead rather to the increased private consumption of spirits. While the measure could not be justified as conducing to temperance, it was denounced as ruinously unjust to the owners of licensed premises, who had purchased them with the legitimate expectation of permanence. Not only would the publicans suffer, but the brewery companies, who owned an immense proportion of the licensed houses, would be ruined, and the widows and orphans and employees, who were said to constitute the bulk of their small shareholders, would lose their small incomes and their savings. The Bill, in short, was denounced as a monstrous piece of injustice dictated by pure vindictiveness to penalise political opponents.

On the Government side it was claimed that the terms offered were conspicuously generous. As a matter of mere law, there was nothing to prevent every licence being withdrawn at the next sessions. It was reasonable, however, to consider that long prevalent custom had warranted a limited sense of security; still, for more than twenty years past, it had been well known that the validity of the security would be challenged. The breweries had had ample time to set

The Restriction of Licences

their house in order and make ready for the day when their claims would not be recognised in full; and yet the Government were now actually granting them an extension of fourteen years for that purpose. Instead of making preparations, the trade had speculated recklessly in a competitive purchase of licences, reckoning that their political friends would buy them out on their own terms. There was no vindictiveness in the matter, the plain truth being that the State was merely resuming, after



THE REORGANISATION OF THE MILITIA, YEOMANRY, AND VOLUNTEERS INTO THE TERRITORIAL FORCES IN 1909

The photographs on this page are by the Illustrations Bureau

ample warning, its right to appropriate profits derived from privileges which the State itself had conferred by the artificial restriction of competition to licensed houses.

On the one hand, a great mass of ecclesiastical opinion was favourable to the Bill, as a measure which would conduce to temperance; so that, on this particular head, numbers of those who were opposed to the Government, especially on the education question, gave it their support, though there was a strong inclination to extend the time limit from fourteen years to twenty. The prevalent belief was that the concession would ultimately be made, but was being held in reserve as a margin for negotiation. On the other hand, the trade resolved to stake everything on unqualified rejection. There were warnings or threats that such favourable terms would not again be offered, that if the Government's generosity were scorned, the trade might end by getting bare justice. But these threats were defied. By-elections had been unfavourable to the Government. In certain cases, where the Licensing Bill was conspicuously the chief issue, Government candidates met with disaster. It was, perhaps, overlooked that the Liberal vote at the last General Election had not only been very much heavier than was needed for securing the working majority, but had gone far beyond the most sanguine expectations of party managers; so that it was easy to miscalculate the meaning of a reduced Liberal vote at by-elections. In 1908, however, it was certainly the general conviction of the Opposition that a dissolution would transfer almost every seat in England to the Opposition, and there was also no doubt that all the available indications, whatever they might be worth, pointed to a very powerful opposition to the Licensing Bill. Hence little surprise was caused when the House of Lords declared that there was no warrant for believing that the country desired the Bill, and threw it out on the second reading.

Another Bill rejected by the peers was the Scottish Small Landholders Bill, which was resisted as introducing in Scotland the very system of dual ownership in land which was generally condemned in Ireland.

Ministers, however, consistently with all their previous declarations, declined, as they said, to allow the House of Lords to dictate the time for a dissolution.

The Government They saw no reason to believe that they
Against the Lords had lost the confidence of the country, and pointed to the refusal of Mr. Balfour when in power to recognise by-elections as indications of public sentiment. They neither resigned nor accepted defeat on the licensing question, but joined battle with the Opposition all along the line with Mr. Lloyd George's Budget in 1909.

The first engagements took place over the Government's naval programme. The Labour and Radical wing were

eager for a reduction of expenditure on armaments, but the Premier made a grave statement as to the painful necessity for bringing forward a much more extensive naval programme than had been anticipated. He succeeded in practically silencing Radical antagonism. But the Opposition declared that, in the face of his own statement, the programme was insufficient. The arguments rested mainly

Increasing Our Naval Power

on two points: That the Government had allowed themselves to get dangerously behindhand, and that it was imperative at once to lay down eight battleships of the Dreadnought type, instead of laying down four and only taking powers to lay down four more if the progress of rival navies should make it necessary. The Government, however, stood solidly by their decision that safety demanded nothing short of their full programme, and also nothing more.

The great question, however, was how Mr. Lloyd George proposed to raise the revenue for the enormous expenditure anticipated. Mr. George announced that everybody would be hit, but that the burden of the additional taxation would fall most heavily on those who were best able to bear it. An increase of the duties on tobacco and spirits would raise the price of the luxuries of the working-man. The State would resume its right to a share in the profits of the liquor traffic, derived from the monopoly conferred by the licensing system, by forthwith raising the cost of licences enormously. This was, in fact, the answer foreshadowed to the rejection of last year's Licensing Bill. Wealth would pay an increased share by a further graduation of the Income Tax, notably the imposition of a super-tax on incomes exceeding £5,000 a year, and by an increase of the Death Duties. A new revenue was to be provided by the land. It was not intended that any increased burden should be laid upon agricultural land, but that a tax



KING EDWARD WITH QUEEN ALEXANDRA, PRESENTING COLOURS



THE SCENE AT WINDSOR ON JUNE 19, WHEN KING EDWARD PRESENTED COLOURS TO 108 NEWLY-FORMED TERRITORIAL UNITS

The photographs on this page are by the Illustrations Bureau

should be laid on what is called the unearned increment; that is to say, increase of value in the land brought about by circumstances, and not by the action of the owners of the land. At the same time, land withheld from use was to be taxed according to its value if put to use.

The Budget was subjected to a storm of attack from the licensed trade, which again anticipated immediate ruin; from the wealthy, who declared that capital would be driven out of the country; and from the landholders, who claimed that there was no more justification for taxing unearned increment in the land than in any trade or profession, that there was no moral justification for taxing it at all, and that the attempt to tax it was in any case absurd, because of the practical impossibility of distinguishing between what was and what was not earned; besides which, taxation involved valuation at an enormous cost, and with utterly misleading results. Finally, the spirit duty was met with great hostility by the Irish, who regarded it as a breach of the Act of Union.

The Budget made a stormy way through the House of Commons. Constitutional practice admittedly denied to the House of Lords the right of amending it. In theory they retained the right of objection *en bloc*, but that right had not been exercised for centuries. After a meeting of Unionist peers at Lansdowne House, they exercised it now. In spite of warnings from a number of peers who detested every line of the Budget, it was thrown out. Rejection of the Government's financial proposals was the one means of forcing a dissolution. If that power were recognised as residing in the House of Lords, they would in future be able to force a dissolution whenever they chose. The issue between the two Houses was brought to a head.

Parliament was dissolved, with explicit declarations on the part of Ministers that in future no Liberal Government could retain office without obtaining definite guarantees for such a curtailment of the power of the House of Lords as should preclude them absolutely from interference with finance, and should deprive them of the power of preventing the will of the House of Commons from becoming law within the limits of a single Parliament. The General Election was fought in January, 1910. The Government were pledged if they returned to power to carry the rejected Budget, and to make the restriction

of the powers of the House of Lords the cardinal feature of their programme. No alternative Government was conceivable except one pledged to Tariff Reform. On one side were ranged the solid mass of Tariff Reformers, and with them all those Free Traders who saw in the Government a band of Socialists bent on establishing a single-chamber Government, and held that Protection was the lesser of two evils between which they had to choose. They failed, however, to convince the majority of the electorate that Tariff Reform was preferable to the Budget scheme, or that the Lords had acted within their constitutional rights. In the whole Parliament the official Liberals outnumbered the Unionists, and as concerned the Budget and the peers they could rely on the support of the Labour members and the Irish Nationalists.

Considerable uncertainty prevailed as to the course Ministers would follow. It was assumed in some quarters that they would refuse to carry on the Government without first obtaining from the King a pledge that if called upon to do so he would create a sufficient number of peers to swamp the House and carry the Ministerial Bill, whatever that might be, restricting the powers of the Second Chamber. Ministers, however, took the line that the urgent necessities of the country demanded precedence for the Budget, and that their scheme for dealing with financial control and the peers' veto must be formulated before the Crown could be called upon to give the guarantees which would destroy the resistance of the House of Lords. Angry suspicions were aroused that, after all, Ministers would shirk the great issue. These alarms were allayed as the conviction gained ground that the Government were resolved to face the issue, which was delayed only by the impossibility of postponing financial measures and by questions of correct constitutional procedure. It was

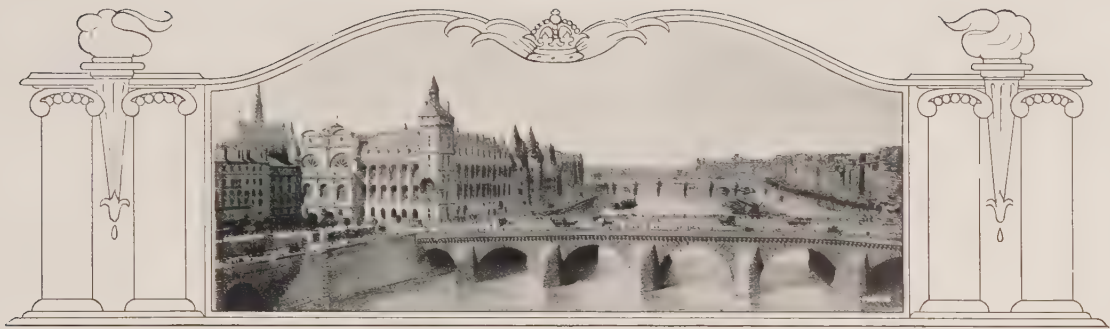
The Truce of Death felt that at a very early date King Edward would have need of all his tact and all his political wisdom in a crisis which would be the touchstone of the principle of constitutional monarchy.

But that moment never came. The blow fell: the one thing which the entire public had left out of calculation. Almost in the hour of the crisis the world was startled by the announcement that the King was seriously ill, and on that very night King Edward the Peacemaker passed away.



KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA AT THE IRISH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION HELD IN DUBLIN IN 1907

From a photograph by Lafayette



CHAPTER LXXV

KING EDWARD'S WORK FOR PEACE

Reviewing the Signal Success which Attended His Majesty's Unceasing Efforts,
by State and Informal Intercourse, on Behalf of the Peace of Europe



WHEN King Edward VII. came to the throne the British Empire was in the unenviable position of being the best-hated Power in the civilised world. The policy of armed peace, which had been inaugurated by Bismarck after the Treaty of Berlin, had turned the attention of the European nations from territorial aggrandisement within the confines of the Continent to colonial expansion in the unportioned and uncivilised lands of the world. Inevitably, they came into conflict with Great Britain, whose vast colonial Empire was already established. The result was disastrous.

For more than half a century Britain's rivalry with Russia had been one of the essential factors in international politics. With France, during the same period, she had lived on terms of intermittent amity. The British had grown accustomed to think of Germany, the head of the Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy, as the great Power with whom it behoved them to retain friendly relations, while the Powers of the Dual Alliance, France and Russia, were looked upon almost as their natural enemies.

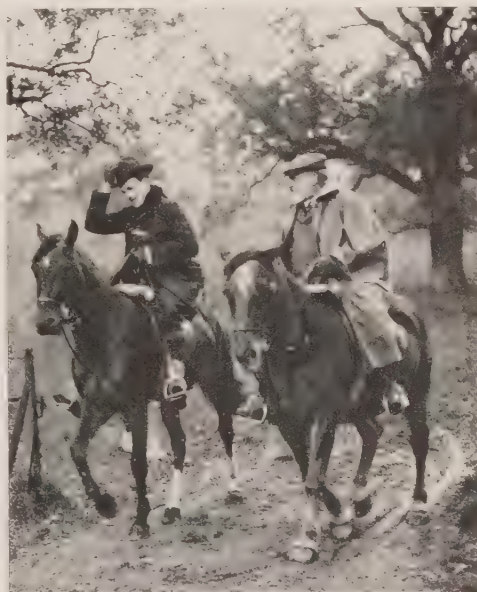
In 1901 all this was changed. Not only had Britain's relations with France and Russia become dangerously embittered, but the hostility of Germany was clearly apparent. In 1898 this country had offended the *amour propre* of the French people by refusing to recognise their title to the possession of any portion of the Nile valley and by compelling Major Marchand's force at Fashoda to retire. The Dreyfus "affaire" had served to accentuate these differences, and the excitement aroused in Great Britain by the trial of the French captain enhanced this mutual antipathy. Finally, the Boer War brought the two nations almost to the point of hostilities. The arrival of ex-President Kruger in France in November, 1900, was made the signal for an unexampled outbreak of Anglo-phobia. The French Press surpassed itself in reviling England

and the English; disgraceful cartoons of Queen Victoria, from the pencils of the most brilliant French artists, were published, and so scandalous were some of these productions that Mr. Chamberlain, in a public speech, felt it his duty to refer to them as factors which were likely to aggravate the feelings of the two countries to the verge of war. These feelings were reflected by Russia as well, and had the situation been normal, Britain would have had to look to Germany for the only evidences of friendship in Europe.

But here, also, there existed a violent Anglophobia. The Kaiser's telegram to President Kruger at the time of the Jameson Raid had foreshadowed the attitude of his Government and his people towards the British campaign in South Africa. Outrageous attacks were made in the German papers on Britain's military operations and on the conduct of her troops, and the British soldier and the British people were held up to the loathing and contempt of mankind. Such was the international situation when King Edward

VII. came to the throne. At his death, nine brief years later, it had been utterly and entirely changed. It must be understood that, in a constitutional country, it is the Ministers who direct and advise the policy of the State, but it was in the carrying out of their policy that the King showed himself so supreme a diplomat. The statesmen may have desired a better understanding with France and Russia, they must naturally have been anxious to escape from the position of isolation in which the country had been placed, but by themselves it is almost certain they could not have achieved their desires. It is on the wonderful manner in which the King carried out the policy of his Ministers with regard to foreign affairs that his historic reputation will rest.

To comprehend clearly all that he accomplished it will be best to state here the international situation at the close of his reign. A firm friendship has been established with France and an



KING EDWARD AND KING MANUEL OF PORTUGAL
RIDING OUT FOR SHOOTING TOGETHER

excellent understanding with Russia. Spain has been brought back into the international field to render secure the balance against the Triple Alliance, and by the marriage of Princess Ena of Battenberg, the niece of King Edward, with King Alfonso a staunch alliance of sentiment has been established between that country and Great

Britain. By his dynastic relations and his personal popularity, King Edward enhanced the prestige and influence of Great Britain in the Scandinavian kingdoms of Norway and Sweden. His personal friendship with the murdered Dom Carlos of Portugal—an affection which was extended to his luckless successor—strengthened and renewed the old alliance with that peninsular power. The warm esteem which the King and the Emperor Francis Joseph cherished for one another not only produced amicable feelings between Austria-Hungary and Great Britain, but proved a potent factor in the cause of European peace. The alliance with Japan was strengthened by his personal influence, and his popularity in the United States cemented this country's amicable relations with the great republic. And all this was accomplished in a period of nine years! In less than a decade King Edward VII., by his unceasing efforts, raised his country from a position of dangerous isolation to the comparative security which she occupies to-day. How these accomplishments have preserved the peace of the world it is the object of this chapter to relate.

It was on March 31, 1903, when the ceremonial duties of his accession had been completed, and his health re-established, that the King set out in the Royal yacht from Portsmouth to perform his first task as peacemaker. Nobody realised, as the Victoria and Albert steamed out to sea, the almost miraculous changes he was to effect in Europe before he returned thirty-five days later. At the time of his departure the visit to Paris had not been even decided upon. The friends of his Majesty, and even his advisers, dreaded the consequences of such an expedition, but King Edward himself smilingly disregarded all these ominous warnings. He had a great affection for the French people; he knew his Paris almost as well as a Parisian, and he was determined to use his influence to re-establish better relations between the two countries. The French Government were also uneasy with regard to his proposal to go to the capital of France, and so much doubt and hesitancy were expressed on both sides that King Edward was a day out at sea before even the preliminary negotiations had been arranged. But the King had remained obdurate in his determination to visit Paris, and on April 1 M. Cambon, the French Ambassador, left London for Paris, in order to inform his Government by word of mouth of his Majesty's fixed resolve.

On April 2 the King reached Lisbon, where he was accorded a tremendous reception. Though a strong personal friendship existed between his Majesty and Dom Carlos, the visit was not purely of a domestic character. Considerable uneasiness had been aroused among the Portuguese people by statements that England intended sooner or later to annex Delagoa Bay, in Portuguese East Africa, with the object of completing her territory in South Africa.

In 1898 a secret convention had been made between London and Berlin, having for its object

the partition of Portuguese Africa. This policy had been entirely abandoned by British statesmen, but the fear of it still lingered in the minds of the Portuguese people. King Edward dispelled these fears in his usual tactful manner. Taking the opportunity afforded by a reply to an address from the Chamber of Commerce, the King spoke of "our respective countries, the integrity and preservation of which is one of my dearest aims and objects." The word "integrity" was emphasised ever so little, but the meaning of his words was at once gathered, and a storm of applause broke out in the building where the event took place.

For four days his visit to Dom Carlos lasted, and on the 7th he left for Gibraltar. From here he proceeded to Malta, where he landed on the 16th. His stay in the island was made the occasion of a long series of fêtes and festivities, which continued for a week. On the 23rd the Royal yacht took him to Naples, where he remained until the 27th, when he journeyed to Rome.

At the Eternal City he was welcomed by King Victor, by whose side he drove through the thronged and crowded streets amidst the cheers of a multitude who had always remembered England as a friend. The Syndic of Rome, in presenting him with an address on behalf of the city, voiced the real feelings of the Italians, which, in spite of sundry misunderstandings, had always remained friendly towards Great Britain. "I feel deeply moved," he said, "by the memory of the sentiments uniting us to the British nation, of which your Majesty is the august chief—the sentiments of cordial sympathy, dating back to generations, which laid the foundations of the unity of Italy and left them to us as a heritage of gratitude and love."

The King employed these sentiments to re-establish once more the old relations, which had been clouded over, between Britain and Italy. His stay in Rome was a triumph of his personality and his political genius.

Triumphs of the Italian Visit His speeches were models of the art of saying the right thing in the right place in the right way. "Our two countries," he said to the Italian Prime Minister, "have one great principle in common—liberty; one great object in view—peace."

During his sojourn at Rome, King Edward performed a task of great delicacy. The Eternal City is divided into two camps—that of the

King of United Italy and that of the Pope, who cherishes within the limits of the Vatican his claims to the Papal territories. The King knew that a visit to Pope Leo XIII. would give unfailing pleasure to millions of his loyal Roman Catholic subjects; but the position was a complex one. Not only was he semi-officially the guest of King Victor, who represented the force which had deprived the Pope of his earthly authority, but he himself was the head of the Anglican Church and bore the title of Defender of her faith. His Majesty set about removing the difficulty from his path with consummate tact. His Ministers, who were at first opposed to the visit, at last consented to his going to the Vatican, provided that it was made clear that the visit was of a private and informal character and was arranged on the initiative of the Pope. Through the British Ambassador at Rome, the King's wishes were made known to the Pope, and the invitation



KING EDWARD LEAVING THE VATICAN AFTER HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE POPE IN MAY, 1903



KING EDWARD IN THE UNIFORM OF FIELD-MARSHAL OF THE BRITISH ARMY

From a photograph by Lafayette, Dublin

was at once forthcoming. To make all clear King Edward informed the Holy Father that he would arrive from the neutral ground of the British Embassy, and make the journey in the Ambassador's own carriage, so that he should come simply as the King of Great Britain from British territory and not as a sovereign who was the guest of the King of Italy. The meeting with the Pope was conducted in private.

Pope's Audience to King Edward

The head of the Roman Catholic Church granted an audience of twenty-five minutes to the Sovereign of that country which had been among the first to renounce the pretensions of the Papacy. As Leo XIII. bade good-bye to

King Edward he thanked him for the hospitality enjoyed by Roman Catholics in England, and for the liberty of creed and confession that existed under the British flag. This visit, which might have proved so dangerous to the relations between Italy and Great Britain, was conducted by the King with perfect tact. Not a susceptibility was wounded, and when King Edward's stay in Italy came to a close, on April 29, he had secured the friendship of the two rival factions in Rome, the Quirinal and the Vatican. On the 30th he bade good-bye to King Victor and took the train for Paris.

There now lay before him the most difficult task of his tour. Anglo-phobia was still rampant in Paris, and the feeling of hostility towards England, which had grown in frenzy during the previous five years, had shown no signs of abatement. Some of the French papers even did not hesitate to dub the visit as an insult. What sort of a reception was he likely to have? was the question asked by all the Chancellories in Europe. It was true that as Prince of Wales he had always been welcomed in Paris; but now he was in a very different position, the representative of a hated, and, worse still, a triumphant policy.

Everybody was uneasy—everybody, that is, except the King. He remained unperturbed, and as genial as ever. He passed across the frontier without any note of disturbance, and at ten o'clock in the morning of May 1 his train steamed punctually into the Bois de Boulogne station. President Loubet was on the station to greet him, together with the staff of the British Embassy. The official greetings were conducted with a suavity which always characterises such proceedings, but how would the thousands, who cared nothing for the feelings of officialdom, receive King Edward in the streets of Paris outside the precincts of the station?

As the carriage left the station the King's ordeal—the test of his diplomatic genius—began. The cannons boomed,

the soldiers saluted, but that was all. Except from the throats of a few English people, but a minute fraction of the vast crowd that thronged the route, no cheer was heard. A few hats were lifted, but even the persons who extended this courtesy to his Majesty were so few in number as to be conspicuous. All down the long route, through the Arc de Triomphe and down the Champs Elysées, it was the same. Hardly a sound was heard. The streets were decorated with the artistic ability which always characterises the pageantry of the French, but the genuine welcome, which could come only from the hearts of the people, was wanting. And, except for these symbols of

rejoicing, the passage of the King from the station to the Embassy might have been a funeral rather than a reception of welcome. The ordeal was one which might have unsteamed the nerve of many a brave man. On King Edward it had not the slightest effect. He seemed supremely unconscious of the existence of anything that could disturb the friendliness Frenchmen had always shown to him and he to them. His demeanour was that of a man who finds himself quite at home and is very pleased to see everybody.

That afternoon, after a complimentary exchange of visits between the President and his guest, King Edward received a deputation from the British Chamber of Commerce. In reply to their address of welcome, he struck the keynote of his policy. No man could have had a more depressing welcome than that accorded to his Majesty. Yet the King insisted in his speech that all was well. "I am confident," he said, "that the days of conflict between the two countries are happily over." It was a daring statement, but fulfilment is the test

of prophecy, and his Majesty proved to be a good prophet.

But on that first day there were few encouraging signs that his mission was to be a success. Only his own self-confidence and his refusal to recognise that anything was amiss could have pulled him through. In the company of the President, he visited the Théâtre Française that evening at nine o'clock. The house was filled with a distinguished and official audience; but, in spite of this, as his Majesty entered the theatre not a sound was heard. He took his seat amidst profound silence, unrelieved by a single cheer. But still his attitude had begun to make an impression. The Parisians recollected the last visit of the Tsar, the great ally of France. They recalled his nervousness, his reticence, the swarms of soldiers and detectives who accompanied him everywhere, and they contrasted this with the ease, the good-humour, the



KING EDWARD RECEIVED BY QUEEN HELEN OF ITALY AT THE QUIRINAL, APRIL 27, 1903

Drawn by Fred Pegram

Paris Hostile to the King



A REMARKABLE FRUIT OF THE ENTENTE CORDIALE. KING EDWARD ON THE BRIDGE OF THE ROYAL YACHT PASSING THROUGH THE COMBINED ENGLISH AND FRENCH FLEETS IN THE SOLENT. When King Edward came to the throne bitter Anglophobia was rife in Paris and throughout France, but, by his wonderful tact and unceasing efforts to promote friendly relations between the two neighbouring countries, the *Entente Cordiale* was established. It was cemented by the complimentary visits paid by the fleets of the two nations to one another in July and August, 1905.

Drawn by Norman Wilkinson



ANGLO-AUSTRIAN FRIENDSHIP: KING EDWARD AND THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA AT THE OPERA AT VIENNA, SEPTEMBER 1, 1903
Drawn by Edward Cucuel

absolute fearlessness, and the sense of being completely at home which characterised the demeanour of King Edward. As he left the theatre that night, a crowd of Frenchmen who had assembled at the exit raised a cheer. It was the first sign of the birth of the *Entente Cordiale*, conceived and produced, as it were, in the space of a dozen hours by the magic of the King.

On the day of his arrival King Edward had already begun to sap the foundations of French hostility. On the morrow he attacked it in its very stronghold. The Government of Paris at the time was in the hands of the Nationalists—the authors, the instigators, and supporters of the whole Anglophobe campaign. Their headquarters were at the Hotel de Ville. The majority of men would have done their best to avoid meeting the representatives of a party so hostile to the interests which they themselves embodied. King Edward, on the other hand, not only refused to recognise that any Frenchman, no matter what his politics, could be hostile to him, but actually, on the second day of his visit, went to the Hotel de Ville itself.

Parisians were dumbfounded at this daring excursion into the most truculent region of political thought. They were the more astonished when they saw the manner in which his Majesty conducted himself in the presence of the very men who had been exciting the French people for many years against his subjects. It was an attitude of *bonhomie* and good sense. He greeted them as men of the world. He made them feel that he had a deep and genuine affection for Paris and its people, and that he took it for granted that they could not possibly have any sentiments with regard to him except those of perfect amity. This bold stroke, coming as it did immediately after the publication of the King's speech to the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, to which reference has already been made, completely carried them off their feet. That speech deserves

to be recorded in history as one of the most eventful utterances in the long story of the nations.

"The days of conflict between these two countries," his Majesty had said, "are, I trust, happily over, and I hope that future historians, in alluding to Anglo-French relations in the present century may be able to record only a friendly rivalry in the fields of commercial and industrial development, and that in the future, as in the past, England and France may be regarded as the champions and founders of peaceful progress and civilisation, and as the home of all that is best in literature, art, and science. Our Divine Providence has designed that France should be our near neighbour, and, I hope, always a dear friend. There are no two countries in the world whose mutual prosperity is more dependent on each other. There may have been misunderstandings and causes of dissension in the past, but all such differences are, I believe, happily removed and forgotten, and I trust that the friendship and admiration which we all feel for the French nation and their glorious traditions may, in the near future, develop into a sentiment of the warmest affection and attachment between the people of the two countries. The achievement of this end is my constant desire, and, gentlemen, I count upon your institution, and each of its members severally, who reside in this beautiful city and enjoy the hospitality of the French Republic, to aid and assist me in the attainment of this object."

King Edward's Plea to Paris

Frenchmen read the terms of this speech in their newspapers almost at the same time as the King went to the Hotel de Ville, and this conjunction of events took Paris literally by storm. In a moment, as it were, all the bitter feelings of the past years vanished. From polite restraint the Parisians passed to wild and exuberant expressions of affection and esteem. The *Entente Cordiale* was already established. His Majesty's speech at the Elysée dinner

on the same day, in which he again earnestly advocated a closer union of friendship between the two countries, served to confirm their attitude. When, in the evening, he visited the Opera, his reception was no longer a silent one, as it had been twenty-four hours before at the Théâtre Française. The people rose in their seats and cheered.

The Four Days' Miracle

Again and again the huge building was filled with the cries of "Vive le Roi!" and "Vive l'Angleterre!" It was a complete triumph of the King's diplomatic genius, and, in its way, one of the most remarkable incidents in the whole history of the world. All else that happened during that memorable sojourn of King Edward VII. in Paris only served to underline and to make more clear the sudden and complete transformation that had taken place within something like thirty-six hours in the feelings of a great nation.

On May 4 he left Paris. His farewell was in striking contrast to his reception, just four days previously. Then the Parisians were cold in their demeanour, strictly and formally polite; then there was no enthusiasm, but, on the contrary, a very evident desire on the part of the people to show to the King that while they regarded him personally with favour, they were animated by nothing but hostility to the people he represented. Now it was very different. From the earliest hours in the morning the precincts of the Embassy were crowded. All along the route a dense mass of people collected at sunrise. As the King drove out with the President he was met with a volume of cheering, which lasted all the way to the Gare des Invalides. The train steamed off amidst like expressions of enthusiasm.

The miracle the King had performed was not limited to Paris alone. The change in the attitude towards England extended to the whole of France. It was seen at once on his Majesty's arrival in Cherbourg, the great naval port of France, which bristles with fortifications intended primarily as a protection against any possible hostile action by Great Britain. If the King had any doubts as to the fruits of his mission, or as to the truth of the aphorism, that "what Paris thinks to-day France thinks to-morrow," they must have been dispelled by his reception. The great change of sentiment had come also to Cherbourg. Thousands waited to greet the monarch who had awakened two great nations to the natural feelings of friendship in the space of four days.

Besides the formal expressions customary on such occasions, the Maritime Prefect, who addressed his Majesty on behalf of Cherbourg,

spoke some words of genuine feeling which were not included in the written address. As the King embarked in the little tug that carried him to the Royal yacht, the guns of the French fleet boomed out their triumphant salute. The sailors manned the rigging, and cheered lustily. That evening a sight was seen which had not been witnessed for many years—the French and English sailors fraternising in the cafés of Cherbourg and walking arm-in-arm about the streets. That was a sign and symbol in itself of the reality of the *Entente Cordiale*. From Cherbourg King Edward sent a telegram of farewell to the President.

"To the President of the Republic, Paris.

"Before leaving French soil I wish once more to thank you very warmly for the friendly reception that you, your Government, and the people have accorded me in France and during my stay in Paris, the remembrance of which will never fade from my memory.

"EDWARD R. AND I."

President Loubet replied in a message of equal cordiality. "I am truly delighted," he telegraphed, "at the good impression your Majesty has carried away as the result of your visit to France, and I most warmly thank your Majesty for the sentiments so kindly manifested towards the French people and Government."

The capitals of the two countries also exchanged telegrams of congratulation, couched in terms so warm and cordial that it seemed almost impossible to realise that but less than a week before France had been

animated by the most bitterly hostile feelings towards England. The value of the King's work was recognised at large by his subjects, and his arrival in London, on May 6, was marked by a scene of almost unprecedented enthusiasm. Two months after, the *Entente* was finally cemented by the visit of President Loubet to London. From that time onwards, to the close of King Edward's reign, the relations between the two countries became more and more friendly. The material fruits of the *Entente* were embodied in the Anglo-French agreement which was signed on April 8, 1904. By this international contract all the old sources of friction between the two countries were removed, and the antagonisms that had been provoked by disputes in Newfoundland, Morocco, Egypt, and Siam were abolished. By an interchange of courtesies King Edward preserved the *Entente* throughout his reign, and it is interesting to recall briefly these events as an illustration of the Edwardian method of "seeking peace and ensuing it."

Cementing the Entente



THE KAISER GREETING HIS ROYAL UNCLE ON THE HOHENZOLLERN AT KIEL, JUNE 23, 1904

Drawn by Ernest Preiter

In July, 1905, the English Fleet visited Brest, where it was entertained by the French Navy. On August 12 this courtesy was returned, and the reception accorded to the naval forces of the Republic by all classes of the community demonstrated with what eagerness the people desired to follow in the footsteps of their King, the Peacemaker. The King and Queen went to Cowes to welcome Admiral Caillard and his fine squadron, and the King, at a dinner which he offered to the French officers on board his yacht, proposed the health of the President of the French Republic, and expressed his wishes for the prosperity of the French Navy. His Majesty subsequently reviewed the fleet, and again took the opportunity of testifying to his desire to make our French naval guests welcome to this country. Under his inspiration visits were exchanged between the municipalities of France and Great Britain—expeditions of all classes were organised between the two countries, and this generous circulation of intercourse helped to destroy whatever prejudice may have remained in the minds of the two nations. King Edward himself pursued his policy by frequent visits to France. On April 6, 1905, he made a flying journey to Paris. On April 20 of the following year he was there again to see President Fallières; twice in 1907 he journeyed to the French capital. On March 6, 1908, he once more visited Paris, and on the following May 26 President Fallières came in State to London to open the Franco-British Exhibition. On April 15, 1909, King Edward made his last journey to Paris.

The value of the *Entente Cordiale* was shown in a striking manner in the Morocco question, when King Edward's statecraft alone prevented another devastating war in Europe. Britain's *entente* with France, and, later, her understanding with Russia, had undoubtedly roused suspicions and resentment among German statesmen. Diplomatic efforts were made in Berlin to checkmate British policy, and to thwart British interests. The Anglo-French agreement had given France a free hand in Morocco. Germany saw in this a good opportunity for punishing France for having become Britain's friend. The recognition of German interests in Morocco was demanded with threats; the firmness of M. Delcassé, the Foreign Minister who had concluded the British *entente*, was answered with a burst of chauvinism. War seemed inevitable, the **King Edward's Greatest Problem** when Great Britain stepped into the arena, assured France that her friendship was not merely sentimental, and thereby completely countered the German attack.

Throughout King Edward's reign, indeed, the most difficult of the foreign problems which British statesmen had to face was the maintenance of friendly relations with Germany. That Power had become what Russia had been

in a former generation—the quarter from which alone a storm was looked for on the diplomatic horizon. Throughout his nine years of sovereignty, causes of dispute were constantly cropping up between the two nations in every part of the world. The enormous increase of the German naval forces served to enhance the danger. But, here again, the "Edwardian method" was completely successful. The animosities between the two nations were assuaged, and the flood of prejudice, which threatened to rise so dangerously high, was kept at a normal level by his tact and his good sense. He arranged frequent interviews with the Kaiser. On June 23, 1904, he visited him at Kiel, where he was received on the Imperial yacht Hohenzollern. At the banquet which followed, King Edward urged upon his host the desirability of peace.

The Edwardian Method in Berlin

"May our two flags," he said, "float beside one another to the most distant time, as they float to-day, for the maintenance of peace, and for the well-being, not only of our own countries, but of all nations." This meeting, which created much speculation in Europe, was promptly followed by the useful Anglo-German Arbitration Treaty, signed on July 12.

Whenever he went to Marienbad for his "cure" he made a point of meeting his Imperial nephew. On August 14, 1907, he visited Wilhelmshöhe to see the Kaiser, with the object of inviting him to England, so that the tension between the two countries might be lessened, and the cause which he held so much at heart promoted. The Kaiser responded to his overtures, and on November 7 following he came, accompanied by the Empress, and stayed with the King and Queen at Windsor. Their Majesties made a visit to the



A FLYING VISIT: THE KING WITH M. LOUBET EN ROUTE FOR PARIS

So anxious was King Edward to maintain the *Entente Cordiale* that he availed himself of the slightest opportunities, as, when on a flying visit to Paris on April 6, 1905, M. Loubet joined his train three-quarters of an hour from the capital.

Drawn by L. Sabattier

Guildhall, where they were the guests of the City of London, and the respect and cordiality with which they were received by the London public undoubtedly helped enormously to keep the Anglo-German situation on a normal plane. On February 9, 1909, King Edward returned the Kaiser's visit, and by the simple exercise of his graciousness and tact helped to destroy many of those hostile prejudices which still lingered in the minds of the German people.

After France, the most difficult task the great Peacemaker was called upon to perform by his Ministers was the establishment of amicable relations with Russia. For some years a conflict of interests in the Near and the Far East had brought into existence a dangerous state of feeling in the two countries. Matters had not been bettered by the North Sea outrage, and the fact that Great Britain was the ally of Japan, and her sympathies, therefore, throughout the war entirely on the side of the Mikado's forces, served to embitter these relations. There were other factors also which seemed to prevent all possibility of a good understanding with Russia being



KING EDWARD ENTERING BERLIN IN STATE WITH THE KAISER, FEBRUARY 9, 1909

Throughout King Edward's reign one of the most difficult of the foreign problems was the maintenance of friendly relations with Germany. But here, as with other countries, the "Edwardian method" was completely successful. The King had frequent interviews with the Kaiser, and in 1909, at the request of the Kaiser, he visited Berlin. By the simple exercise of his graciousness and tact on this occasion he helped to destroy many of the hostile prejudices which lingered in the minds of the German people. The illustration is drawn by F. Matar.

arrived at. The Tsar, in the minds of a large section of the British public, embodied a system of brutal oppression without its parallel in Europe. The massacres in St. Petersburg and elsewhere, the suppression of Finnish liberties, and a long list of police outrages undoubtedly served to excite the people of Great Britain against Russia.

The task, therefore, that the King had to perform was peculiarly difficult, but he set about it with characteristic determination.

To his mind, and to the mind of his Ministers, the government of Russia was purely an affair for the Russian people. The great thing, the true policy of the country, was the maintenance of peace, and that could only be secured by a proper adjustment of the balance of power. An understanding with France necessarily implied an understanding with Russia, her ally.

Indirectly by his exertions, an Anglo-Russian agreement was arrived at by the end of 1907; but, though this did much, the antipathy of a certain section of the British public still kept open the old hostile feeling, and rendered the position of the King's Ministers, who advised his Majesty, extremely difficult. On June 12, 1908, after a round of visits on the Continent, the King met the Tsar at Reval. There was an instant outcry from a section of his subjects, who pointed out that the meeting would be regarded as more than an ordinary act of courtesy, and that it would help to strengthen the hands of the autocracy.

That the King kept strictly within the narrow path of his duty was demonstrated in the summer of 1909. In June of that year he showed that he was carrying out the policy of his Government towards Russia by trying to establish friendly relations with that country, without interfering in any way with its internal affairs. The members of the lately-created Duma and of the Russian Imperial Council were on a visit to London; the King granted them a special audience, and showed much pleasure in making the personal acquaintance of the members of the Russian Parliament. Two months later, the Tsar came to British waters, and was met by the King at Cowes on August 2. Again an extraordinary clamour was raised by a section of the public, who regarded the Tsar as the symbol of the reactionary movement in Russia, and persisted in maintaining that, for the purposes of the peace of the world, it was possible to distinguish between the Russian Government and the Russian people. A formal protest was made in Parliament, and a considerable agitation was aroused. The King, unmoved by the storm, contented himself with doing his duty, as laid down by his Ministers, and by his entertainment of the Tsar endeavoured to push forward that friendship between Great Britain and Russia which was so essential to the maintenance of peace in Europe.

The establishment of the *ententes* with France and Russia was the foundation of Edward the Peacemaker's work. It restored the balance of power in Europe, and thereby ensured peace. It rendered the contending forces of Europe so equally divided that war became too doubtful an enterprise to be engaged in lightly. It, moreover, rescued England from her position of dangerous isolation. But the King's work for peace did not end here. It has already been seen how his masterly policy assuaged the Anglophobia in Germany. He extended the same soothing influence to other countries. In 1903, that year of unceasing energy on behalf of peace, he visited the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary.

Staying at Marienbad for the "cure," he took the opportunity to propose the visit to the Emperor. His overtures were warmly accepted, and on August 31 he entered Vienna in state. The crowds in the streets were

unprecedented, and the people, packed like a massive wall, broke into tremendous cheers as the Imperial carriage conducted his Majesty to the Burg. The same evening, during the State banquet, King Edward performed one of those tactful acts for which he was so celebrated. After the Emperor Francis Joseph had proposed the toast of his guest, King Edward rose and spoke briefly. Suddenly, at the end of his speech, he said, "Permit me, your Majesty's guest for the first time since my accession, to appoint your Majesty Field-Marshal of my army. I drink to the health of his Majesty the King-Emperor." This almost informal manner of bestowing an honour greatly delighted the Emperor, and, in pleasing him, pleased his subjects. The King was hailed enthusiastically whenever he went out into the streets, and when his brief visit came to a close on September 3, yet another stone had been laid in the edifice



KING EDWARD AND PRESIDENT FALLIÈRES AT THE FRANCO-BRITISH EXHIBITION, MAY 26, 1908

From a photograph by the Topical Press

of peace by the Edwardian method. One of the most interesting *ententes* which the King succeeded in establishing, inasmuch as it included a Royal romance, was that with Spain. As a matter of policy, his Majesty's Ministers had thought well to "bring in Spain," to render secure the balance of power in Europe.

On June 5, 1905, the King of Spain visited England, and fortune favouring the plans of King Edward, the young King Alfonso met and won the heart of his Majesty's niece, Princess Victoria Eugenie Julia Ena, the second child of Princess Beatrice of Battenberg. The marriage took place in the following year on May 31, and the close relation of Spain and Great Britain thus begun was the more firmly established by the frequency of family intercourse between the two Kings. In April, 1907, his Majesty, during his Mediterranean trip, visited Cartagena, to see his niece and King Alfonso, and the latter subsequently made several excursions to England.

A Royal Romance

Though modern politicians are wont to declare that the age of dynastic influence has passed, King Edward clearly proved the reverse to be the case. The King, moreover, was extremely fortunate in his dynastic enterprises. On July 22, 1896, his youngest daughter, the Princess Maud, had married the second son of the then Crown

Dynastic Peace-Bonds

Prince of Denmark. It was not a marriage which, on the face of it, was likely to have much influence on the affairs of the world, but in 1905 the princess and her husband were suddenly raised to positions of great eminence. The dissolution of the dual kingdom of Norway and Sweden left the throne of Norway vacant. Through the influence of King Edward, the crown was offered to his son-in-law, and Princess Maud became Queen Maud of Norway and the consort of King Haakon VII.

Another dynastic tie which helped the cause of peace was the marriage of Princess Margaret of Connaught, the niece of King Edward, with the Crown Prince of Sweden, on June 15, 1905. The King's extensive family connections, indeed, proved most useful to the country. Besides the interest established in Norway and Sweden, Denmark was bound to this country by the relationship which existed between the Royal houses. When Queen Alexandra's father, the King of Denmark, died, on January 29, 1906, his throne was taken by her brother. And yet another brother-in-law of his Majesty wore a crown, in the person of King George of Greece.

Portugal was another of the smaller Powers to whose preservation King Edward lent his support. Dom Carlos was a personal friend of his Majesty's, and the King never ceased to do all that was possible to further his interests and the interests of his people. The assassination of his friend was a great blow to him, and he extended to his son and successor, the boy King, Dom Manuel—deposed from his throne and exiled from his country in 1910—an interest and affection almost paternal.

The value of the Edwardian method—the establishment of amicable relations by frequent State and informal intercourse with the different nationalities—was proved and the method justified by its complete and almost miraculous success. It is interesting to note the number of monarchs whom his Majesty visited or received in the pursuit of his policy during his nine years' reign.

1902.

November. Received the King of Portugal.

1903.

April. Visited the King of Portugal.

" Visited the King of Italy.

" Visited the Pope.

May. Visited President of French Republic.

June. Received the Khedive of Egypt.
August. Visited the Emperor of Austria.
November. Received the King of Italy.

1904.

March. Visited the King of Denmark.

June. Visited the German Emperor.

July. Received the German Squadron at Plymouth.

August. Met the Emperor of Austria.

1905.

April. Visited the President of the French Republic.

June. Received King Alfonso of Spain and Prince Arisuyawa of Japan.

July. Visit of British Fleet to Brest.

August. Received French Fleet in Solent.

November. Received the King of Greece.

1906.

April. Visited President Fallières.

June. Visited King George of Greece.

August. Met the Kaiser and Emperor of Austria at Marienbad.

November. Received the King of Norway.

1907.

April. Visited King Alfonso and the King of Italy.

May. Visited President Fallières.

August. Visited the Kaiser.

November. Received the Kaiser.

1908.

March. Visited President Fallières.

May. Received President Fallières.

June. Met the Tsar at Reval.

November. Received King of Sweden.

1909.

February. Visited the Kaiser.

April. Visited President Fallières.

June. Received the Russian Duma.

August. Received the Tsar.

November. Received the King of Portugal.



KING EDWARD MEETS THE TSAR OF RUSSIA ON A RUSSIAN BATTLESHIP AT REVAL, JUNE 12, 1908

Drawn by L. Sabattier

This is but a brief epitome of the work of King Edward in the cause of peace. It leaves altogether out of account the number of foreign politicians and diplomats with whom he made it his business to come into touch. The triumph of the "Edwardian method" is shown in the complete change which he effected in international affairs in Europe during nine years—a change which has maintained peace by securing the balance of power—and it was the qualities of tact, courage, and dignified resoluteness that he exercised in accomplishing this remarkable revolution which have justly earned for him the enduring name of Peacemaker.



CHAPTER LXXVI

COLONIAL PROGRESS UNDER KING EDWARD

Recounting the Story of the Development and Expansion of our Overseas Dominions in the Nine Years of His Majesty's Reign



FEW days before the accession of King Edward to the throne the Australian Commonwealth came into existence in virtue of separate Acts passed by the federating self-governing colonies and ratified by the Imperial Parliament. The Constitution of the Commonwealth had been hammered out with patience and singular ability in a series of conferences between the leading statesmen of all the Australian States, and at last, when the seal of the Sovereign of the Empire had been set upon it, for the first time in the history of man, as was said in a striking phrase, "one nation occupied a whole continent, the fifth great division of the land surface of the planet, while each constituent State in the union preserved its own individual local government and constitutional liberties."

On the first day of the twentieth century the Federal Government was inaugurated at Sydney, New South Wales, with imposing ceremonial, in Centennial Park. The most striking function was the taking the oath of office by the Earl of Hopetoun (afterwards Marquess of Linlithgow) as Governor-General, in a marble temple specially erected for the occasion. The floor consisted of a six-sided block of granite, to represent the six States of the Commonwealth; and no more appropriate monument of the historic event could have been chosen. Lord Hopetoun signed the inscribed oath with the pen with which Queen Victoria's assent to the Imperial Act had been affixed, and then his Excellency read the following message from the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "The Queen commands me to express through you to the people of Australia her Majesty's heartfelt interest in the inauguration of the Commonwealth, and her earnest wishes that under Divine providence it may ensure the increased prosperity and well-being of her loyal and beloved subjects in Australia."

The Imperial Government also paid a fitting tribute to the historical importance of the event by a dignified message in which they "welcomed the Commonwealth of Australia to her place among the nations united under her Majesty's sovereignty, confidently anticipated for the new Federation a future of ever-increasing prosperity and influence, and recognised in the long-desired consummation of the hopes of patriotic Australians a further step in the direction of the permanent unity of the British Empire." The personnel of the Federal Government had been previously determined upon, with Mr. Edward Barton, long Speaker of the Victorian Assembly, as Prime Minister, and the various States were represented in his Cabinet as fairly as possible, having regard to the inequalities of extent, wealth, and population of each. Of the seven members of the Government, all except one were natives of Australia, and five of them had been Prime Ministers of their respective colonies.

It was not till March 30, 1901, more than two months after King Edward came to the throne, that the election of the first Parliament of the Commonwealth took place, with

the result that Mr. Barton secured a majority in the House of Representatives on a policy of the adoption of a tariff which would operate protectively as well as for the production of revenue, and of preferential duties in favour of the Mother Country, and the prohibition of immigration, either under indenture or individually, of coloured Asiatics or Africans. The first meeting of the Commonwealth Parliament was fixed for May 7, 1901, and, in accordance with the unanimously expressed wishes of the people of Australia, it was arranged that H.R.H. the Duke of Cornwall, accompanied by his Duchess, should grace the occasion and perform the opening ceremony.

The promotion of his Royal Highness to the rank of rear-admiral in the previous January was a preparation for this project, but after the demise of Queen Victoria,



KING EDWARD AND THE ROYAL GRANDCHILDREN IN 1901
The children are the Princess Victoria of York, with her aunt, Princess Victoria; Prince Henry of York, seated on Queen Alexandra's lap; Prince Edward of York, standing with King Edward; and Prince Albert of York seated in front.

From a photograph by Ralph, Deringham

King Edward sanctioned the expansion of the Imperial tour to all the other self-governing colonies of the Empire as a signal inauguration of the new reign and a Royal recognition of the assistance which each of them had given to the Imperial Government during the South African War. Their Royal Highnesses, with a brilliant

**The Imperial
Colonial Tour**

suite, embarked at Portsmouth on the stately yacht *Ophir* on May 18, 1901. The *Ophir*, escorted by a squadron of warships, sailed to Ceylon via the Suez Canal, and arrived at Colombo on April 8, where their Royal Highnesses had a splendid reception. A detour was made to the Straits Settlements, and at Singapore, reached on April 21, they were welcomed by great crowds of British residents and natives. Thence the voyage was continued direct to Australia.

On May 7 the Commonwealth Parliament was opened amidst scenes singularly impressive and worthy of the birth of a free constitutional Assembly representative of a young and vital nation. The actual ceremony took place in the Exhibition Buildings, in the presence of 12,000 people. The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall were escorted by the Governor-General to a Royal dais erected under the great dome, behind which were seated the Governors of the six States constituting the Commonwealth. Facing it stood the newly elected Senators, and behind them the members of the House of Representatives. After the Royal Proclamation authorising the meeting of the Federal Parliament had been read, 12,000 voices, to the accompaniment of a massed band, were lifted up in the hymn, "All people that on earth do dwell." The Governor-General then read a prayer which had been composed for the occasion, and immediately afterwards his Royal Highness declared the first Parliament of the Commonwealth to be opened. At the same moment the Duchess of Cornwall touched an electric button for the simultaneous hoisting of the Union Jack at every public school in the State of Victoria. The ceremony was completed by the Duke delivering a message from King Edward to the people of Australia: "My thoughts are with you to-day on this important event. Most fervently do I wish the Commonwealth of Australia prosperity and great happiness."

The visit to Victoria lasted a fortnight, amid continuous festivities, and their Royal Highnesses then travelled overland by special train, receiving popular ovations at many stations en route, to Brisbane, the beautiful sub-tropical capital of Queensland, where, on May 20, they had a magnificent reception. Sydney, New South Wales, was reached on May 26, when there was a great naval demonstration,

in which the Imperial and Australian warships took part. Everywhere their Royal Highnesses were received as "living symbols of British unity," and "not a single blemish was upon the record of the visit; not one imprudent word was spoken." That the loyalty manifested during their sojourn in city, township, or the remote bush was not lip-service or a passing sentiment was manifested by the number of men which each State contributed to the Australian contingents who took a distinguished part at a critical period in the South African campaign.

After the first enthusiasm over Federation became exhausted, there was necessarily a reaction. Queensland resented the abolition of Kanaka labour for her sugar plantations; New South Wales discovered that the fiscal arrangements of the Commonwealth compelled her to contribute the largest share to the support of a financial system to which she had been opposed from her very foundation; South Australia believed that her internal rights of navigation of the great Murray River were being interfered with by the Federal attempt to withdraw water from that stream for the irrigation of the river and lands of her rival, Victoria; and similar complaints of the invasion of their rights were also made by Western Australia and Tasmania. The enfranchisement of women without a referendum to the whole electorate was in some quarters bitterly resented, and, as a matter of fact, it resulted at the last Federal election in 1910 in the Labour Party being returned to power with a majority both in the Senate and House of Representatives, the plurality of votes in almost every case being due to the women electors.

The remarkable feature in the political history of the Commonwealth during the first decade of its existence was the rise of the Labour Party in both Houses of the Legislature in numbers and in increasing influence and power. After Mr. Barton, later Sir Edward Barton, accepted a seat on the Supreme Court Bench, the headship of the Commonwealth Government was held alternately by Mr. Deakin and the leader of the Labour Party, with the exception of a very brief period when a Coalition Government was formed under Sir G. H.

**Rise of Labour
in Australia** Reid, now Agent-General for the Commonwealth in London. In 1906 Mr. Deakin, in order to secure himself in office, came to terms with the Labour Party, who agreed to support a high protective tariff—which was, generally speaking, a 20 per cent. duty on manufactured imports, with a preference of 15 per cent. to Great Britain—if a share of its advantages were conceded to the consumer and worker. The result was, under the dexterous manipulation of



THE ROYAL YACHT OPHIR. BEARING THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF CORNWALL ON THEIR HISTORIC TOUR OF THE COLONIES, ARRIVING AT COLOMBO IN APRIL, 1901



THE PROCLAMATION OF KING EDWARD VII. FROM THE OLD TOWN HALL AT CAPE TOWN ON JANUARY 26, 1901

From a photograph by Duffus Bros., Johannesburg

Sir William Lyne, Mr. Deakin's treasurer, the evolution of the "new protection" in the Excise Tariff Act. Under that Act local manufacturers protected by heavy duties upon British and foreign imports were compelled to sell their goods at a "fair price," and to pay their workmen a "fair rate of wages," or, alternatively, the local manufacturers were to pay to the Commonwealth

A Miner Government a high excise duty on their manufactured goods. When the Act came to be put into operation the manufacturers refused to be bound by its terms, and eventually the Commonwealth High Court decided by a majority that the Act was a violation of the Commonwealth Constitution. Mr. Deakin then introduced a Bill to amend the Constitution, but the details of his measure were obnoxious to the Labour Party, who, with the support of the Conservatives in the House of Representatives, carried a vote of want of confidence in the Deakin Government by an overwhelming majority. Lord Northcote, who was now Governor-General, sent for Mr. Andrew Fisher, an Ayrshire miner, who had held office in the Queensland Legislature before his election to the first Commonwealth Parliament, and was now head of the Labour Party. He formed an administration which carried some useful legislation, including a Federal Old Age Pensions Act, granting a pension of 8s. a week. In the beginning of 1909, in view of the approaching General Election, when the life of the Commonwealth Parliament automatically came to an end, Mr. Deakin effected a fusion of the Protectionists with the Conservatives, mainly Free Traders, "in order to oust the Labour Party from office."

When the Earl of Dudley, who had succeeded Lord Northcote as Governor-General, opened the Commonwealth Parliament on May 26, 1909, the usual speech outlined the Premier's programme, with the addition of the extension of the jurisdiction of Parliament with regard to trusts and combinations, and the nationalisation of monopolies. Next day the fusion party defeated the Ministry on a motion for adjournment by 39 to 30, and Mr. Fisher, being refused

a dissolution, resigned. Mr. Deakin became once more Prime Minister. The first act of the new Government was to telegraph the offer of a Dreadnought to the Imperial Government, an offer which was accepted, and on June 23 Mr. Deakin submitted his programme to Parliament, which differed little in essence from that of the Labour Ministry.

At the end of the year the Silver Coinage Bill, the High Commissioner's Bill, and the Naval Loan Bill became law. The latter provided for the raising of £3,500,000. With the loan were to be built four cruisers, six "river" gunboats, and three submarines. These vessels are to form the Australian unit, and in conjunction with similar Indian and Chinese units will constitute a minimum Eastern fleet of thirty-nine ships.

The military defence scheme was subject to the advice of Lord Kitchener, who, on retiring from the Indian command, was invited to Australia to report on its military defences. The field-marshal on arrival, early in 1909, met with a most enthusiastic reception in all the States he visited. More than once he expressed his admiration of the citizen forces of Australia in the exercise of their military duties, and of the help given by the Australian contingent at Suakin, and in the South African campaign. He knew of no country where young men showed such an aptitude for military training. In his report to the Commonwealth Government, Lord Kitchener recommended the establishment of an army with a peace strength of 80,000, which in war would be raised to 107,000. For organisation purposes the country

should be divided into 215 areas, and he advocated the establishment of a military college to provide a staff of permanent officers. The total cost of his scheme would amount to £1,884,000.

Lord Kitchener's Defence Scheme
The General Election for the Commonwealth Parliament took place on April 13, 1910. The final results gave the Labour Party a majority of thirteen in the Lower House and ten in the Senate. Mr. Deakin resigned office on April 18, and Mr. Fisher formed a Ministry on the 29th

of the same month. He declared that his policy was a fair field for all white labour in Australia, that he favoured borrowing for the construction of trans-continental railways, but not for defence, which should be paid for out of revenue, and the establishment of penny postage on May 1, 1911, both throughout Australia and with countries overseas. A Bill was immediately introduced for the "imposition, assessment, and collection of a land tax upon unimproved values."

Of State legislation it need only be said that a progressive land tax is now in operation in all the States of the Commonwealth except Western Australia; that, in 1908, Victoria passed an adult suffrage measure, giving to women a right to vote at State elections; that in Queensland an amendment to the Constitution was enacted providing for a referendum to the whole State electorate in cases of disputes between the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly.

As to the material condition of the continent, the drought which had afflicted the interior of New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland for seven years, broke up in December

rainfall, and a temperate climate. The State of New South Wales has agreed to cede to the Commonwealth 800 square miles of territory, the control of the waters and tributaries of the Queanbeyan and Molonglo rivers, two square miles of land at Jarvis Bay, a hundred and thirty miles distant, as a port, and the right to construct a railway thence to the new Federal capital.

The visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall to New Zealand was anticipated with intense interest, and elaborate preparations were made in that democratic but thoroughly imperialistic colony for their enthusiastic reception. The *Ophir* arrived from Sydney at Auckland, North Island, on June 11, and their Royal Highnesses were greeted with thrilling acclamations. The most stirring of all the demonstrations, loyal and festive, was that which was enacted at Rotorua on the 14th, when a large assembly of Maories performed the "Great Haka," or national war-dance. The progress of the Royal party southwards was one continued round of rejoicings. After a visit to Dunedin the *Ophir* sailed for Tasmania.



ON THE EMPIRE TOUR. THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF CORNWALL DRIVING THROUGH THE STREETS OF SINGAPORE

Drawn by C. Grenville Manton

1902. In Queensland alone the losses were reckoned at sixteen million sheep and three million cattle. Since the coming of the rains, however, there has been a rapid recovery of the pastoral industries, a repletion of the flocks and herds, and a remarkable access of prosperity, while dairying, fruit-growing, wine-making, and other primary industries have shown progressive advance. The abolition of inter-State tariffs has stimulated local manufactures, and there has been a genuine revival throughout the continent of gold, silver, lead, and zinc mining.

For several years the fixture of the locus of the Commonwealth capital was the subject of many disputes, both in the Commonwealth Parliament and in the State Legislatures of Victoria and New South Wales. Alternate sites were proposed and discredited, but eventually an Act was passed by the Commonwealth Parliament under the Deakin Ministry in 1909, and accepted by the New South Wales Government, fixing the seat of the Federal Government on an area of land entitled Yass Canberra, which has an elevation of 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, a good

In the years immediately following King Edward's accession New Zealand made consistent progress, the population steadily increased, agricultural and pastoral settlement expanded, and new manufacturing industries sprang up under the protective policy of the several Governments presided over by Mr. Seddon, though that was modified to some extent by preferential arrangements with Australia and the South African colonies. Parliamentary action was distinguished by the passage of an Anti-Trust Act, an Act for increasing the taxes on absentee owners, another for placing retired colonial

Death of Mr. Seddon troopers who had taken part in the South African campaign on the land, and another appointing a High Commissioner to represent the colony in London. In 1906 Mr. Seddon died during a return voyage from Australia, where he had conferred with the Commonwealth Premier, Mr. Deakin, on Imperial questions. He had contested five General Elections, and on each occasion was returned to power. His death was universally mourned; a message of sympathy was received from King Edward.

The great event of 1907 was the elevation of New Zealand to the rank of a Dominion. The official ceremonial took place at Wellington on September 26, when the Premier, Sir Joseph Ward, read the King's Proclamation constituting the colony a Dominion from the steps of Parliament House amid the greatest display of popular enthusiasm. At the General Election of 1908, Sir Joseph Ward came back to power with a large majority, which was employed in passing social legislation. It was, however, on the Imperial plane that New Zealand and its Premier swam into the ken of an admiring empire. The visit of the American Fleet to New Zealand during its memorable cruise round the world had created considerable interest in the new Dominion, and when early in 1909 the news was cabled from home that Continental Powers were challenging the age-long supremacy of Great

Britain on the seas, the Imperial sentiment in the stirred to its depths. Sir Joseph Ward gave magic interpretation to it in his historic message on March 22, 1909, to the Imperial Government: "New Zealand offers one battleship, and two, if necessary, as an addition to the guardian fleet of the homeland." This magnificently generous offer fired the imagination of all classes in Great Britain, and it was acknowledged with warmth and gratitude by King Edward, the House of Lords, the House of Commons and by the Imperial Government officially.

was finally secured by the Treaty of Vereeniging, which was signed on May 31, 1902, by Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner on behalf of the British Government, and by the leaders of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. On June 21 Lord Milner assumed office as Governor of the Transvaal, and a Legislative Council was appointed. Three days afterwards the Constitution of the Orange River Colony was similarly promulgated.

Considerable interest was excited in December, 1902, when, with the approval of King Edward, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. J. Chamberlain, proceeded to visit South Africa on the spot



Above is a portrait of Lord Hopetoun (Elbert & Fry), and below one of Sir Edward Barton, the first Federal Premier (E. H. Mills)

LORD HOPETOUN, THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ARRIVING AT MELBOURNE TO OPEN THE FIRST FEDERAL PARLIAMENT

Britain on the seas, the Imperial sentiment in the stirred to its depths. Sir Joseph Ward gave magic interpretation to it in his historic message on March 22, 1909, to the Imperial Government: "New Zealand offers one battleship, and two, if necessary, as an addition to the guardian fleet of the homeland." This magnificently generous offer fired the imagination of all classes in Great Britain, and it was acknowledged with warmth and gratitude by King Edward, the House of Lords, the House of Commons and by the Imperial Government officially.

The story of the South African War has been fully dealt with in other chapters of this work. When King Edward came to the throne, the war was, unhappily, not yet over; but a hopeful spirit was imparted to the inhabitants of Natal and Cape Colony by the brilliant visit in August, 1901, of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall. Peace

questions arising out of the resettlement of the country. Mr. Chamberlain sailed on H.M.S. Good Hope, the gift to the British Navy of the South African colonies, which was put at his disposal by express command of the King, Durban being reached on December 26. In a series of speeches made at Pietermaritzburg, Johannesburg, and elsewhere during his progress through the new colonies, Mr. Chamberlain explained the proposals for free grants and loans which the Imperial Government intended to carry out for the relief of the financial pressure caused by the war, for assistance in the resettlement of the people on the soil, and for the construction of railways and other public works.

In Cape Town he struck the keynote of federation. He went one step further, and expressed his desire to see South Africa reunited in one great Parliament of an Imperial race. Mr. Chamberlain sailed for home on February 25, 1903, "leaving behind him an ineffaceable

impression of having sown in the Dutch and Afrikaner minds the needful seeds of loyalty."

The question of labour for the gold-mines of the Rand became pressing in 1903. Negroes were introduced from British Central Africa. Lord Milner appointed a Labour Commission to consider the subject, which was also investigated by the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines; and eventually the Legislative Council of the Transvaal decided that, owing "to financial stringency and trade stagnation," legislation should be introduced for providing for the immigration of Chinese indentured labour under strict regulations. Lord Milner strongly supported this proposition, and obtained permission from the Imperial Government to introduce an Ordinance in the Transvaal Legislative Council authorising the introduction of Chinese indentured labour, but barring the labourers from any form of property ownership and from trading.

This policy was warmly opposed by the Boers, by the Australian Commonwealth Parliament, and by Mr. Seddon's Government in New Zealand. The Ordinance, however, became law in 1904, and by 1907 52,000 Chinese were engaged in the gold-mines of the Rand and confined in compounds. Strikes occurred amongst the coolies, there were outbreaks from the compounds, the escapees committed many crimes, and nearly 3,000 were convicted of rioting and other offences. The Boers demanded a cessation of Chinese immigration, and bitter discussions took place in the Imperial Parliament with regard to the corporal punishments and "impossible fines" inflicted upon the coolies. When the Liberal Government came into power in December, 1905, Lord Elgin, the new Colonial Minister, telegraphed on December 22 to Lord Selborne, who had replaced Lord Milner as High Commissioner in South Africa, to arrest Chinese immigration, pending the decision as to the grant of responsible government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony.

Shortly afterwards the Home Government determined to grant complete self-government to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, and a committee, of which Sir West Ridgeway was chairman, was sent out to South Africa to report on the whole matter. On December 6, 1906, Letters Patent granting the new Constitution to the Transvaal passed the Great Seal. In addition to providing in full detail for the establishment of responsible Parliamentary government under a Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly, the Inter-Colonial Council was continued, but to be formed of four persons nominated by the Governor and seven elected by the Legislative Assembly from among its members. As to Chinese labour, a clause provided that "after one year from the date of the first meeting of the Legislature the Labour Importation Ordinance of 1904, and all ordinances amending it, shall be repealed, and the system of labour established under them shall be determined."

The General Election under the new Constitution took place in February, 1907, and Lord Selborne, simultaneously with the choice by the electorate of members of the Legislative Assembly, nominated the members of the Legislative Council and summoned General Botha, whose followers were in the majority in the Lower Chamber, to form a Ministry. Although General Botha mildly protested against the nominations to the Upper House at a banquet given in honour of the new Cabinet, he said that British interests would be absolutely safe

in their hands; that the world would see that they were as zealous for the honour of the Flag as any Ministry could be; that they in the Transvaal were actuated by feelings of deep gratitude to King Edward and the British Government for having entrusted the Transvaal in a manner unequalled in history with the grant of a free Constitution. Mr. Botha attended the Imperial Conference, and returned with a loan from the Imperial Government of five millions.

Letters Patent were issued on June 5, 1907, establishing responsible government in the Orange River Colony. It followed substantially the lines of the Constitution granted the previous year to the Transvaal. In the elections which followed, the Dutch party, with Mr. Fischer as Premier, had an overwhelming majority.

A united South Africa had for many years been the dream of leading politicians of all shades of opinion. After the concession of responsible government to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, it became a common plank in the platform of all parties in all the colonies. An impetus was given to the movement by the publication in July, 1907, of a long and reasoned memorandum on the subject by Lord Selborne, High Commissioner. A Convention met on October 12, 1908, at Durban to consider the issues underlying the federation or unification of the South African colonies, when a message was read from King Edward expressing his Majesty's deep interest in the subject of the Convention, and his cordial good wishes for the success of the deliberations, which he was confident would be animated by the whole-hearted desire and the unswerving efforts of the delegates for the common good of South Africa. A unanimous vote was taken on the fundamental principle of union, and then the Convention adjourned, to meet at Cape Town.

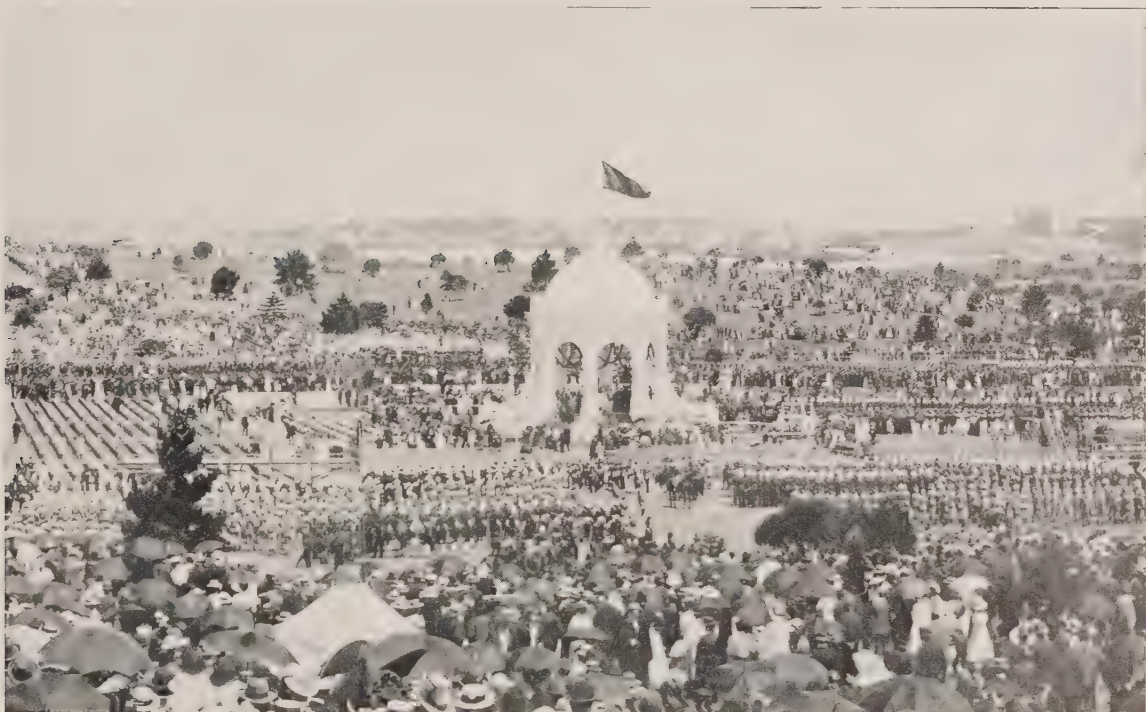
There, after prolonged deliberation, extending into the beginning of 1910, a draft Bill was prepared "for the union of those colonies which might assent thereto, and for the

eventual admission into the union as provinces or territories of such parts of South Africa as are not originally included therein." The

draft Bill embodying the Constitution was afterwards submitted to the Parliaments of the different colonies; it was adopted by the Cape House of Assembly, with only two dissentients, and unanimously in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony Legislatures. In Natal it was referred to the whole body of the electorate, with the result that 11,121 votes were cast for union, and 3,701 against. The Convention again met at Bloemfontein, and the Constitution was signed by all the delegates.



MELBOURNE EXHIBITION, WHERE THE FIRST FEDERAL PARLIAMENT MET, ON MAY 9, 1901. It was first intended to hold the ceremony in the Melbourne Parliament building, but owing to space and other reasons the Exhibition Buildings were finally selected. The landing of the Heir Apparent on the soil of federated Australia was the occasion of a memorable outburst of united welcome from the six colonies, all petty colonial jealousies being forgotten. Receptions at Parliament House and the opening of the first Federal Parliament followed.



BIRTH OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH: THE SWEARING-IN CEREMONY IN THE CENTENNIAL PARK, SYDNEY, JANUARY 1, 1901

This photograph, by King, Sydney, shows the natural amphitheatre in which the swearing-in pavilion stood. Standing beside what are now priceless memorials to the Australian people, the table and the inkstand used by Queen Victoria when she signed the Commonwealth Act, Lord Hopetoun, the first Governor-General of the Commonwealth, took the oath of allegiance to the Crown and the laws and usages of the Commonwealth.

The Constitution provides for a Governor-General, with a salary of £10,000 a year, who is to have the appointment and removal of all public officers of the Union, and in whom is vested the Command-in-Chief of the Union naval and military forces; and an Executive Council is to advise him, with officers, members of the Executive Council, to administer the Departments of State. The Parliament consists of (1) the King, whose assent to legislative measures is required; (2) a Senate, partly nominated and partly elected with a property qualification; (3) a House of Assembly consisting of members chosen directly by the voters of the four provinces, the number of members for each province being proportionate to the number of voters. The Cape natives now qualified to vote may continue to do so unless, and until, the native qualification in the province is struck out by a law passed by a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting together.

Money Bills are to originate only in the House of Assembly, and the Senate may not amend any Bills so far as they impose taxation or appropriate revenue or money for the service of the Government, and may not amend any Bill so as to increase any proposed charges or burdens on the people. All money Bills must be introduced by the Government of the day. Free Trade is to be maintained throughout the Union. The financial arrangements include the formation of a Railway and Harbour Fund, and a Consolidated Reserve Fund. A practical

The Constitution of the Union

Commission is appointed to control and manage the railways and ports. Both Dutch and English are official languages. Native affairs are administered by the Governor-General in Council. The seat of the Government is Pretoria, but Cape Town is fixed as the meeting-place of the Union Parliament.

The Bill embodying the Constitution was brought before the Imperial Parliament in the House of Lords on July 27, 1900, when the second reading was passed without a division

after many eloquent speeches by leading members of the Chamber, in which, however, a mild regret was expressed regarding the provisions against natives. In the House of Commons the only disapproving note sounded, on the second reading, again related to the native question, but no division was taken. In Committee, however, on August 19,

there was a serious debate on the "colour bar," and several amendments were moved, but only one was seriously pressed, that by Mr. Barnes, the Leader of the Labour Party, to eliminate the "colour bar" for senators for the Cape and Natal. Mr. Asquith urgently appealed to the House not to wreck "a great work of reconciliation." Mr. Balfour, Leader of the Opposition, endorsed this appeal, but the Labour and other members forced a division; the amendment was, however, rejected by 155 to 55.

The official announcement was made on December 22, 1900, that the Right Hon. Herbert J. Gladstone was to be appointed first Governor-General of United South Africa. Shortly afterwards he was raised to the peerage by King Edward under the title of Viscount Gladstone of Lanark. When he reached Cape Town in May, 1901, Viscount Gladstone invited General Botha to form a Ministry. The General Election for the House of Assembly followed shortly afterwards, the result of which was that the General secured a working majority.

Immediately after the grant of self-government, the Transvaal began to recover from the long-continued depression brought about by the war, aided by a yearly increasing output of gold and an abundant supply of native labour. Agriculture has had a series of prosperous seasons in the Cape, Natal, and Orange River Colony, and advances have been made in land settlement in all the States of the Union.

Since the close of the war rapid advance has been made with land settlement by the British South African

Company in Rhodesia. The administrative system under a Legislative Council has worked well during the past decade, and the vexed labour question has been composed, and the interests of the natives secured. Rapid progress has been made with the Cape to Cairo Railway, and it has now been extended 300 miles beyond the Zambesi, with branches to the Congo border and to the Katanga border. The question of the ownership of 75,000 square miles of country north of the Victoria Falls, and west of the

Progress in Rhodesia Upper Zambesi, has been referred to the arbitration of the King of Italy. The chiefs of Basutoland have been assured to their satisfaction that they are to continue under the Imperial control, and not of the Union Government.

The despatch of the second contingent of Canadian Volunteers to the South African War after the demise of Queen Victoria, it was felt, brought the Dominion of Canada nearer to taking a full share for the responsibility of the Empire. But it was a responsibility which had its correlative in an increased measure of self-government with regard to what had been hitherto considered Imperial interests. This may be traced in a brief review of the decade covered by the reign of King Edward. During that period there were only two Viceroys in the Dominion. First, the Earl of Minto, whose term of office had been extended beyond the usual period, from November, 1898, to October, 1904. The second Viceroy was Earl Grey, who on his arrival struck a sympathetic note in Canadian hearts which assured his popularity throughout his Viceroyalty. At Halifax, when sworn into office, he roused enthusiasm by a reference to the memory and spirit of the "United Empire Loyalists" who had bequeathed a character to Canada which could not fail to influence her for all time. And on May 4, 1910, two days before King Edward's death, when Lord Grey performed his last official act as Governor-General in formally proroguing the Dominion Parliament, he said "he felt convinced that if the people of Canada kept true to the highest ideals of duty and disinterested service, nothing could prevent them from becoming, perhaps before the close of the present century, not only the granary but the heart and soul and rudder of the Empire."

Apart from purely domestic affairs, and the establishment of a branch of the Imperial Mint at Ottawa, by far the most important event in the year 1901 was the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall to the Dominion, in the course of their memorable tour round the Britain beyond the seas. Their Royal Highnesses landed at Quebec on September 16, where they met with an enthusiastic welcome. The population of Montreal turned out *en masse* to welcome their Royal Highnesses on the 18th, and two days afterwards at Ottawa, the capital, the Duke and Duchess were conducted in brilliant procession through

the streets of the city to the Parliament House, where they were received by the Governor-General, Lord Minto.

In a specially constructed and luxuriously fitted train their Royal Highnesses made the journey to the West, and were enthusiastically greeted at Winnipeg, where the Duke of Cornwall opened a new university on September 26. The Royal party visited Calgary, where large bodies of Indians from the Western Reserve welcomed them with characteristic speeches, and cowboys gave illustrations of "bronco busting." Vancouver was reached on September 30, where his Royal Highness inspected the chief naval base on the Pacific coast.

The Royal party began their return journey on October 2, and halted at Banff, the mountain health resort amidst the magnificent scenery of the famous Selkirk range. They also made a detour to the great prairies of the North-West. Toronto was reached on October 10, where their Royal Highnesses were welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm, and next day were present at a review of 12,000 Canadian troops. After leaving Toronto the party visited Hamilton, London, and other towns in Western Ontario, spent a day at Niagara Falls, then passed on to Kingston, where the foundation-stone of the new university buildings was laid, and shorter visits were paid to Brockville and Sherbrooke. St. John, the principal city of New Brunswick, was attained on October 18, where they were most heartily welcomed; and at Halifax, Nova Scotia, where two or three days were spent, there was a naval and military demonstration, in which twelve men-of-war and 8,000 troops took part. On the 24th the Royal party were at St. John's, Newfoundland, where they were entertained at various interesting functions, and from which they sailed for home. But before leaving, the Duke of Cornwall addressed a letter to Earl Minto, reviewing the events of his interesting trip throughout the Dominion, and expressing his thanks for the magnificent reception he and the Duchess had met with at the hands of the Canadian people.

It may be well at this point to note the closing scenes of this historic tour. The Ophir arrived in the Solent on October 31. King Edward, Queen Alexandra, and the Royal children travelled to Portsmouth, and embarked on board the Royal Yacht Victoria and Albert, and steamed out on November 1 to meet the Ophir off Yarmouth, Isle of Wight. Seven days afterwards King Edward conferred the title of Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester on George, Duke of Cornwall and York.

The Prince and Princess of Wales visited the City of London on December 5, and were entertained with much splendour by the Corporation in the Guildhall, in celebration of their return from their colonial tour



MAORI WARRIORS OF NEW ZEALAND DANCING THE "HAKA" WAR-DANCE BEFORE THE DUKE OF CORNWALL AT ROTORUA

In the streets their Royal Highnesses were greeted with frantic enthusiasm. At this function the Marquess of Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, and the Colonial Secretary, Mr. J. Chamberlain, made happy speeches; but the oratorical hero of the occasion was the Prince of Wales. If he were asked to specify any particular impression derived from the journey, he would unhesitatingly place before any other that of loyalty to the Crown and attachment to the Mother Country, sentiments which he attributed to the life and example of Queen Victoria, and to the wise and just policy which, during the last half-century, had been continuously maintained towards the Colonies. He commended the movement for establishing the cadet corps in Australia and New Zealand, and noted an opinion widely prevailing among our brethren across the seas "that the Old Country must wake up if she intends to maintain her position of pre-eminence in colonial trade against foreign competition."

The year 1902 in Canada saw the beginning of a development of the views of the leading politicians of the Dominion with regard to national and Imperial defence. That year Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in the House of Commons, protested against allowing Canada to be drawn into the "vortex" or "curse" of militarism. By Acts passed by the Dominion Parliament in 1904, greater power was given to the Government in the administration of the Militia forces acting through a Militia Council. This arose out of the changes in the organisation of the War Office in England. These involved the withdrawal of the Imperial troops from Halifax in the autumn of 1905, and from Esquimaux in July, 1906, and their replacement by Canadian garrisons. A Dominion arsenal was established, and Halifax Dockyard was taken over by the Dominion on January 1, 1907, under an agreement to maintain the buildings subject to resumption by the British Government at any time.

At the Colonial Conference in London, in 1902, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of the Dominion, refused to pledge himself to propose any direct contribution from Canada to the Imperial Navy. The question remained quiescent until the beginning of 1909, when the adequate strength of the Imperial Navy for Empire defence was challenged in the Imperial Parliament. On March 29 of that year, after full debate, the Dominion House of Commons, on the initiative of the Premier, agreed to a resolution that the House, while "fully recognising the duty of the people of Canada to assume in larger measure the responsibilities of national defence, under present constitutional arrangements between the Mother Country and the Dominion, is of opinion that pay-

The Question of Canadian Defence ment of regular and periodical contributions to the Imperial Treasury for naval and military purposes would not be the most satisfactory solution of the question of defence in Canada. But the House cordially approves of any necessary expenditure designed to promote the speedy organisation of the Canadian naval service in co-operation with, and in close relation to, the Imperial Navy, suggested by the Admiralty at the last Imperial Conference, and is in full sympathy with

the view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security of commerce, the safety of the Empire, and the peace of the world."

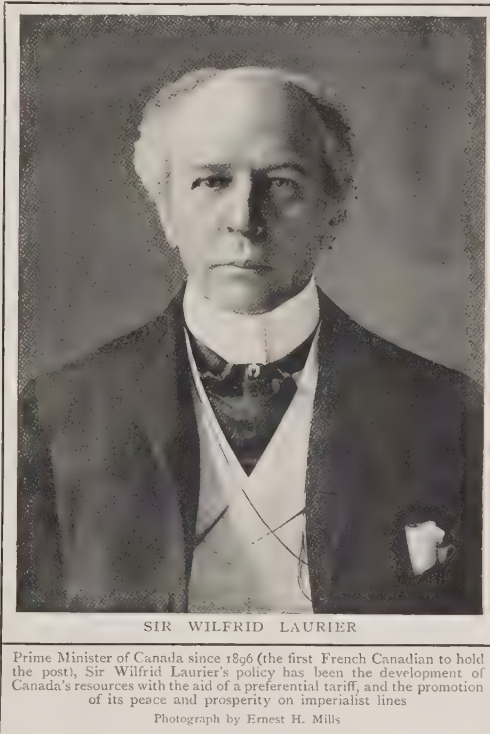
In a speech at Toronto on January 5, 1910, Sir W. Laurier said that "Canada would build her own navy in her own way," and a week afterwards he introduced a Naval Defence Bill in the Dominion House of Commons. The measure proposed to organise a naval service on the lines of the Militia Act, which would include a permanent force, a reserve force, and a volunteer force. By a provision in the Bill the Government, in case of emergency, might by an Order in Council place the fleet at the disposal of his Majesty for service with the Royal Navy. At present, four vessels of the Bristol class, one of the Boadicea class, and six destroyers were to be built.

The Opposition declared that the Government proposals were inadequate, and wanted a gift to be made to the Imperial Navy of two Dreadnoughts. On February 3 it was announced that the vessels were to be built in Canada, and tenders invited for the provision of shipbuilding plant. The Government proposals were finally accepted; the chief objection of the Opposition then was to the clause that the Canadian Navy should not go on active service without an order of the Governor-General in Council, their contention being that there should be one naval force of the Empire, and that it should be available in any emergency. On the other hand, Sir Wilfrid Laurier maintained that there were many wars in which Great Britain had been engaged in the past which were not of such a character that Canada could justly take part in them. The Bill passed the Senate without a division.

Railway extensions amounting to several thousand miles from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific, with branches into the prairie lands of the Great North-West, encouraged phenomenal immigration,

not only from Great Britain and the northern countries of Europe, but the United States. It was estimated that the influx from the latter of permanent settlers amounted in ten years to over 400,000 persons, who brought with them capital to the amount of eighty millions sterling. It was felt that there was a sufficient population fixed in homes and on highly developed farms to entitle them to the benefits of local government, and that new provinces should be carved out of the Great North-Western Territories, and attached politically to the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada. In 1905 the Dominion Parliament passed measures creating the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, with representative institutions, each to have one representative Chamber of twenty-five members, and a Lieutenant-Governor, who would have responsible Ministers. The new provinces were to have four representatives in the Dominion Senate and five in the House of Commons: but these were increased at a later date owing to the rapid growth of population.

There were imposing inaugural ceremonies at the entrance of the two provinces as large as kingdoms into full participation of the national life of the Dominion at Edmonton, Alberta, on September 1, 1905, and at Regina, Saskatchewan, on September 5. Earl Grey, Governor-General, and



SIR WILFRID LAURIER

Prime Minister of Canada since 1896 (the first French Canadian to hold the post), Sir Wilfrid Laurier's policy has been the development of Canada's resources with the aid of a preferential tariff, and the promotion of its peace and prosperity on imperialist lines

Photograph by Ernest H. Mills



THE DUKE OF CORNWALL RECEIVING THE INDIAN CHIEF BULL'S HEAD AT THE GREAT "POW-WOW," HELD ON THE PRAIRIE AT CALGARY, NEAR THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, SEPTEMBER 28, 1901
Drawn by W. J. Pagen

Sir W. Laurier took part in the demonstrations. The Governor-General, at the latter place, read a Royal message, dated Marienbad, September 4, from King Edward, as follows: "Accept my best thanks for your telegram. I am deeply gratified by the expression of loyalty on the part of the North-West Provinces. Pray convey to them my earnest hope that great prosperity may be in store for them.—EDWARD R.I." The reading of the message was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Lieutenant-Governors were duly appointed by the Dominion Government, together with Prime Ministers, who formed Cabinets; elections took place, and ordered provincial government has since been in full swing. Universities were founded at Edmonton and Regina in 1910.

Questions of preference and protection have bulked largely in the internal affairs of the Dominion during the past decade. Previous to the accession of King Edward, the Dominion Parliament, in framing their tariff, granted a preference to certain British imports. In 1903, when an increased preference was given to British goods in the new Canadian tariff, the German Government withdrew from the Dominion its rights to the most favoured nation clause in their tariff. The action of the German Government was resented as an attempt to interfere with reasonable inter-Imperial arrangements, and the Canadian Government retaliated by imposing a surtax on all German goods. The tariff war was, however, brought to a close on February 16, 1910, by an agreement under which, on and after March 1, Canada would suspend the surtax on German exports, and Germany would apply her conventional tariff to a large number of Canadian exports.

At the fifth Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, held in Montreal on August, 1903, a resolution was hotly discussed, although afterwards adopted: "That the bonds of the British Empire could be materially strengthened and the union of the various parts of his Majesty's dominions greatly consolidated by the adoption of a commercial treaty based upon the principle of mutual benefit, whereby each component part of the Empire would receive a substantial advantage in trade as the result of its national relationship, due consideration being given to the fiscal and industrial needs of the component parts of the Empire." A month afterwards took place a Convention of the Canadian Manufacturers' Associations, which carried unanimously a resolution for "the immediate and thorough revision of the tariff upon lines which will more effectually transfer to the workshops of our Dominion the manufacture of many of the goods which we now import from other countries; . . . that, while such

Preference to the Mother Country a tariff should primarily be framed for Canadian interests, it should nevertheless give a substantial preference to the Mother Country, and also to any part of the British Empire with which reciprocal trade can be arranged, recognising always that under any conditions the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian producers; . . . that we are strongly opposed to any reciprocity treaty with the United States affecting the manufacturing industries of Canada."

In 1906 the fiscal question gave rise to much discussion, and the Government appointed a Tariff Commission, composed of three Cabinet Ministers, to draw up a measure of tariff revision, which was introduced in the Budget in the late autumn. Its principal features were:

(1) The general protective character of all Canadian tariffs since 1879 was maintained; (2) British preference was retained, although in some details increased; (3) German surtax retained, but, as already described, abolished by later agreement; (4) the commercial treaty with France was respected; (5) there were established general, intermediate, and preferential scales of duties; (6) the Government retained power to check combines by reducing duties; (7) the anti-dumping clause of the old tariff was adhered to; (8) bounties on the production of iron and steel for home consumption were increased and extended till 1910. In the session of 1907 the tariff founded on this report was, after prolonged debate, agreed to in substance, though altered in details.

During the period under review a number of treaties involving questions of great importance between Great Britain, Canada, and foreign Governments were concluded. At the beginning of 1903, the long outstanding and irritating Alaska boundary dispute between Canada and the United

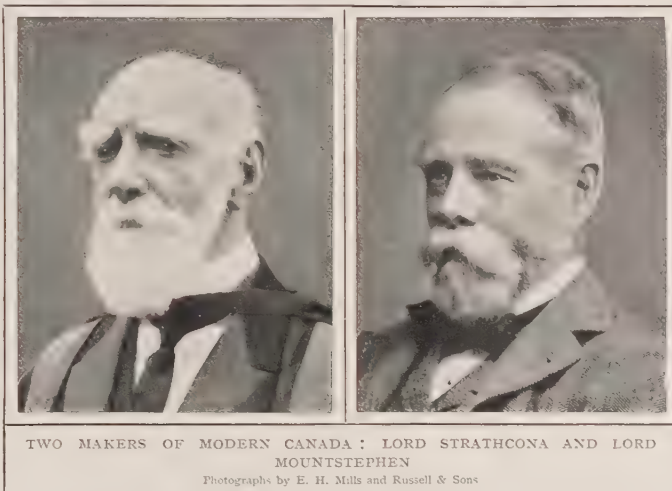
States was submitted to a commission of "six impartial jurists of repute," which met in London, in October of that year, and they decided to exclude the Canadians from all the ocean inlets as far south as the Portland Channel, thus cutting them off from the water approaches to the Yukon and other gold-fields; and, in the case of the Portland Channel, to assign the two outer and smaller islands—Kannagunut and Sitklan—to the United States, but the two inner and much larger islands—Pearse and Wales—to Canada.

Opinion in the Do-

minion was that the decision was in the main unfavourable to Canada.

The commercial relations between Canada and France were governed by a treaty negotiated in 1893 until September, 1907, when a new treaty for ten years was entered into, with the old treaty as a basis, but enlarging the number of items affected: applying the intermediate tariff of Canada to certain lines of French trade, and involving reciprocal reduction of duties. In 1907 riots occurred in Vancouver against the undue influx of Japanese labourers into British Columbia, and demands were made for restrictive measures. In 1908, after a visit of the Canadian Postmaster-General to Japan, Viscount Hayashi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, agreed that the Japanese Government would supervise the further emigration of Japanese to Canada so as to prevent disquiet among the populace of the Canadian coasts, reserving the right of Japanese subjects to a full liberty to enter, travel, and reside in any part of the Dominion of Canada.

It only needs to be added that the material development of the Dominion of Canada in its agricultural and primary industries has proceeded during the past ten years with leaps and bounds; that vast amounts of capital have been invested in the production of iron, nickel, gold, silver, coal,



and in the development of electrical energy from Niagara Falls and other sources of water-power in the Dominion.

The year 1904 saw the close of the long dispute with regard to the French shore between the Imperial Government, acting on behalf of the colony of Newfoundland, and the French Government. This was brought about by the signing and ratification by both Powers of the Anglo-French Agreement. The French rights of landing and drying fish on the treaty shore, guaranteed by the Treaty of Utrecht, were finally abandoned. The French were conceded equal rights with British subjects of fishing on the coast generally, and to take bait.

Sir William Macgregor, Governor of Newfoundland, immediately after the ratification of the agreement by the French Legislature on December 8, 1904, telegraphed to the Colonial Secretary, "that his Ministers desired to convey through him to the King the expression of their respectful, humble acknowledgment of the great boon conferred on the people of Newfoundland by the Anglo-French Convention, which, they appreciated, his Majesty was mainly instrumental in initiating."

After the Colonial Conference in London in 1902, Sir R. Bond, Premier of Newfoundland, went to Washington and negotiated a reciprocity treaty in connection with the century-old disputes regarding fishery rights between the colony, Canada, and the United States Government. The American Senate, however, refused to ratify the treaty. An Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty for a reference of these disputes to the Hague Tribunal was negotiated by Mr. Bryce, British Ambassador, and Mr. Root, Secretary of State of the United States, on June 4, 1908, and the terms of the reference to the tribunal were embodied in an agreement on January 27, 1909.

The net result of the findings of the tribunal was regarded as exceedingly satisfactory to Great Britain. The tribunal was of opinion that American inhabitants were entitled to fish in the bays, creeks, and harbours of the treaty coasts of Newfoundland, and the Magdalen Islands. This was the only question won outright by the United States.

In regard to purely domestic affairs, it need only be stated that many hundreds of the hardy fishermen of Newfoundland have volunteered as reservists in the Royal Navy, and have been trained for six months in the ships of the North American and West Indian squadron; that there has been a large development of the iron, copper, and mineral oil industries, and that by agreement between the Government and the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company large pulp and paper mills have been established since 1906, which have assured the future of the forest industry of the colonies.

Of the West Indian possessions it may be said that, from the accession of King Edward till his demise in

1910, there was a gradual and, on the whole, satisfactory revival of prosperity induced by the development of the fruit trade between the islands and Great Britain, the United States, and Canada, with the aid of subsidised steamers, while the cultivation of sugar and cotton was extended with profit. There was a temporary arrest in 1902 by earthquakes and volcanic eruptions in the Island of St. Vincent, by which 2,000 lives were lost, 5,000 rendered destitute, and the best sugar estates destroyed. A London Mansion House Relief Fund of £50,000 was raised for the relief of British sufferers. In 1903 a cyclone in Jamaica caused destruction and losses to the extent of £2,500,000 sterling; and in January, 1907, an earthquake occurred in the same island by which part of the town of Kingston was destroyed. The loss amounted to over two millions sterling, and the Imperial Parliament made a free grant of £150,000, and a loan of £800,000 to enable the colony to tide over its difficulties.

The tercentenary of the English occupation of the island of Barbadoes was celebrated on November 30, 1905, by services in the cathedral, processions, and official entertainments. An address was forwarded to King Edward recounting the historic incidents in the island story, and referring with pride to the loyalty of the population for three centuries. There was some grumbling later at the withdrawal of Imperial troops from the West Indies and the disestablishment of the dockyard at Port Royal, mainly because of the discontinuance of Imperial expenditure in these localities thereby involved.

The interest of King Edward in his colonies remained deep and keen to the very last, and there is a significant pathos in the following record of his Majesty's engagements at Buckingham Palace on May 5, 1910, the very day before his death: "The King has been pleased to cause Letters Patent, dated 20th December, 1900, to be passed under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, constituting the office of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Union of South Africa. His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the Right Hon. Viscount Gladstone, P.C., to be the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Union of South Africa."

The King received in audience Lord Islington, who kissed hands upon his appointment as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Dominion of New Zealand. "The King received Mr. T. B. Robinson, Agent General for Queensland," who had just been presented to his Majesty a souvenir in the form of an Assai and pearl shell of Queensland workmanship in celebration of Queensland's Jubilee Year. His Majesty, in accepting the gift, expressed his great interest in, and was greatly pleased and conveyed his thanks to the Queensland Government.



A VIEW OF KINGSTON, THE CAPITAL OF JAMAICA, SHOWING PART OF THE BEE HIVE HOTEL.



CHAPTER LXXVII

INDIA UNDER THE FIRST KING-EMPEROR

Surveying the Progress of the Eastern Empire during the Vice
royalties of Lord Curzon and Lord Minto, from 1901 to 1910

On the accession of King Edward VII., Indian administration was in the hands of that most active of Viceroy, Lord Curzon of Kedleston; and Afghanistan, which cannot be dissociated from India, was still under the powerful sway of Abdur Rahman. The Amir, however, did not long survive. His death, in September, 1901, caused considerable anxiety in India itself, for the succession to eastern thrones is not very often undisputed, and Afghanistan for a century past had been no exception to the rule. Abdur Rahman was the only Amir who had retained the sceptre in his grip from the day of his accession to the day of his death. His heir, Habibullah, still a young man, was reputed to be of a mild disposition and friendly to the British. Abdur Rahman himself had been very far from mild; and his friendliness to the British was carried precisely to that point which he thought necessary to preserve him, on the one hand, from open hostilities with them, and, on the other, from the grip of Russia. His temper and attitude had been thoroughly appreciated by his turbulent subjects; but it was not so certain that Habibullah's temper and attitude would make his authority equally secure. Fortunately, however, no other of the Amir's family, either on his own account or as the puppet of others, came forward to dispute the position of the new ruler. The Amir's authority has never been seriously challenged by his own people, nor has he ever shown disloyalty in his relations with the Indian Government.

Those tribes on the northern frontier, Waziris and others, who lay outside the British border without being under effective control from Kabul, had forced the British Government into extremely costly campaigns during Lord Elgin's viceroyalty, apparently with little enough result. Even in 1901 and

1902, the Mahsud Waziris were sufficiently irrepressible to compel British troops to enter their territory and blockade them—that is, cut them off from commercial intercourse until they became tired of the game and paid the fines imposed. But nothing took place during the reign which could be dignified with the name of a war.

An important administrative measure which took place in 1901 was connected with this frontier region. Hitherto all Trans-Indus territories acquired by the British Government had been added to the great Punjab province, under the control nominally of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Down to the time of Lord Lytton this frontier region had been interfered with as little as possible; but from that period policy was directed by the view that for defensive purposes it was necessary to maintain control of the passes; in contradistinction to John Lawrence's view that the Indus was our real military frontier. As a consequence of the change the supreme Government had intervened much more actively in the management of the Trans-Indus, occasionally

finding itself at cross purposes with the Punjab. Lord Curzon now made up his mind that the Trans-Indus should be formed into a special province entirely distinct from the Punjab, with an administration specially adapted to its peculiar conditions. It was, in fact, clear that some change was required in the management of the district; but those who disliked Lord Curzon's measure held that the best remedy would have been to make the control of the Punjab Government a reality; the defects in the past being, in their view, the results of the indefinite dual control. But however the *amour propre* of the Punjab Government may have been affected by the change, the change itself worked satisfactorily enough.

The great famine which Lord Curzon had found himself compelled to face at the outset of his administration was followed by a bad season,



LORD MORLEY, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
Lord Morley was appointed Secretary of State in 1905 and raised to the peerage in 1908
From a photograph by Reginald Haines

both in 1901 and in 1902. It was not till the spring of 1903 that measures for the relief of famine could be entirely discontinued. This recurring source of misery, mainly affecting the rural population, was matched by that other terrible scourge of the plague. This had broken out with virulence in 1897, and it persisted with virulence for more than a decade. In several years during this period the mortality exceeded one million, reaching its highest point in 1907 after a year which had given hopes that it had run its course. The unreasoning antagonism to Government intervention and to the application of compulsory precautions among the lower-class natives was so bitter and so readily turned to account by sedition-mongers that the Government soon felt it best to abstain as far as possible from compulsion, while exerting itself to encourage the adoption of remedial measures. There is unfortunately a limit to the extent to which the natives of India can be compelled or induced to protect themselves against themselves.

It is unnecessary here to dwell on demonstrations of loyalty in India in connection with the coronation in England of the King-Emperor. Of the great Durbar held at Delhi by the Viceroy on January 1, 1903, a full account has already been given in a previous chapter. Otherwise the most prominent events of this year were connected with Tibet, the hidden land of mystery beyond the mountains on the north.

Tibet is, in theory, a province of China; in practice the Chinese Lieutenant-Governor, or Amban, is merely the dignified representative of an authority which is not exercised. British policy habitually seeks to extend trade relations, and it had sought to do so in Tibet in spite of the desire of the Tibetans to keep themselves to themselves, or, as was shrewdly suspected, to the Russians. A treaty had been made with the Amban in 1890; but the Tibetans showed no disposition to act up to the engagements then entered upon. Effective authority in Tibet lay with its religious head, the Dalai Lama. When the Indian Government entered protests, China declared her inability to compel Tibet to obedience; while the Tibetans averred that it was China which stood

in the way. China being the official suzerain, she was at last invited to send Chinese and Tibetan Commissioners to meet British Commissioners at a point within the Tibetan frontier for the settlement of outstanding questions. The British Commissioners, with an escort of two hundred men arrived at the appointed spot in July, 1903; but the months passed while neither Chinese nor Tibetans appeared.

Finally, authority was given from London, Mr. Brodrick having now taken Lord George Hamilton's place at the India Office, for the mission to proceed further into Tibet; while the instructions forbade the employment

of force except in the case of attack or of communications being threatened. The advance towards Gyantse, the point named in the despatches from home, began on March 31, 1904; but armed opposition was immediately offered. Although inefficient enough, the Tibetan attacks were so persistent, even after Gyantse had been reached, that a warning was sent to Lhasa, the Tibetan capital, that an advance in force would be made unless envoys arrived by June 25. The ultimatum was ignored; and when the time-limit had been passed the mission, now transformed into a column of three thousand men, proceeded towards Lhasa.

Lhasa was reached on August 3. The Lama himself fled, but left behind him a regent with full powers. A satisfactory treaty was thereupon signed, which included an undertaking on the part of Tibet to make no concessions to and receive no agents from any other foreign Power without consent of the British—

this being in fact, the essential end in view.

The activities of Lord Curzon, like those of his predecessor by half a century, Lord Dalhousie, were extended to every department of state. Like that masterful Viceroy, he did not always secure sympathy from the most competent observers for his methods, even when his aims were approved. Some tabulis a detailed examination of the various reforms for which he was responsible.

A measure, however, which excited the greatest amount of controversy was Lord Curzon's partition of the Province



THE JAIN TEMPLE, CALCUTTA

A magnificent specimen of Indian architecture visited by the Prince and Princess of Wales.



A GREAT NATIVE GATHERING AT DACCA OFFERING THANKSGIVING FOR THE PARTITION OF BENGAL.



PRINCE OF WALES, WITH LORD KITCHENER, THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, REVIEWING THE INDIAN ARMY AT RAWAL PINDI, DECEMBER 8, 1905
Drawn by S. B. Sagg after a sketch by Melton Prior

of Bengal. Bengal was an immense province with an immense population, forming a single administrative area. The mere size of the province was such that, for a long time past, the lieutenant-governors had found it all but impossible to get through a day's work in a day. Lord Curzon, therefore, resolved to make a separate lieutenant-governorship of Eastern Bengal with Assam, the latter having hitherto ranked as a commissionership. The advantages of the change were sufficiently obvious,

The Partition of Bengal

but it is by no means easy to understand the violent antagonism displayed towards the measure by a considerable section of the natives of Bengal. The partition became an accomplished fact in September, 1905. The full extent of its disturbing effect was not, perhaps, felt till Lord Curzon had been replaced by his successor in the Viceroyalty. In the ordinary life of the ordinary people of the two provinces the partition made no difference whatever. Nevertheless, an exceedingly active Hindu agitation was immediately raised. The apparent motive was the fear of that section of Bengalis who seek a livelihood as servants of the Government that their chances of obtaining appointments were in danger of being diminished.

At any rate, it was from this class of more or less educated Hindus that the whole agitation emanated, the Mohammedans displaying no sympathy with it. But, whatever the motive at work might be, the partition of Bengal was utilised as an excuse for general attacks directed against the administration and the ruling race at large. One of the forms taken by the agitation was that of boycotting European goods, apparently by way of impressing the British working-man with the iniquities of the Indian Government. In England, so far as any attention was paid to the matter at all, the prevailing sense was that of being puzzled to understand why the partition was objected to, coupled with a vague feeling that there must have been something injudicious about the way in which it was done to explain the amount of excitement that was being created.

Trouble also reached an acute stage at headquarters during 1905 over another very important question of administration; not, however, this time one which directly

affected the Indian population. Lord Kitchener was Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, and in that capacity carried out to the general approbation extensive schemes of reorganisation. Now, there had been for a very long time considerable dissatisfaction on the part of successive commanders-in-chief as to their relations with the Indian Government. The administration of India is, broadly speaking, in the hands of the Viceroy in Council. Of this Executive Council the Commander-in-Chief is an extraordinary member; but there is an ordinary military member of Council. The point of view of the Commander-in-Chief was that he ought to be definitely recognised as the adviser of the Indian Government on purely military questions, and that the military member of Council ought to be consulted only on those questions necessarily associated with the military department which were not purely military in character. On the other hand, it had been the habit of the Governors-General to look upon the military member, rather than the Commander-in-Chief, as the adviser of the Government on every sort of military question.

This state of things had been the cause of friction in the past, and this friction had become particularly acute since Lord Kitchener's appointment. It appeared to be Lord Curzon's view that if Lord Kitchener's demands were acceded to, the Commander-in-Chief would virtually become military dictator in all matters wherein the Army was in any way concerned. The contention on the other side was that there was no question whatever of the Viceroy's supremacy, but that the question was whether the Commander-in-Chief or the military member of Council was

to be in effect the real military adviser of the Government. After full inquiry by a committee, the Secretary of State for

Friction with the Commander-in-Chief

India announced in the House of Commons that a solution satisfactory both to the Commander-in-Chief and to the Viceroy had been arrived at (June, 1905). The present military member of Council was to be replaced by a military supply member, who was not to be entitled to be consulted on purely military questions, though the Viceroy would be at liberty to consult him if he thought fit to do so.

The Home Government, however, did not contemplate the appointment to this position of an officer whose experience was especially of a purely military character, since there would always be a tendency to revert to the old system if such an appointment were made, and to treat him, as before, as the real military adviser of the Government rather than the Commander-in-Chief. Since a new departure was obviously intended, it was necessary that the present military member should retire from his post as soon as his withdrawal could be satisfactorily arranged for. The Viceroy was to recommend another officer to take his place.

But the officer now nominated by Lord Curzon was precisely of the type calculated to bring about what would, in effect, be a continuation of the old system, being one who was actually at the time holding a high military command and had enjoyed an extensive experience in the military department. The Secretary of State, therefore, would not accept Lord Curzon's nominee. Lord Curzon announced that if the refusal was persisted in he must resign, as the question of the Viceroy's constitutional position was at stake. His resignation was thereupon accepted. The successor appointed was Lord Minto, who arrived in India towards the close of November, fresh from holding the corresponding post in Canada.

Before the departure of Lord Curzon and the arrival of Lord Minto, their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales landed at Bombay on their memorable visit to the great Dependency of which they were one day to become the Sovereigns.

The visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to India was the last stage of the grand tour of the Empire which had begun with the voyage of the *Ophir*. In respect of pageantry, it was the most brilliant stage as well as the last; for all the gorgeousness of the gorgeous East achieves its supreme revelation in the Indian Peninsula. India differs from all other parts of the British Empire, inasmuch as two-thirds of it is under the personal rule of princes, though they are the vassals of the King-Emperor, who maintains the general peace, and demands of them a certain standard of good government within their own dominions. Nevertheless, they have, individually, more of the power and pomp of royalty than is often possessed by monarchs of the West.

The Prince of Wales at Bombay

The Royal party arrived on the King's birthday at Bombay, where they were welcomed by Lord Curzon, who was still Viceroy, and by the Governor of the Presidency. The great reception was attended by the princes and nobles of the western region in all the splendour befitting the occasion. During the stay at Bombay the functions included the opening of the Bombay Museum,

and the laying of the foundation stone of the new docks; the last particularly appropriate for the Sailor Prince. And yet, perhaps, a stronger appeal to the imagination is made by that special function at which the Princess was welcomed by the ladies of the East, who thus found a unique opportunity for displaying their loyalty; a course from which they are ordinarily debarred by the Oriental custom of seclusion.

From Bombay, one of the three primary centres of British dominion, the party proceeded on a series of visits to the leading princes. First came Indur, where the Maharaja Holkar rules over one of the three great Mahratta States. Here there was held a particularly magnificent Durbar, at which the princes and nobles of Central India were gathered. The Holkar dynasty is comparatively

Visits to Native Princes

young; the Mahratta princes established their chieftainship only about the time when French and British were fighting for the ascendancy. After Indur came Udaipur in Rajputana, so remote that it was still inaccessible on the occasion of the last Royal visit thirty years earlier. Ruled by a maharaja whose pure Rajput descent is traced back indisputably till it is lost in the dim mists of the legendary period, Udaipur typifies the romance of Rajput history, as Jaipur, which was visited next, typifies the most refined adaptation of Western enlightenment to Oriental tradition. The third of the Rajput princes who received the Royal visitors was the Maharaja of Bikanir. It may be remarked in passing that the Prince had an opportunity of displaying his pre-eminence as a sportsman by the slaying of a tiger at Jaipur, and the bagging of many grouse at Bikanir.

From Rajputana the party passed again into territories under direct British dominion, traversed the Punjab, and not only advanced to the frontier fortress of Peshawar, but even visited Lundi Kotah, where homage was rendered by the headmen of the Afridi tribes, who can seldom for any



READING THE KING-EMPEROR'S PROCLAMATION AT JODHPUR, 1908

The photograph shows Lord Minto, Viceroy of India, with the Maharaja of Jodhpur, about to read the King-Emperor's address on the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of British rule in India

great length of time abstain from fighting each other, except when they are occupied in combining to defy the British Government. A great review was held at Rawal Pindi, and a visit was paid to the Maharaja of Cashmere in his southern province of Jammu. Then passing through Amritsar, the sacred city of the Sikhs, and, as a matter of course, giving due attention to the wonders of the Mogul cities of Delhi and Agra, the Royal party were received by the most remarkable of living Indian princes, the Maharaja Sindhia at Gwalior, where the juvenile Court was introduced to the delights of a Christmas-tree. After viewing the historic scenes of Lucknow, where the Princess laid a wreath on Havelock's grave, Calcutta was reached just before the New Year. After ten days crowded with magnificent functions, among which was the notable "Purdah"



PICTURESQUE AND WONDERFUL LHASA, THE LAST OF THE WORLD'S MYSTERIOUS CITIES UNVEILED

From a panoramic photograph taken by a member of the Tibetan Expedition which forced its way to the capital of Tibet in 1904, after the repeated failure of the Tibetans to send envoys to meet the British Commissioners at Gyantse, where questions connected with treaties unfulfilled by the Tibetan authorities might be settled

party held by the Princess for the reception of native ladies, their Royal Highnesses took ship for Burma, where they visited Rangoon and Mandalay, returning to Madras near the end of the month. Visits were paid to the ruler of Mysore, and to the Nizam of Haiderabad, the premier prince of India and the acknowledged head of the Indian Mohammedans. Here, unfortunately, the full programme was necessarily curtailed by the death of the Nizam's daughter. The visit to Haiderabad may be regarded as terminating the official programme. After it the Prince and Princess remained in India for another month; but their time was not given up to official visits and functions. Before their final departure, however, a visit was paid to our furthest outpost on the western frontier at Quetta. On March 19 the Royal party started on the home voyage from Karachi, after a tour abounding in pleasant and loyal memories.

The arrival of Lord Minto in India, and his effective assumption of the viceregal functions, were, as we have already remarked, practically coincident with a change of administration in England. With the accession of the Liberals to power the post of Secretary of State for India was entrusted to Mr. John Morley.

The problem of the Indian Government is one which it is by no means easy to realise in England. It is government by an alien power, which would collapse like a house of cards if it had not at its control physical force sufficient to crush resistance. It is secure from insurrection only so long as the force at its disposal is recognised as irresistible.

The Problem of Indian Government Any appearance of fear or weakness is a direct encouragement to sedition; the strength of authority requires to be kept perpetually in evidence. On the other hand, we have the conviction that freedom of judgment and freedom of criticism among the governed are not a source of weakness to the Government; thus there are always to be found in England advocates of the two extreme views, which

respectively prescribe firmness and liberty as the panacea for unrest. Unrest, however, can be kept under neither by firmness without liberty nor by liberty without firmness.

Now, there is in England always an advanced section of opinion which sees no distinction between India and Europe, and can see no reason for drawing political distinctions between the Oriental and the Western. It does not, in fact, in the least follow that the man who believes sincerely in democracy in Europe will also believe in the application of democracy to the government of India.

Mr. Morley himself was known as a philosophical exponent of democratic principles in his treatment notably of history and of practical politics; and it was immediately assumed that administrative vigour would be relaxed, and that democratic sentimentality would dominate the India Office. In other words, Indian officialdom was disposed to look askance at the new Government, while the native agitator was encouraged to expect from it a sympathetic relaxation in Press laws and sedition laws.

As a matter of fact, however, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy always worked together with a harmony somewhat remarkable in men who belonged to opposite political camps, and were associated with opposite political schools. It was not, indeed, very long before the *a priori* distrust of Mr. Morley was dissipated; that is, it was realised that he had no intention whatever of giving more force to abstract theories than to concrete facts. Yet it was unfortunate that at an early stage of its career the new Government of India found itself in disagreement with the new Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal, in circumstances which led the latter to resign, since the incident was distorted into an indication of subserviency to popular clamour. The nervous feeling, however, was somewhat allayed by the unqualified refusal of the Indian Secretary to reopen the question of the partition of Bengal.

The most serious feature of the situation was that the agitation, ostensibly directed in the first instance against the partition of Bengal, was rapidly developing, mainly in Bengal and the Punjab, into an agitation against British administration and British supremacy. In England the

The Growth of Unrest

agitator who advocates anarchy is usually best ignored, the masses having an instinct in favour of order which makes them deaf to such appeals except in rare moments of unusual excitement. But with such a population as that of India it is impossible to treat incitements to sedition with a placid disregard; more particularly when those incitements are directed especially to the soldiery of the native regiments. The administration needs to be possessed of powers the exercise of which in England would be tyrannical, because unnecessary to the accomplishment of the end in view.

Accordingly, in May, 1907, the Government of India found it necessary to exercise its legal power, and to prohibit in certain districts any public political meetings of which due notice had not been given to the authorities. Sundry newspaper prosecutions took place, and severe penalties were inflicted for the publication of inflammatory articles; and, also in strict accordance with law, two fanatical agitators, whose presence in the Punjab was regarded as a public danger, were temporarily deported to Burma on the warrant of the Governor-General in Council. Loud outcries were raised against this interference with the liberty of the Press and the right of public meeting, and the iniquity of arrest and deportation without a specific charge and an open trial. Nevertheless, the Home Government gave its full and unqualified support to the Government of India on the very simple grounds that the conditions in India, historical and actual, present no analogy to the conditions in England—or, indeed, in any European country—which warranted our forefathers in insisting on these liberties for themselves; and, further, that every Government requires to exercise exceptional powers in face of an emergency.

Agitation and unrest were, however, on the increase. When the "Indian National Congress" met in December, the antagonism between moderates and extremists was so fierce that the assembly broke up permanently over the initial question of electing a chairman. Then came a series of local riots, attempted outrages, and discoveries pointing conclusively to the existence of an anarchist conspiracy, while the native Press was publishing numerous articles manifestly provocative of sedition and violence.

The result was that the year 1908 witnessed a series of Press prosecutions, in which exemplary sentences were passed. There was special excitement over the heavy sentence imposed on one editor, Mr. Tilak; and when this was modified by the Bombay Government, under whose jurisdiction the matter fell, it was hastily, but quite erroneously, assumed that the Secretary of State had intervened. Whether the Bombay Government acted with culpable weakness or judicious leniency, the Home Government had nothing to say to the matter.

Outrages, however, continued, and the attempts at assassination brought about at the close of the year a further stringent amendment of the Criminal Law, giving exceptional powers for a comparatively summary procedure in disturbed districts with regard to sedition, murder, and outrage. As before, the Indian Government had the full and uncompromising support of Lord Morley, who had now been raised to the peerage, in its action. At the same time Lord Minto and Lord Morley were united in desiring to introduce a measure to some extent enlarging the share taken by natives in the Government of British India.

The repressive measures in one direction were to be accompanied by concessions in another. The Indian Councils Act of 1909 provided for the first time that one of the six members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be a native of India; that the legislative councils of the presidencies should be enlarged, and that the number of elected members upon them should be greater than the number of appointed members. This principle, however, was not to apply to the Legislative Council of the Governor-General.

The measure was received on the whole favourably, though not without considerable apprehension by the British community in India; while it had an undoubtedly conciliatory effect on the moderates among the native agitators for reform and political enfranchisement. It was, in short, a concession which, if withheld much longer, would have provided the native agitator with an almost unanswerable excuse for his opposition to the Government. How far the diminution of the manifestation of unrest during 1909 and 1910 is to be attributed to the repressive measures, and how far it is to be accounted for by the measure of conciliation, no one can decide; but it can safely be said that the appearance of acute crisis which marked the year 1908 had undoubtedly become less serious by the spring of 1910.



THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF INDIA IN 1909 WITH THE VICEROY, LORD MINTO
Lord Minto occupies the centre seat. Lord Kitchener standing behind. The native members are Rash Behari Ghosh, C.I.E., and Munshi Madho Lal, C.S.I.



CHAPTER LXXVIII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS FROM 1901 TO 1910

A Review of Events in the World outside the British Realms during the Reign of King Edward

THE interest of foreign affairs during the nine years of King Edward's too brief reign was fully as great as that covering any similar period in the long rule of Queen Victoria. The history of the decade embraces revolutions as surprising as they were successful, wars of magnitude which brought Eastern as well as Western nations into the purview of world politics. Monarchies became republics, autocracies fell before democracies, and in the Catholic world there were two instances in Europe of the separation of the connection, centuries old, between Church and State.

It is now admitted that international courtesies between the rulers and statesmen of the leading Powers of the world have a considerable influence in the direction of foreign affairs. In so far as these relate to the indefatigable efforts of King Edward, during his continental travels, or in his own capital, to make for the promotion of peace by cordial understandings between his own and other nations, they have already been dealt with. During the period under review the alliance of France and Russia was strengthened by interchanges of visits between the Tsar and Tsarevitch and Presidents Loubet and Fallières. The stay of the King of Italy and President Loubet at Paris and Rome respectively sealed the reconciliation between the two great Latin races, and the good feeling between France, Spain, and the kingdoms of Northern Europe was promoted by the observation of similar courtesies on the part of their executive heads. The Emperor William of Germany, with his warm, impulsive nature, has in such visitations to the different capitals of Europe captured goodwill and allayed perhaps unjustifiable apprehension.

The principle has been extended in an interesting manner by the Parliamentary representatives of different countries becoming in turn the hosts and guests of each other, and making frank effort to facilitate mutual good feeling, tending to remove misapprehensions of motives, mellow prejudices, and sweeten acerbities of

international debate. Even the friendly meeting of rival fleets has done much to cultivate the spirit of universal comradeship.

FRANCE

The most important question relating to domestic politics in France during the past decade was that dealing with the separation of Church and State. The process began with the Religious Associations Bill, which required religious establishments for teaching and charitable aid to apply for authorisation to Parliament for their existence. This was followed by measures for the dispersal of the preaching, the contemplative, and the more or less commercial orders, such as those at Chartreux. The enforcement of these laws excited a considerable opposition in many parts of the country, and caused some bloodshed. Then ensued the quarrel with the Vatican, which resulted in the breaking off, in 1904, of all diplomatic relations with the Holy See and the introduction by M. Combes, then Prime Minister, of the Bill for the complete separation of Church and State. This measure, after fierce debates, lasting over forty-three sittings in the Chamber and nearly half as many in the Senate—its latter phase under M. Rouvier's Administration—became law on December 6, 1905.

When the Act came to be put in operation there was violent resistance to the enforcement of the clause providing for an inventory being taken, under the direction of the Administration of Domains, of artistic and other treasures and of the Church furniture in general, and some loss of life accompanied it. M. Loubet's term of office closed amidst this crisis, and on the very day when his successor, M. Fallières, took over the presidential powers—Feb-

ruary 18, 1906—an encyclical by the Pope was published embodying an energetic Papal protest against the severance of the Concordat and the separation of the Church and State.

The elections in May showed that France had accepted the separation of Church and State. When the clergy had not conformed to the law of separation on December 11, 1906, the State sequestered the property of the



EMILE LOUBET



ARMAND FALLIÈRES

M. Loubet became President of the French Republic in 1899, holding office for the usual seven years up to the crisis of the separation of Church and State. His successor, M. Fallières, entertained and visited King Edward on several occasions.

vestries and prefects, and special commissioners received orders to require the buildings to be vacated which were occupied in connection with the churches by the bishops and their subordinates, and the young priests not yet excused from military service were ordered to join their regiments. Afterwards a Bill, introduced

by M. Briand, was passed, under which the State delegated to the prefects and mayors, according to circumstances, the right of regulating public worship. In 1907, following fatal disturbances at Arras Cathedral, M. Briand constrained the Ministry and the Chamber to solve the problems by diplomacy and conciliation rather than summarily and by force.

The social condition of France during the past decade was characterised by the number, variety, and seriousness of the industrial disturbances which took place all over the country. The most serious of these were strikes in the mining districts and of dock labourers at Marseilles and other mercantile ports; a strike in Toulon Arsenal in 1905; a partial anti-militarism strike, which threatened to be made general in 1908; and the great railway strike in 1910. All these had to be repressed by the military, with, in many cases, serious loss of life.

At the end of January, 1910, Paris and other cities in the valley of the Seine were the scene of almost unparalleled floods, caused by incessant rains and the sudden melting of the snow in the Vosges. In Paris alone the destruction of property amounted to forty millions sterling. Many villages were completely ruined, and fifty thousand persons were rendered homeless.

GERMANY

The bi-centenary of the foundation of the Prussian monarchy was celebrated at Berlin on January 18, 1901.

The Empress Frederick died on August 5, 1901, seven months after her Royal mother, at her Palace of Cronberg, and she was buried, in accordance with her wishes, beside the remains of her late husband in the mausoleum of the Friedenskirche at Potsdam, amid the general mourning, not only of the German Court, but of the German people.

Anglophobia ran riot in the German Press over the South African War, but oil was poured on the troubled waters by the Emperor despatching Admiral von Bibran with an autograph letter to King Edward inviting the Prince of Wales to visit Berlin on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday on January 26, 1902. The visit took place, cordial greetings were exchanged, and there was an immediate change of German feeling. The Kaiser further showed his friendliness to England by

placing King Edward *à la suite* of the Germany Navy, and in an order to his fleet the Kaiser expressed the hope that it would be "always mindful of this high honour, which, at the same time, brings it into closer relations with its comrades of the British Navy."

The ever-widening horizon of German foreign policy was shown in a speech by Count Bülow on the Triple Alliance—which was renewed in 1903—in which he said "the objects of the Weltpolitik of our day extend to regions which are far distant from the confines of Germany. He might mention in this connection, for example, the north coast of Africa, Persia, and Eastern Asia." On another occasion he said that "the Emperor's statement that 'our future lies on the water' did not mean that Germany was to crowd any Power from the sea, but that she had as much right to navigate the seas as any other nation." Again, "he could not conceive that the idea of an Anglo-German war should be seriously entertained by sensible people in either country, and, for his part, he did not take the hostility of a section of the English Press too tragically. He hoped that the destinies of the two countries would always be determined by those cool heads who knew that the best advantage of Germany and England would be served, not

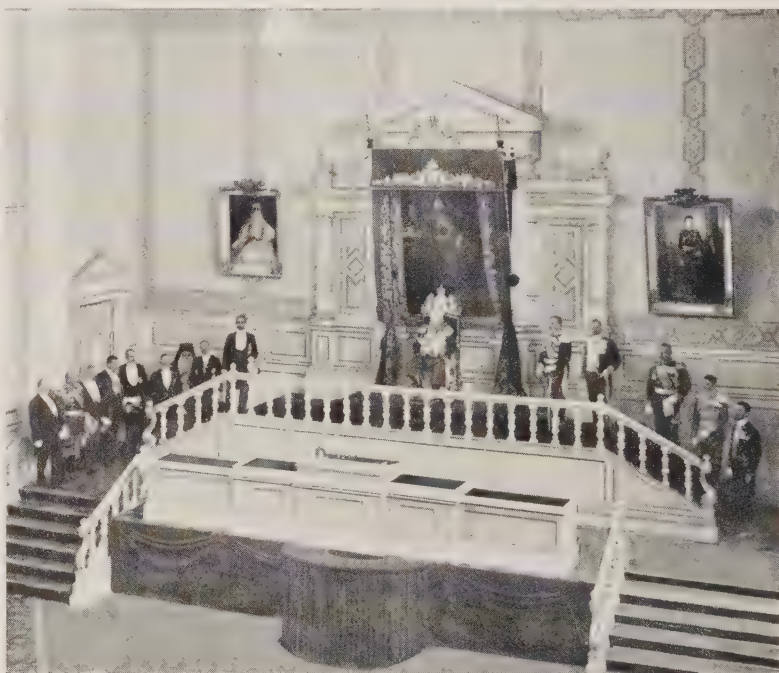
German Friendliness to Great Britain

only for the present, but for all future time—so far as it was discernible to the human eye—by the maintenance of the present pacific relations." This desire to cultivate friendly relations with England was shown in 1904 by the action of Germany in regard to the Anglo-French Agreement as to Egypt; by the visit of the German fleet to Plymouth, and its cordial reception by all classes; and by the signing of an Arbitration Agreement between Germany and England.

The year 1905 was remarkable for the introduction of the German Navy Bill, which entailed an expenditure

for the next twelve years of £185,561,500, or an average annual expenditure of over £15,000,000. After long discussions the Bill was finally passed on May 20, 1906.

The Emperor made a remarkable speech in March, 1905, at Bremen, which excited great interest, not only in Germany but throughout the world. His Majesty said "that in view of the experience which history had taught him, he had inwardly pledged himself never to strive for 'empty world dominion.' The world-wide Empire to which he aspired was one which should inspire the most absolute confidence in Germany on every side as an honest



KING FERDINAND ANNOUNCING THE INDEPENDENCE OF BULGARIA, OCTOBER 5, 1908

In 1878, at the Treaty of Berlin, the Powers of Europe created Bulgaria an autonomous principality, under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey; and in 1908, when Turkey underwent her remarkable constitutional change, Bulgaria feared that the nominal suzerainty might be made a real one. To this she was unwilling to consent, and in October, at Timovo, Prince Ferdinand solemnly proclaimed Bulgaria an independent kingdom, taking to himself the title of king.

From a photograph by Woltz, Sofia.

and peaceful neighbour." History would come to speak "of the world-wide dominion of the Hohenzollerns . . . to be founded upon conquest gained, not by the sword, but by the mutual confidence of the nations which press

towards the same goal. The German Army had developed as far as was necessary, and the time had now come for naval armament. Every German warship launched was one guarantee more for peace on earth." His Majesty

German Emperor's Remarkable Speech

concluded by expressing the conviction that "our Lord and God would never have given Himself such pains with our German Fatherland and its people if He had not predestined it to something great. . . . We are the salt of the earth, but we must also prove ourselves worthy of this high calling." And so on, with much flamboyant phrase. The explanation of the speech was

the Emperor's subsequent visit to Tangier and his intervention in the Morocco embroglio. Eventually, however, diplomacy succeeded in bringing about the Algeiras Conference, which met on January 17, 1906, and sat for ten weeks. The final Convention, signed on April 7, provided for a native police force with a limited number of French and Spanish officers, and an officer from the Swiss army as Inspector-General. This was a decided check to German diplomacy, and in April, Bülow, now raised to the rank of prince, got out of the difficulty by saying that Germany had never wished to gain a territorial footing in Morocco, that all she desired was to make it clear that the German Empire would not let itself be treated as a *quantité négligible*, and that there must be an open door in Morocco.

To complete the review of the Morocco question, the German intervention in 1908 in favour of the recognition of Mulai Hafid as Sultan before France and Spain was regarded as a *coup d'épée dans l'eau*, but matters were smoothed over by the Franco-German Agreement, signed on February 9, 1909, by which France obliged herself not to impede German commercial and industrial interests in Morocco; and Germany recognised "the special political interests" of France in that country, which Great Britain had explicitly affirmed in the Anglo-French Convention of 1904.

On the question of limitation of armaments, Prince Bülow, in the Reichstag in 1907, said that "Germany had not found

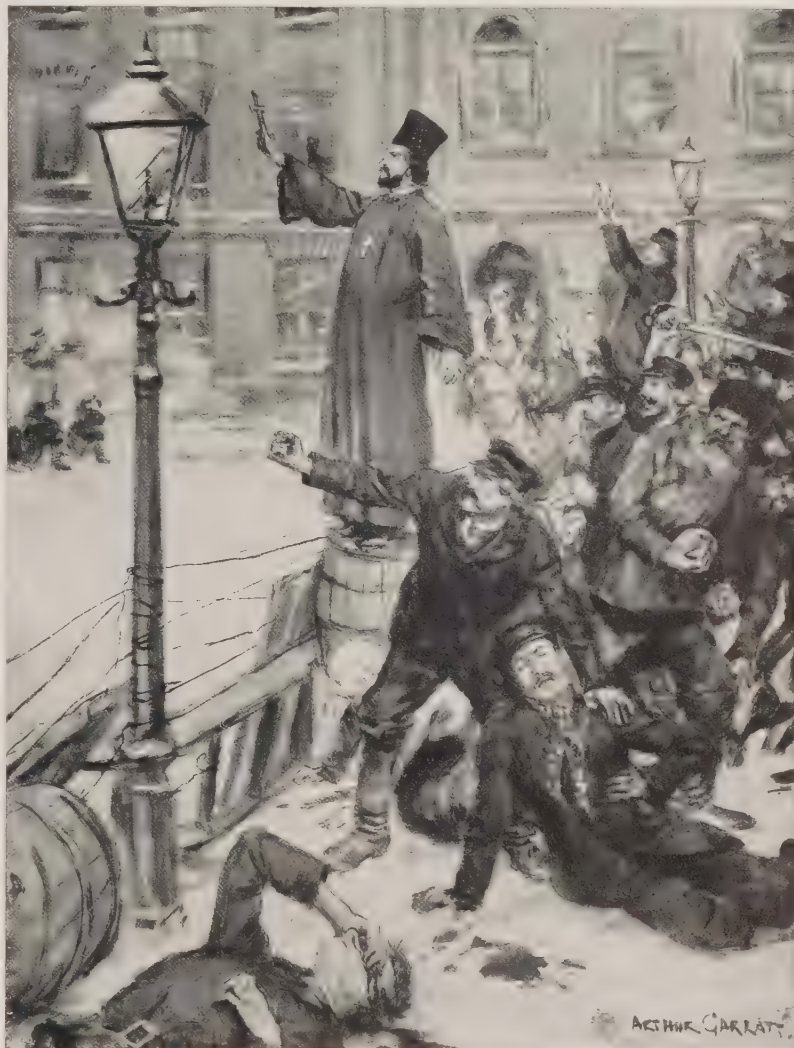
any formula which would meet the great diversity which characterised the geographical, economical, military, and political position of the various countries, or which would be calculated to put an end to these diversities, and at the same time to furnish a basis for an agreement." Consequently he could not take part in a discussion on this subject at the Hague Conference, which, according to his conviction, was unpractical even if it should not involve risks. But he trusted that "the cloud on Anglo-German relations which had thrown its shadow over the world far too long would be found to have sprung from a great misunderstanding on both sides. Both England and

Germany had suspected each other of intentions which neither of them entertained."

The ever-fresh question of the comparative strength of the British and German Navies came up for discussion in the Reichstag on March 24, 1908, when Prince Bülow said "that the purely defensive character of the German naval programme could not be emphasised too frequently in opposition to the continual attempts to impute to Germany aggressive intentions and plans against England."

The chief incident of 1909 was the breaking up of Prince Bülow's Liberal-Conservative coalition, known as the "Bloc," over the new taxation proposed by the Government to meet ever-increasing expenditure, and the Conservative objections to death duties. The consequence was the retirement of the Prince from the office of Chancellor, which was taken

by Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, who had been Imperial Secretary of State for Home Affairs. On March 17 of the same year, the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated in the Reichstag that "no English proposal for a reduction of armaments had been brought forward which, in the opinion of the German Government, could have served as a basis for official recognition," though the British Government had "announced in general terms their readiness for an Anglo-German agreement concerning the extent and the cost of the naval programme."



"RED SUNDAY" IN ST. PETERSBURG, JANUARY 22, 1905

Father Gapon, leader of the strikers who marched to the Winter Palace to put their grievances personally to "the Little Father," attempted to secure protection for his followers by displaying a cross, but the Cossacks fired on the unarmed demonstrators, and killed and wounded many of them.

Drawn by Arthur Garrett

German and British Naval Strengths

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND THE BALKAN STATES

The history of Austria-Hungary during the past ten years has been that of conflict between the nationalities of which the Dual-Monarchy is composed. The antagonism between the Czechs and Germans reached such a pitch, both in the Austrian Reichsrath and in the Bohemian Diet, that the latter had to be dissolved, while there was considerable bloodshed in the streets of Prague and other Bohemian towns. In the social sphere

Strife of Magyar, Czech, and German

strikes and labour riots were frequent, with considerable loss of life. Disputes began between Austria and Hungary in 1902 over the customs union and tariffs, and the Kossuth party in the Hungarian Parliament even demanded the dissolution of all ties between Austria and Hungary except that of the monarch. On the other hand, the other nationalities in the Hungarian kingdom uprose as a protest against the Magyarising policy of the Hungarian Parliament.

The new customs and commercial treaty between Austria and Hungary was only carried in the Hungarian Parliament by a Government ordinance, which was certainly a strain on the Constitution. The great fight in the Hungarian Parliament was over the army, but a compromise which satisfied Magyar sentiment was reached.

The jubilee celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the accession of the Emperor Francis Joseph to the throne was celebrated in May and June, 1908, and was attended by all the German sovereigns and heads of State. The people displayed immense enthusiasm, and numerous addresses testified to the veneration and affection with which they regarded their aged sovereign.

Europe was startled in September, 1908, by diplomatic and political surprises. On the 23rd of that month Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria was received at Buda-Pesth with royal honours by the Emperor Francis Joseph, and on October 4 the announcement was made of the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Next day Prince Ferdinand went to Tirnovo, the ancient capital of Bulgaria, declared the independence of the principality, and that he himself had assumed the rôle of King and Tsar.

In speeches made by the Emperor and his Minister, Count Aehrenthal, to the Delegations, there was a special defence of the annexation, but on the question which had been raised of the infringement of the Treaty of Berlin, all that the Minister said was that he felt himself under the stress of the categorical imperative, and that Austria-Hungary, nevertheless, "in no way departed from the basis of that treaty." He agreed to make certain monetary and religious concessions as to what compensation should be given to Turkish interests and in the Balkan States.

The war fever suddenly blazed up. Serbia demanded territorial compensation, mobilised her army, and aligned it on the Bosnian frontier. Austria-Hungary threatened

to invade Serbia, and, to the surprise of Europe, Germany stepped into the fray, plainly declared at St. Petersburg that if Russia were to intervene on behalf of Serbia, in the event of war between that State and Hungary, Germany would be bound by the Triple Alliance to take the side of her ally, and that in order to preserve peace it was necessary that Russia should at once recognise the annexation. The effect was immediate. Russia advised Serbia to yield, and eventually the terms of a formula were agreed upon by Sir Edward Grey and Count Aehrenthal, and accepted by all the parties. Serbia demobilised her troops, as did Austria, and peace was secured. Austro-Russian negotiations in March, 1910, resulted in a common recognition of the *status quo* in the Balkans and a desire to resume cordial relations, which had been strained during the previous year.

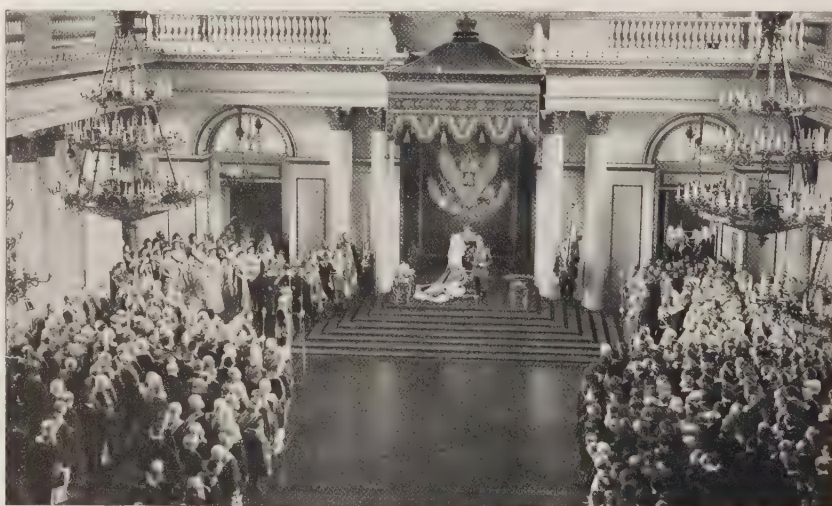
The merest outline must suffice of the events in Serbia which preceded the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. Ex-King Milan died at Vienna on February 11, 1901. King Alexander, his son, who had married Madame Draga Maschin in the previous July, granted a new Liberal Constitution to Serbia with full civil liberties, but his marriage had rendered him unpopular both with the Radicals of Belgrade and the Army. In April, 1903, there was a civil revolution, followed, on June 10-11, by a military *coup d'état*, when a band of officers invaded the palace, murdered King Alexander and Queen Draga; the Premier, the Minister of War, Nikodem, the alleged heir to the throne, and Nikola, the Queen's brother, and nineteen others.

A provisional government was formed. Parliament met on June 15, and elected Peter Karageorgevitch king, who, in a proclamation issued the same day, asserted that "he would be faithful to the traditions of his ancestors, and that all that had passed would be buried in oblivion." King Peter, on his arrival in the capital on June 24, was enthusiastically received by the populace, but only the Russian and Austrian Ministers were present, the British Minister having been recalled the previous day. The King took the oath of the Constitution, held a review of the troops, and on the 28th a political amnesty with perpetual indemnity for acts of treason was issued. King Edward, in his reply to the new Serbian

The Serbian Murders

King's message announcing his accession, concluded: "Whilst expressing my sincere desire that your reign may bring to the people entrusted to your charge the blessings of peace and prosperity, I hope that your Majesty will succeed in restoring the good repute of your country, upon which recent events have left so regrettable a stain." King Peter was crowned at Belgrade on September 21, 1904.

Agitation for the dismissal of the regicides from posts in the army went on for a couple of years, and at length the principal regicides were placed on the retired list, which enabled diplomatic relations to be resumed with Great Britain.



THE TSAR OPENING THE FIRST DUMA IN THE WINTER PALACE, ST. PETERSBURG, MAY 10, 1906

From a photograph by C. A. De Hehn

RUSSIA

The tale of Russian domestic history during the early years of the period is that of persecution, riot, assassination, terrible massacres of the Jews, and revolutionary movements extending from the cities of the empire to the peasantry and even among the clergy. After the assassination of the Minister of the Interior, in 1902, the Tsar, perhaps in some measure responsive to the eloquent protest of Count Tolstoi against the reactionary policy of the Government, issued in March, 1903, an Imperial manifesto in which he announced his decision to strengthen the laws of religious tolerance and to improve the conditions of Russian village life and of the peasantry. When war broke out with Japan the discontent among all classes of the population was intensified by the tyrannous proceedings of M. de Plehve in suppressing all manifestations of liberal opinion, and there was more relief than horror when he was assassinated, on July 28, 1904. It was hoped that that event and the birth of the Tsarevitch, on August 12, would be followed by a more liberal régime, and a manifesto issued by the Tsar did make some considerable concessions.

But these attempts at reform could not counteract the angry irritation against the disasters of the war in Manchuria, in which few Russians had any heart, and against the corruption and incapacity of highly placed officials both at home and at the front. The fall of Port Arthur further inflamed public feeling, and in January, 1905, there were strikes in St. Petersburg, led by a priest named Father Gapon. On the 22nd the strikers marched with crosses, banners, and other religious symbols to the Winter Palace "to confer with the Tsar personally as to their grievances." The demonstrators were set upon by Cossacks, and unarmed men, women, and children were shot down by hundreds. The strikers tore up pavements, formed barricades, and kept up a fight with the soldiers for a whole day, with the result that hundreds more were killed and thousands wounded. The day came to be known as Red Sunday. The strikes extended to every important city in the country; the kingdom of Poland was placed in a state of siege; the courses in all the Russian universities, colleges, and high schools were suspended; the whole country lapsed into a condition of anarchy, accompanied by assassinations and the explosion of bombs; a reign of terror prevailed in the Caucasus, and there were mutinies of sailors in the Black Sea fleet. At length, on August 10, 1905, the Tsar issued a ukase in which he announced that "while preserving the fundamental law regarding the autocratic power," he had decided, in conformity with the policy adopted by his ancestors, to summon elected representatives from the whole of Russia, to be called the Duma, to take a consistent and active part in the elaboration of laws.

Elections were held, and the Duma, which, to the resentment of the reformers, had very limited powers, was



KING HAARON'S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF NORWAY

On the separation of Norway from Sweden in 1905, the crown relinquished by King Oscar of Sweden was offered to Prince Charles of Denmark, whose wife is the youngest daughter of King Edward. The illustration shows the Prince, who took the title of Haakon VII., taking the oath to the Constitution in the Storting on November 17, 1905.

Drawn by Arthur Gurnall

opened with great ceremony on May 10, 1906, by the Tsar in the Winter Palace, though the Tauris Palace was set apart for its meetings. The subsequent discussions were futile, and the Duma was dissolved on July 21 by ukase, the Tsar declaring "that the representatives of the nation, instead of applying themselves to the work of productive legislation, had strayed into spheres beyond

The First and Second Dumas their competence." A second Duma was elected in the beginning of 1907, and opened by the Tsar on March 6, with a speech by M. Stolypin, Prime Minister, who promised a series of Bills to establish "a new régime in Russia which would transform their country into a constitutional State"; but nothing came of this alluring programme. There were bitter debates over the iniquities of the provincial governors, the cruel proceedings of field courts-martial, and the state of anarchy in the country. Finally, on June 14, after an intimation that a plot had been discovered to assassinate the Tsar, the Grand Duke Nicholas, and M. Stolypin, the latter demanded a secret sitting, at which he proposed the suspension or arrest of nearly all the members of the Social-Democratic party for carrying on a revolutionary propaganda in the army and navy. A long and embittered debate ensued, and the proposal was, by a large majority, referred to a committee in order to afford the Government

an opportunity of presenting evidence of the guilt of the inculpat members; but before this committee could meet the Duma was dissolved, on June 16, by an Imperial ukase.

The elections for the third Duma took place in September, 1907, and it was opened without ceremony on November 15 by the Vice-President of the Council of the Empire. M. Stolypin explained the attitude of the Government by the frank statement that officials and judges hostile to it would be dismissed, but he promised the usual reforms in local government. Autocracy still held the field, and hundreds of newspaper editors were sent to Siberia, 26 Socialist members of the second Duma were imprisoned with hard labour, 163 members of the first Duma who had signed a manifesto were sentenced to three months' imprisonment and loss of their civil rights, 70,000 persons were banished to distant parts of the empire for political offences, and—by decree, not by Act passed by the Duma—communal and family ownership of land was abolished and individual proprietorship substituted. Revolutionary organisations were broken up in 1908, assassinations were less numerous than in previous years, and the Duma, being purged of extremists, got through some reforming legislative work.

In his inaugural address at the opening of the session of 1910, on March 25, M. Guchkoff, the new President, said that a constitutional monarchy did not, and could not, imply parliamentary government in the English sense in Russia at the present day. In April, M. Stolypin denied that the Government was tending towards reaction, announced that repressive measures were being abandoned wherever possible, and that, by the Emperor's express command, courts-martial and capital punishment were only to be resorted to in the most extreme cases.

The agitation in Finland against the Russification of the Grand Duchy continued unabated, but a Russo-Finnish Commission, appointed in 1909 to delimit Imperial from local Finnish legislation, sat late in 1910. The most serious outcome of the foreign relations of Russia during these momentous years of domestic turmoil was the war with Japan. That really arose from an attempt made to establish a Russian protectorate over the whole of Manchuria, Chinese Turkestan, and Mongolia, and to assert an influence in Korean affairs. This forward policy was strenuously resisted by Japan, and incidentally by England and the United States, who had agreements with China (England also being in agreement with Japan), to maintain the independence and territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire and to secure equal opportunity therein for the commerce of all nations. It is unnecessary here to follow in detail the course of the war, which proved so disastrous to Russian arms and prestige, and raised Japan to the rank of a first-class naval and military power. It need only be said that at the close of the campaign there was a gradual change of

feeling with regard to Anglo-Russian policy in the Far East. On August 31, 1907, official expression was given to that by the signing of a Convention between Great Britain and Russia, which dealt with English and Russian relations and spheres of influence in regard to Persia, Afghanistan, and Thibet, and was highly approved by nearly every section of public opinion in Russia.

TURKEY

When King Edward succeeded to the British throne the Turkish Empire was in a parlous state. The success of the Turkish arms in the Greek war, and the visit of the German Emperor to Constantinople, impressed Abdul Hamid with

exaggerated notions of his power. At home he governed without reference to Ministers, exercised absolute autocratic powers, and carried these into his personal management of foreign affairs, which resulted in international intervention in many parts of the empire and foreign naval demonstrations in the Levant. He instigated and condoned massacres in Armenia and Macedonia which outraged the civilised world, provoked rebellion in Albania and Arabia, and invaded Persian territory.

Anarchy, assassination, and a system of espionage by which he hoped personally to control the army, went on for years,

until finally came the revolt of the "Young Turks" under Niazi Bey and Enver Bey. The celebrated "Committee of Union and Progress" was formed at Salonika, and on July 22, 1908, they proclaimed a Constitution; while the second and third army corps, camped near Salonika, declared their intention of marching on Constantinople if the Sultan did not act in accordance with the Proclamation.

Abdul Hamid capitulated at once, issued on July 24 an irade restoring the Constitution of 1876, suspended in 1878, and ordered that steps should be taken for the election of the members of the Chamber of Deputies. Another irade on the 25th abolished espionage and released all political prisoners. There were rejoicings in Constantinople and processions with banners. The insurgent bands in Macedonia and elsewhere disappeared like magic, accepted the Constitution, and submitted to authority. The elections to the new Turkish Parliament proceeded, and it was opened by the Sultan on December 10, 1908, with a speech in which a programme of administrative and other reforms was set out, and the Sultan declared his "irrevocable intention to govern the country in conformity with the law of the Constitution."

But within four months Abdul Hamid attempted a *coup d'état*, which the Young Turk parties resisted successfully. The third army corps marched on San Stefano, to which town on the Sea of Marmora the National Assembly had moved from Constantinople. On April 20, 1909, the Assembly decreed the deposition of Abdul Hamid, Shevket and his army attacked Constantinople and captured it on the 21st, after some resistance. The



THE LEADERS OF THE "YOUNG TURKS"

Niazi Bey and Enver Bey, under whose leadership the revolt of the "Young Turks" was successfully carried through, the formation of the celebrated "Committee of Union and Progress," and the capture of Constantinople speedily following

National Assembly returned to Constantinople on the 26th, and sent a deputation to Yildiz Kiosk, where Abdul Hamid had been confined, to announce his deposition. His behaviour was that of a terrified, cowardly despot, and no sympathy followed him when he was conveyed to Salonika, where he now remains a prisoner. Rechad Effendi, Abdul's younger brother, was proclaimed Sultan under the title of Mohammed V., on May 2, 1909, and with imposing ceremony was invested with the Sword of Othman. The Parliament passed measures for the reform of the finances and the Civil Service, and the extension of military service to non-Moslems. The Committee of Union and Progress, at a meeting in Salonika on October 23, decided that henceforth they should cease to be a secret association, and a responsible executive was appointed to carry out their policy. Hilmi Pasha, who went as Turkish Ambassador to St. Petersburg, declared at a banquet there on April 18, 1910, that "the era of Russo-Turkish differences was past, and that henceforth the two countries would have a common task in the development of mutual friendship in the cause of peace."

GREECE

Internal politics in Greece during the past decade centred mainly round the condition of the army and agitation for the annexation of Crete. On December 20, 1906, the Greek Prime Minister, M. Theotokis, stated in the Chamber that, "as the result of the steps taken by King George on the initiative of the powerful Sovereign of a great Power, with the goodwill of the four protecting Powers, the Cretan question had received a solution which might be regarded as a great step towards the union of the island with Greece."

On October 12, 1908, the Cretan Chamber voted union with Greece. On August 18, 1909, a detachment of sailors, representing each of the Powers, landed at Canea, and cut down the flagstaff on which the Greek flag had been hoisted. Different Cretan governments were formed, all of whom swore allegiance to the King of Greece; but on January 10, 1901, the Porte protested to the protecting Powers against such action, and the Powers responded by agreeing to re-occupy certain portions of the island, the foreign garrisons of which had been previously withdrawn, "to prevent acts of folly," and insisted that the Moslem deputies should not be excluded from the Assembly. They regarded the taking of the oath of allegiance to the King of the Hellenes by the Cretan deputies as null and void. In the meantime, in Athens itself during 1908, there were different changes of Ministries over the Cretan

The Cretan Problem

difficulties and the reform of the army. A military league was formed, which pressed for improvement in the administration of justice, public security, economy in State finance, and taxation of the richer classes, the poor being unable to bear any further burdens. In the

beginning of 1910, the league demanded the convocation of a National Assembly, to which the Greek Chamber agreed, and on March 30 King George, accompanied by the Queen, attended at the Chamber and read a Royal Proclamation announcing the convocation, not of a General Assembly of the Greek nation, but only of deputies from the Greek nation, the programme of which was to leave the privileges of the Crown untouched, but to include a number of changes in regard to the composition and rules of the Chamber, and the restoration of the Council of State. Thereafter the military league was dissolved.

DENMARK, SWEDEN AND NORWAY

Of 1901 it was written that "it would stand out in the history of Denmark as a year marked by a political event of

greater importance than any to be found in the records of the last half of the preceding century." This was the fall of the Conservative Government, whose party had been in power for more than four decades, and the formation of a reform Ministry. The widespread satisfaction with which the "new system" was received found strongest expression in a great national fête, held in Copenhagen on September 1, and a procession to the Palace of Amalienborg to present to King Christian an address of loyal gratitude. His Majesty, who was surrounded by Queen Alexandra of England, the King of Greece, the Dowager Empress of Russia, and other members of the Royal family, in a happy speech expressed the hope that the change which had taken place would bring with it peace, unity, and happiness. The King afterwards opened the Rigsdag in person, which he had not done for many years previously, and said that he looked forward confidently to fruitful co-operation between the Government and the Rigsdag as a means of



SULTAN ABDUL HAMID OPENING THE TURKISH PARLIAMENT

The early years of the Sultan's reign were full of promise. In 1877, as shown in an earlier chapter, he granted a constitution, and, in person, opened the new Parliament. But the Assembly was short-lived, reaction setting in and overcoming the liberty from which so much was expected. In 1908, yielding to the pressure of the reformers, the Sultan granted another constitution to Turkey, and on December 10 opened the Parliament elected by the people. This illustration is drawn by H. W. Koekkoek.

preserving the country's independence in friendly relations with foreign Powers, serving to advance personal and political freedom and to elevate the mental and moral life of the nation.

The eighty-sixth birthday of King Christian was celebrated on April 8, 1904, amid the greatest popular enthusiasm. The Crown Prince gave a dinner party in honour of the event, at which King Edward and Queen Alexandra of England and other illustrious guests were present. The Icelandic Althing received a new constitution

in November, 1905, and sent a message to the aged King, saying that they would always bless his memory because of the never-to-be-forgotten manner in which his name, covered with honour, was linked to all the greatest and most important reforms in Iceland's legislation and constitution. His Majesty died on January 29, 1906, of sudden

heart failure, having reached nearly his

Death of King

Christian of Denmark where received with deep sorrow, and next day his eldest son was proclaimed King as Frederick VIII. With his Queen, he visited England, June 8-13, 1907, and was splendidly entertained at Court by King Edward and Queen Alexandra, and by the City of London in the Guildhall. There were discussions for several years on national defence and the fortifications of Copenhagen, but the Foreign Minister, when challenged in the Folkething, invariably stated that the settled policy of Denmark was to keep her foreign relations fully neutral and independent. An inter-Parliamentary Congress, representing the three Scandinavian kingdoms, held in Copenhagen in 1907, recommended uniform tariffs and arbitration between the three States, and the formation of a special Court of Arbitration to decide tariff questions.

While there was a steady development of the rich mineral and forest resources of Sweden and Norway from 1901 to 1910, disputes between the two Governments and peoples with regard to the appointment of a separate consular service became embittered, and in 1904 the dissolution of the union was openly discussed. Negotiations between representatives of Sweden and Norway, who met at Karlstad to arrange the terms of severance, went on during 1905, and when the dissolution of the union became inevitable Sweden's consent was made dependent upon a plebiscite of the people of Norway. This took place on August 13, 1905, when, out of 368,302 valid votes, only 184 were against the severance.

The Swedish Government, on October 13, laid the proposals for the severance of the union before both the Swedish Chambers, which unanimously accepted them. On October 26, King Oscar acknowledged the severance, and next day the foreign Powers were advised thereof. Then King Oscar issued a proclamation addressed to the Norwegian Storting, in which he announced his decision to relinquish the Crown of Norway. The Norwegian Storting, on October 31, by a large majority, authorised the Government to enter into negotiations with Prince Charles of Denmark, with a view to his acceptance of the Norwegian Crown, and to take a plebiscite on the question. This was done on November 12 and 13, and resulted in 250,563 votes for and 69,264 against. The Storting, on November 18, unanimously carried a motion, proposed by the President, that Prince Charles should be King; and the Prince replied that, with his grandfather's permission, he had accepted the choice which had fallen upon him as King of Norway, and that he would take the name of Haakon VII., and give his son the name of Olaf. The King and Queen made a solemn entry into Christiania on November 25, amid unprecedented enthusiasm on the part of the people, and on the 27th his Majesty took the oath to the Constitution in the Storting. The King and Queen (who is the youngest daughter of King Edward VII.) were crowned in the ancient cathedral at Trondhjem, at Midsummer, 1906.

King Oscar II. of Sweden died on December 8, 1907, much beloved and lamented, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Gustav V. King Edward and Queen Alexandra

paid a visit in 1908 to the King and Queen of Sweden at Stockholm, the first visit ever paid to that capital by a British Sovereign, "in order to manifest his warm friendship for the King and his sincere regard for the Swedish people." King Edward and Queen Alexandra visited Christiania from April 29 to May 2, and were the subjects of a memorable welcome by their Royal daughter and son-in-law and an enthusiastic populace.

HOLLAND

The celebration of the marriage of Wilhelmina Queen of the Netherlands, to Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin at The Hague took place on February 7, 1901, amid universal rejoicings by the Dutch people. The Royal couple made a state entry into Amsterdam on March 5, and visited Berlin from May 30 to June 6. At the birth of an heiress, on April 30, 1900, there was frank popular joy, and immense sums for presents to the baby were devoted, by the Queen's express desire, to charitable objects. The most striking feature in domestic politics was the proposal, introduced by the Minister of War in 1906, for the reduction of the army and the period of service. This led to violent scenes in the Lower House of Parliament, and the Bill was rejected in 1907 by the Upper Chamber. Liberal votes have been passed for the extension and strengthening of coastal defensive works. In social life there were serious dock and railway strikes in 1903, and the reserves were called out to maintain order, while Parliament passed an anti-strike Act with penal provisions. In October, 1905, the sum of £58,300 was voted by the Chamber for the purchase of the site for a Palace of Peace at The Hague, for the erection of which Mr. Andrew Carnegie had presented £300,000. Arbitration treaties were concluded with Great Britain and other countries.



QUEEN WILHELMINA OF HOLLAND

Ruling under the regency of her mother, Queen Emma, from 1890 to 1898. Queen Wilhelmina married, on February 7, 1901, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who received the title of Prince Consort.

The second Hague Conference, which owed its inception to President Roosevelt, at the Inter-Parliamentary Congress at St. Louis, U.S.A., in 1904, but the invitations for which were issued by the Russian Government in April, 1906, met at The Hague on June 15, 1907. Forty-four States out of the forty-seven invited sent representatives. The sittings lasted until October 18, when messages of recognition and gratitude were sent to Queen Wilhelmina, President Roosevelt, and the Tsar of Russia. The questions

discussed at the Conference were: (1) the improvement of the constitution of the Court of Arbitration and the Commission of Inquiry; (2) additions to the Convention of 1899, relating to naval and land warfare; (3) the application to naval warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of 1864. The Convention embodying in a modified form the Drago doctrine, that force must not be used for the recovery of State debts originating in private contracts, was adopted by thirty-nine votes, with five abstentions. This Convention, described as one of the few successes of the Conference, was not to apply if the debtor State refused or ignored an offer of arbitration, obstructed the process, or repudiated the arbitral decision.

The question of the limitation of armaments was discussed on August 17, but the only resolution adopted declared that it was "highly desirable, in view of the increase of military charges since the resolution of 1890, that the Governments should resume their study of the question." The foundation-stone of the Palace of Peace for the meetings of the High Court of Arbitration and of future Conferences was laid by M. Nelidoff, Russian delegate, on July 30.

BELGIUM

The allied questions of the atrocities committed by Belgian officials on the natives of the Congo Free State and the annexation of the State to the kingdom of Belgium bulked largely in the debates of the Belgian Chambers from 1901 to 1907. King Leopold denied the charges of cruelty elaborated by the British Consul-General in the Congo in a report published in 1903.

The King rejected a proposal by the British Government for arbitration, but the Government appointed a Commission to inquire into the condition of the natives, which reported that what abuses had been committed had been severely punished, and that no blame attached to the authorities of the State. A special Committee of the Chambers reported in 1907 in favour of the annexation of the Congo territory to Belgium, subject to a reservation of the Crown domain. A treaty carrying out this recommendation was concluded between King Leopold as Sovereign of the Congo Free State and the Belgian Government, and providing, among other payments, one of two millions sterling to the King.

The Belgian Government agreed to pass a special colonial law so as to deal with concessions, to appoint a Governor-General of the colony, but declined responsibility for the Congo debt of four and a half millions sterling. Both the treaty and the colonial law were adopted in the Chamber and Senate by large majorities. Sir Edward Grey, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in a despatch said that the British Government were unable to engage to recognise the annexation of the Congo Independent State to Belgium until assured that the native question would be settled in a manner satisfactory to them and to public opinion in England.

King Leopold died on December 17, 1909. He was succeeded by Prince Albert, the youngest son of the Count of Flanders, married to Duchess Elizabeth of Bavaria. On January 30, 1910, it was announced in the Belgian Chamber that the system of forced labour in the Congo was to be abandoned at once; and on March 12 the Belgian Colonial Council agreed to a series of decrees altering the system of taxation in the Congo. King Albert, at the opening of a Congo Museum, on April 30, in Brussels, pledged himself that the officers and officials of the Congo would introduce wise reforms, extending to it a régime worthy of Belgium, whose aim was the happiness of the native population.

SPAIN

Towards the close of the regency of the Queen-Mother, Donna Maria Christina, Spain was in a chronic condition of semi-revolution. King Alfonso XIII. attained his legal majority on May 12, 1902, and was enthroned as the constitutional monarch of Spain, amid the thunders of applause of the Madrid populace, on May 17.

The relations between Church and State have been much strained in Spain during the decade. After the conquest of the Philippines by the United States of America and the separation of Church and State in France, there was a large incursion of monks into Spain, which was open to them by the Concordat of 1904. The Liberals accused the Government of making a surrender of the civil power to the Church. With years, however, Alfonso shook himself free to a large extent from clerical domination, and successive governments granted some slender concessions to religious toleration, and the regulation of the religious associations.

The King's tour in France and England in May and June, 1905, and to Germany in the following year, was accomplished under the happiest auspices, his charming manners, good humour, courage (in Paris an attempt was made at his assassination), and popular sympathies winning the admiration of the people of the three countries. His sojourn in England was a prelude to his marriage, on May 31, 1906, with Princess Victoria Eugénie, daughter of the late Prince Henry of Battenberg and Princess

Beatrice, youngest daughter of the late Queen Victoria. When returning from the marriage ceremony to the Palace in Madrid, an anarchist threw a bomb into the midst of the Royal procession. The calmness of the Royal couple amid death and destruction changed the early feeling of coolness into enthusiasm on her behalf, which has been increased by the birth in rapid succession of the heir to the throne, Prince Alfonso, Prince Jaime, and Princess Beatrice.

The truce to disorders during the King's marriage and subsequent festivities was broken by terrible anarchist outrages in Barcelona at the close of 1907. The young King himself did his best to allay the revolutionary storm by making a tour through the north-east provinces; but as soon as his Majesty returned to Madrid bomb throwing recommenced, and the situation was complicated further by the attack of the Riff tribes on the railway from Melilla, in Spanish Morocco, to certain mines just beyond the Spanish boundary, in the beginning of 1909. The Spanish army in Morocco was not in a good state, the reservists were called out, disasters were frequent, and the news from the seat of war con-



THE BRUSSELS EXHIBITION OF 1910, SHOWING THE MAIN BUILDING

vulsed the Spanish people. Public order in all the manufacturing towns was disturbed; a revolution and general strike, in which the anarchists took part, followed at Barcelona on July 26. A state of siege was proclaimed, the constitution was suspended, and at length the army recovered and retained control over the wrecked city. No quarter was given to the revolutionaries. The reign of terror lasted until the end of September, 1909, among the victims being Señor Ferrer, the well-known educationist. The war at Melilla was brought to a close, and comparative quiet has since been restored to all parts of the country.

PORTUGAL

The history of Portugal during the last decade has been crowded with events of surpassing importance. Notwithstanding the chronic social and political unrest in his country, King Carlos made quite a long visit to King Edward and Queen Alexandra at Windsor in November and December, 1902, and King Edward made the return visit to

**A Premature
Revolt**

Lisbon on April 2-7, 1903. It was unfortunate that on the very day his Majesty landed at Lisbon there was a mutiny of both cavalry and artillery, who proclaimed a republic, but the mutiny was quickly repressed, and the mutineers banished to one of the African colonies. King Edward was, notwithstanding, warmly welcomed by the inhabitants of the Portuguese capital, and by deputations from both Houses of the Legislature. In the following August, King Edward conferred the title of admiral of the British Fleet on King Carlos, and at the close of the naval manoeuvres at Lagos, on August 29 of the same year, the British Fleet saluted the King of Portugal.

During this period, and until 1907, there was a practical suspension of parliamentary government, and the country was placed under the régime of dictatorial decrees. Government was, in fact, an alternation in office of Ministries who took turns at enriching themselves and allowing King Carlos to draw in advance from the Treasury large sums on his Civil List, regarding which personal attacks were freely made upon his Majesty. Little by little the unpopularity of the King increased, when a real dictatorship became organised under the Premier, Señor Franco. There were riots and bloodshed in Lisbon, Oporto, and other towns; wholesale arrests were made, and the casemates of fortresses were turned into State prisons.

On February 1, 1908, the King, Queen, and their two sons, on returning in an open carriage to the palace from visiting the arsenal, were fired upon by a party of men armed with

rifles. The King and Crown Prince were shot dead; Don Manoel, the second son, was wounded in the arm, though his mother, Queen Amelia, heroically interposed her own person to save him. The murderers, whose leader was a dismissed schoolmaster, were instantly despatched by the escort and police. With the King's death ended the dictatorship of Señor Franco, and he fled to Genoa. The young monarch, Manoel, as soon as he had been proclaimed King, on the advice of his mother, called together at the palace an extraordinary Junto of ex-Ministers and leaders of parties, and a "Ministry of Concentration" was formed, which endeavoured to undo the mischief caused by the late King and Franco. After a General Election, King Manoel opened the new Cortes on April 29, swore to respect the Constitution, and made an appeal to the loyalty of the people; and for a union between his subjects and their King. On May 6 he was formerly acclaimed sovereign, and a general amnesty followed; but in the Cortes great scenes occurred over the financial relations of the late King, and the large advances made to the Queen-Dowager, Maria Pia.

There was a lull during the visit of the young monarch to Madrid, London, and Paris, and at the opening of the Cortes on January 3, 1910, his Majesty referred to the cordial reception he had met with from the King, Queen, and people of England, but no serious legislative work was accomplished. Everyone felt as if some disaster was impending.

**Portugal Becomes
a Republic**

Suddenly, on the night of October 3, 1910, the revolution broke out by a mutiny of the soldiery in Lisbon, and of the sailors on board the ships of the navy at anchor in the Tagus. A few Royalist troops and the Civil Guard attempted to arrest the progress of the rising, but their efforts were unavailing, and, in fact, the troops went over to the successful revolutionaries. The Royal Palace of Necessidades was bombarded by the fleet, and the King, Queen Amelia, the Queen-Mother,



THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC, PROCLAIMED ON OCTOBER 12, 1910

In the foreground, with his elbow on the table, is Señor Theophile Braga, the President of the new Republic; behind him stands Señor Gomes, Minister of Public Works; standing on the right is Señor Jose Almeida, Minister of the Interior; seated in front of him are Señor Bernardino Machado, Minister of Foreign Affairs (left), and Señor Alfonso Costa, Minister of Justice (right). The illustration is drawn by S. Begg.



EUROPE IN A DRAWING-ROOM: EIGHT SOVEREIGNS AT WINDSOR CASTLE, NOVEMBER, 1907

The figures from left to right are (standing): Princess Royal (Duchess of Fife), Duke of Connaught, Queen of Norway, Prince Olaf, German Emperor, Princess of Wales, Princess Patricia of Connaught, Prince of Wales, King of Spain, German Empress, Prince Arthur of Connaught, Queen Alexandra, Grand Duke Vladimir of Russia, Queen of Spain, Duchess of Connaught, Princess Victoria of Great Britain, and Prince Johann of Saxony. The front row shows (seated): King Edward, Infanta Isabella, Princess Henry of Battenberg, Grand Duchess Vladimir, Queen of Portugal, Duchess of Aosta, and Princess Johann of Saxony. This unique photograph was taken on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Charles of Bourbon and Princess Louise of Orleans and the visit of the Kaiser, by Messrs. W. & D. Downey

Maria Pia, and the Infanta Alfonso, Duke of Oporto, took flight in motor-cars to Mafra and Cintra.

The fighting lasted for three days, and was practically at an end on October 7. Meanwhile a Provisional Government had been formed, with Señor Theophile Braga as President, and issued a proclamation to the people of Portugal, stating that the dynasty of the Braganzas had been for ever proscribed from Portugal, and calling upon the citizens to begin an epoch of "austere morality and immaculate justice." Later, Señor Costa, Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government, announced in an official despatch their programme: the separation of Church and State, the banishment of all monks and nuns, educational development, lay-instruction, national defence, administrative decentralisation, improvement of credit and finance, the abolition of the Council of State, the House of Peers, and titles of nobility. The Provisional Government likewise notified the Foreign Powers that they would recognise all the liabilities and accept the obligations of the late Government.

Meantime, King Manoel, Queen Amelia, and the Queen-Mother had succeeded in getting on board the Royal yacht *Amelia* at Ericeira, and arrived at Gibraltar on the night of October 6. The British Royal yacht, *Victoria* and *Albert*, was despatched by King George to bring Manoel, his mother, and the Duke of Oporto to England, where they arrived on October 19, and became the guests at Wood-Norton of the Duc d'Orleans. The Dowager Queen Maria Pia was conveyed from Gibraltar to Il Gombo, Italy, in an Italian warship, and was received by the Queen of Italy.

THE UNITED STATES

The United States, and, indeed, the civilised world, was horrified on September 5, 1901, to learn that President McKinley had been shot at and dangerously wounded by an anarchist in the Exhibition building at Buffalo. The President lingered until September 14, when he died. Immediately on learning of the attempted assassination, King Edward despatched a telegram hoping that the President's wounds would not prove fatal, and when the end came a further telegram was forwarded containing a touching expression of deep sorrow and sympathy with

Mrs. McKinley and the American people. The British nation joined in the mourning of their kinsmen across the Atlantic, and on September 19, the day of the murdered President's funeral at Canton, Ohio, which was attended by 70,000 persons, an impressive memorial service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and in almost every church in Great Britain. On September 27

The Murder of President McKinley King Edward received in special audience Mr. Choate, the American Ambassador, who presented the thanks of Mrs. McKinley and the American people for the consistent sympathy manifested by his Majesty and Queen Alexandra with them "through the darkest hours of their distress and bereavement."

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, Vice-President, was sworn in as President on the day of Mr. McKinley's death, September 14, 1901; and it may be said that for the next seven years he dominated the internal politics of the United States. In his messages to Congress, and in many speeches which he delivered in the course of tours made through almost every one of the States, he emphasised the necessity of building up a strong navy. He attacked vigorously trusts and their evil influences over the social and economic conditions of the country. He advocated protection, but also a policy of reciprocity between nations, and greater control over railway and other corporations. He recommended alterations in the Federal Constitution to allow the imposition of Inheritance and Income Taxes, and a national Divorce Law, divesting the States of their control over the dissolution of marriage. He raised the question of the inadequacy of the powers of the Federal Government in regard to certain disputes with foreign nations, which had been brought into prominence by discriminatory laws passed by the State of California against Japanese and complained of formally by the Japanese Government to the central administration.

A financial panic occurred in October, 1907, due to various causes—reaction from a period of trade boom, over-speculation, too rapid conversion of fluid into fixed capital. Banks and trust companies were forced into the hands of receivers, the paper value of securities fell by hundreds of millions of dollars, the suspension of cash

payments drove gold into hiding, and forced the importation of twenty millions sterling of gold from abroad to prevent greater disaster. The Treasury afforded relief by the issue of five million dollars in Panama Canal Bonds, and of a hundred million dollars of three per cent. Exchequer notes. The panic was arrested, and a normal condition of affairs was established by the end of 1907. The crisis gave occasion to Mr. Roosevelt, in his message to Congress in December of that year, to press the

Financial Panic in the United States

necessity of an immediate reform in the Currency Laws. Other domestic events of interest were the numerous strikes of coal and other miners and steel workers; the St. Louis Exhibition in 1904 to celebrate the Centenary of the purchase from Napoleon the Great of Louisiana; the terrible earthquake in San Francisco on April 18, 1906, which practically wrecked two-thirds of the city; and the acquisition of the rights of the French Panama Canal Company. In connection with this Panama Canal question it may be stated that the Hay-Pauncefote Isthmian Canal Treaty, which took the place of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and regularises the relation of Great Britain to the United States in connection with the canal, was signed on November 18, 1901, and ratified on February 21, 1902. Mr. Hay, then Secretary of State, declared that American policy was that while the canal was under American ownership and control, it was for the use of all nations, and a fair field and no favour in commerce. Progress with the construction of the canal is being made under United States military engineers, and up to October 30, 1909, £38,200,000 had been expended on works; and a naval and military commission has been appointed to study the best means of fortifying the canal zone.

The Monroe doctrine came to the front over the Panama Canal, and President Roosevelt expounded it in the phrase, "that the nations on the American continent must be left to work out their own destiny, and that America was not to be regarded as a colonising ground of any European Power." Practical effect was given to this pronouncement by the United States Government refusing to permit the Dominican Government or Congress to establish coaling ports in San Domingo or the cession of any of its territory to any European Power, or to class any territory as neutral. This was followed by a practical financial suzerainty over San Domingo in 1905, confirmed by treaty in 1907, under which United States Customs officials collect the revenues of the black republic.

The Presidential election took place in 1904. It had been universally recognised that Mr. Roosevelt's popularity justified his candidature for a second term of office. The Democrats nominated Mr. Alton Brooks Parker, New York Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals; but Mr. Roosevelt's majority was in round numbers 2,500,000, and

he was accordingly inaugurated President for the second time on March 5, 1905. The relations between the United States and England were never more friendly than during Mr. Roosevelt's double term of office. There were remarkable demonstrations of cordial relationship between the two nations in New Zealand and Australia during the famous voyage which the American fleet made round the world, towards the end of 1907 and 1908.

In the relations between the United States and foreign Powers, President Roosevelt's policy was that of the assertion of a high position for his country in international affairs. In 1904, when opportunity presented itself, he offered his services to bring about peace between Russia and Japan, and invited the Peace Conference to meet in the United States. It met in the States in August, 1905, and peace was signed on September 5, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. This step brought the United States into the sphere of world politics in a greater degree even than the annexation of the Philippines, and the attitude of the Republic was further emphasised when President Roosevelt sent a delegate to the Algeiras Conference.

The principal event of 1908 was the Presidential election, when the Republican and Democratic candidates were William Howard Taft, of Ohio, who had been Secretary of War in Mr. Roosevelt's Cabinet, Republican, and Mr. W. J. Bryan, of Nebraska, Democrat, who had unsuccessfully contested the Presidency with the late Mr. McKinley in 1900. In the result, Mr. Taft had, roughly speaking, a

Mr. Taft's

Programme

plurality of a million and a quarter votes, and a majority in the Electoral College of 159 votes. Mr. Taft was inaugurated as President on March 4, 1909, and in his address advocated "revision of the tariff for revenue purposes, and if that was inadequate a graduated inheritance tax, a strong army and navy, a foreign policy of arbitration to avoid war, the open door in the Orient." He also condemned the race feeling against the negroes of the South. Revision of the tariff was immediately undertaken, and after months of negotiation it eventuated in the passing by Congress of what is known as the

Payne Tariff Law, which in practical application, instead of a revision downwards, proved rather in the main to be an extension of the protective privileges of the manufacturing interests. The result was an almost immediate rise in the cost of living without a corresponding increase of wages; and a growing agitation arose against the tariff, including a meat boycott established in the early months of 1910 by no fewer than two millions of people, as a protest against the action of the Beef Trust in raising the prices of butcher's meat. President Taft, on January 18, 1910, issued a proclamation that imports from Great Britain and certain other European States were to be admitted to the United States under the Payne minimum tariff.



KING EDWARD IN A TYROLEAN HAT
Photographed at Vienna in September, 1903

PERSIA

The Shah of Persia, Muzaffer-ed-Din, visited the different Courts of Europe in 1902, and on arriving in England was received at Dover by Prince Arthur of Connaught, by the Prince of Wales in London, and by King Edward at Windsor between August 17 and 23. The Order of the Garter was conferred upon him, on January 1, 1903, with a formal investiture by Lord Downe, Special Envoy to Teheran, on February 2. In the same year a scheme of financial reform was introduced into Persia under the management of Belgian officials, and by treaty with Russia concessions were granted to that country for the construction of roads in Northern Persia, for the abolition of tax-farming, and the provision of a new Customs tariff. Lord Curzon, when Viceroy of India, made a tour to the Persian Gulf in the closing month of 1903, when he met with a favourable reception by the Shah and the natives, and this visit was followed up by a British-Indian commercial mission in the following winter, which reported in favour of an agreement between Russia and England as to their respective spheres of influence. By an Ordinance in 1906, the Shah granted a Constitution with a National Assembly of Deputies, which held its first meeting on October 7. Muzaffer-ed-Din died at Teheran on January 8, 1907, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mahomed Ali Murza, who, in the succeeding November, visited the Parliament and swore fidelity to the Constitution.

A month later, however, disturbances broke out in the capital, and Parliament issued a manifesto to Russia and Great Britain stating that the Shah, misled by reactionaries, intended to overthrow the Constitution, and calling upon the Powers to protect the people against his designs. Russia and Great Britain declined to interfere with the internal affairs of Persia, but advised the Shah to uphold the Constitution. They also agreed to a Convention which expressed the desire to maintain the integrity of Persia, and allow all nations equal facilities for trade in that country, but which really divided Persia into two zones; Russia to be predominant in the north and British influence in the south. Great Britain insisted, however, that the Persian Gulf was outside the scope of the Convention. Disputes between the Shah and his Parliament (Mejliss) became chronic in 1908, and the condition of the country went from bad to worse. An attempt was made to assassinate the Shah by a bomb thrown at his motor-car, and he left the capital, while his troops bombarded and almost destroyed the House of Assembly.

The Nationalist revolt spread, and their forces, having combined with the Bakhtiari tribes, marched, in 1909, on

Teheran and entered the city. The Shah sought refuge, on July 15, in the Russian Legation, and next day the National Assembly formally deposed him, and declared his son, Ahmed Mirza, a boy of thirteen, Shah, with Azad-ul-Mulk as Regent. Seven weeks later the ex-Shah, escorted by Cossacks and Indian Sowars, left Teheran for Odessa, Russia, which was selected as his future place of residence, with an allowance from the Persian Treasury. The country

has since been in a state of chaos and financial debility. The trade routes, especially in the southern part, have been absolutely insecure, and the Persian Government being unable with their own forces to police them, the British Government offered to facilitate the raising of money to be applied to the levy of a sufficient native police force, to be instructed and officered by a number of British officers lent by the Anglo-Indian Government, for maintaining the safety and security of the trade routes.

CHINA

After the punitive expedition of the European allied forces against the Boxer rising in China, and the siege by them of the foreign legations at Peking, a peace protocol was signed on August 15, 1901, and ratified by the Emperor. A new judicial system was introduced under Chinese officials, and those responsible for the massacre of Christian missionaries and Europeans generally were

punished. The foreign troops then began to leave the Chinese capital, but the last of them, the Germans, only evacuated Chinese territory at the beginning of 1903.

Simultaneous with the Russian advance into Manchuria in 1902 was the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese agreement maintaining the *status quo* policy, the independence and integrity of China and Korea, and "the open door." Internal disturbances and massacres of foreigners continued during 1903, coincident with the events which led up to the Russo-Japanese War, during which the United States and Great Britain agreed to observe neutrality, a course followed by China on the advice of the foreign representatives in Peking. A beginning was made in 1904 with Sir R. Hart's scheme for the reorganisation of the financial and military resources of China, in order to cope with a

revival of Boxerism and to encourage railway extension with the assistance of foreign capital. On Sir Robert's retirement from the position which he had held for nearly half a century the British Government sent a note to the Chinese Government declaring that the Director-General of the Revenue Department must be appointed from British subjects, and have the power to select and dismiss natives as well as foreigners in the Customs employment.



PRINCE FUSHIMI, OF THE BLOOD ROYAL OF JAPAN, AT THE GUILDHALL
MAY, 1907

Drawn by Arthur Garratt

An Imperial Commission was despatched on a tour of the civilised world to study the representative systems of government, and, based on their report in 1907, some reforms in the administration of the Civil Service and the Army and in municipal government were introduced. An edict of the Emperor was issued at the same time promising a

The Infant

Emperor of China

Constitution as soon as the people were ripe for it, and a later decree announced the convocation of a Parliament and the proclamation of a Constitution in the ninth year from that date. This interesting constitutional development was arrested by the death of the Emperor on November 14, 1907, and the sudden demise of the Empress Dowager on the following day. The new Emperor is an infant only eight years of age, and son of Prince Chun, a younger brother of the late Emperor, who was appointed Regent. Both the child and the Regent were recognised by the Great Powers. The Constitutional reforms begun in 1908 were continued by a rescript at the beginning of 1909, which provided for the creation of Provincial Assemblies for local government purposes, and an Imperial Parliament consisting of two Houses of Assembly. The Provincial Assemblies met for the first time in October, 1909; the first Imperial Assembly was opened in the autumn of 1910, and full representative government will be established in China in 1917.

Chinese sovereign prerogatives in Manchuria were asserted in 1909, with the help of the United States Government, against Russian claims to absolute right of administration for Chinese and foreign residents at Harbin, and also with regard to the evacuation of Manchuria. A passion for education has been re-awakened of late years in China, and it has found the highest expression in the establishment of a university in Hong Kong. Strict measures have been taken for the abolition of the evils of opium smoking.

JAPAN

The history of Japan during the first three years of the twentieth century was that of preparation for the war which long seemed inevitable between that country and Russia over the aggressions of the latter Power in Manchuria and Korea. These preparations included the strengthening of the navy by many battleships and cruisers built in England. The friendship of Great Britain and Japan was promoted by a visit of the Marquis Ito to London at the close of 1901 and the beginning of 1902, when he was lavishly entertained by the Court and at the Mansion House, and negotiated a Treaty of Alliance between Japan and Great Britain. Early in February, 1903, the British Minister at Tokio, Sir Claude Macdonald, presented to the Mikado an autograph letter from King Edward couched in the most cordial terms, together with a miniature of his

Majesty set in diamonds, as a mark of goodwill; and a year later Sir Claude presented to the Emperor a silver model of the Pilgrims' Bottle in Windsor Castle as a gift from King Edward. At the close of the war with Russia, but some weeks before the actual Treaty of Peace was negotiated at Portsmouth, United States of America, a new Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance was signed in London on August 12, 1905. A British squadron visited Japan in the following October, and took part in the great naval review of the Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo, in celebration of the historic share of the fleet in the Japanese victories during the war. The Japanese Ministry in London and the British Legation in Tokio were respectively raised to the rank of Embassies in November, 1905; and about the same date Prince Arthur

of Connaught, with a distinguished suite, was appointed to proceed to Japan on a special Garter mission. His Royal Highness and the other members of the mission were enthusiastically received on their arrival at Tokio on February 19, 1906; and four days later the Prince, on behalf of King Edward, invested the Mikado with the Order of the Garter at the Imperial Palace, and conferred the Order of Merit on Admiral Togo, Marshal Oyama, and the Marquis Yamagata. In return, Prince Arthur was decorated with the Japanese Order of the Chrysanthemum. Prince Fushimi of Japan paid a State visit to England in May, 1907, and was splendidly entertained at Court and in the country.

Japan took control of Korean foreign affairs in November, 1905. During the years 1906-9 progress was made with the clearing up of questions between Japan and Russia left untouched by the Treaty of Portsmouth in the improvement of affairs in Manchuria, and in the conduct of the operations

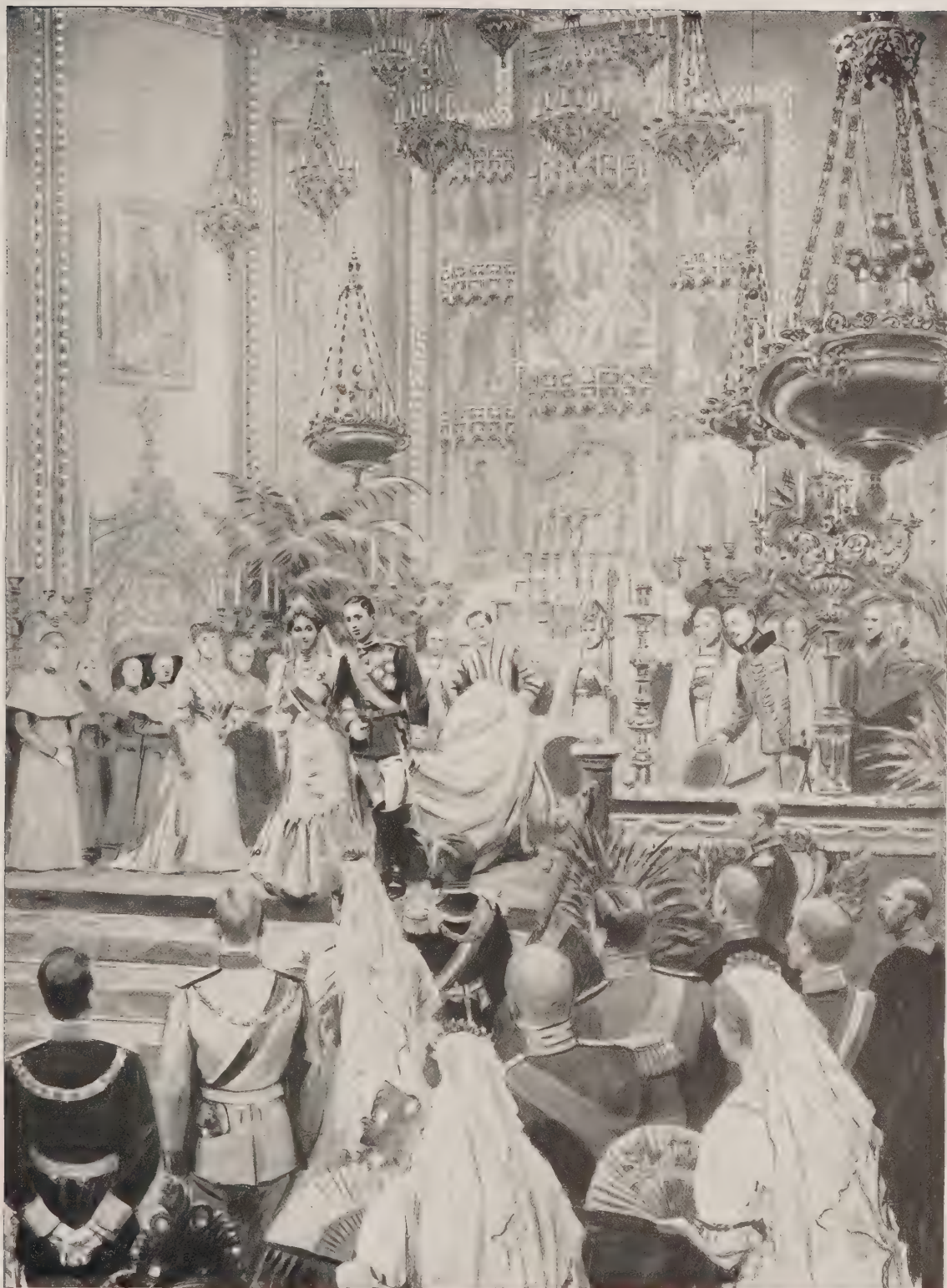
under Ito, now raised to the rank of Prince, for the gradual absorption of Korea into the Empire of Japan, eventually fully accomplished in the spring of 1910. Prince Ito accompanied the Emperor of Japan on a tour through Korea at the beginning of 1909, but he was assassinated, on October 24 of that year, by a Korean at Harbin, Manchuria, whither he had gone to discuss railway matters with the Russian Minister of Finance. His body was taken to Japan, and every honour was paid by the Emperor and nation to

the memory of Japan's greatest modern statesman. In the Japanese Diet on January 27, 1910, Count Komura, Minister for Foreign

Affairs, explained that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was increasingly satisfactory; that the relations with Russia, China, and the United States were excellent; and that all the Powers were dealing with international questions in a spirit of mutual accommodation. Port Arthur was to be opened in order to contribute to the development of Manchuria and facilitate the commerce of all nations.



KING ALFONSO OF SPAIN AND HIS BRIDE
From a photograph by Hughes & Mullins



MARRIAGE OF KING ALFONSO OF SPAIN TO KING EDWARD'S NIECE, PRINCESS VICTORIA EUGENIE ENA, AT MADRID, MAY 31, 1906
The illustration, from a drawing by S. Begg, shows the King and Queen leaving the altar for the throne in the Church of San Geronimo at the conclusion of the actual wedding ceremony. The Prince and Princess of Wales were among those present.



CHAPTER LXXIX

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE EDWARDIAN ERA

Being a Chronicle of the Activities of King Edward as the Leader of Society and His Influence on the Social Life of His Time

FROM the very first moment of King Edward's reign to the last his Majesty was the centre of the social life of the country. Social activities prior to his reign had somewhat waned, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, had drifted into a sort of chaos in which no one influence pervaded the energies of the nation. King Edward had changed all this before he laid down the burden of his Crown. He assumed the leadership of society, and from his direction it received a new impetus and a new humanising force. He went everywhere; he did everything, living his life to the full with his people. There was hardly a phase of existence to which the King did not pay attention, or which failed to derive from his interest some help and some encouragement. The social record of his reign even epitomised—for it would take several volumes to describe it in detail—affords a remarkable illustration of his amazing energy and his wonderful gift of being able to mix with complete enjoyment among all classes of his subjects. Even during the year of mourning for Queen Victoria his social activities were numerous and exacting.

Two months elapsed before the exigencies of his accession permitted his Majesty to commence the normal life of a Sovereign. Early in April, 1901, after an exacting period of ceremonial duties, the King went down to Windsor and at once commenced his work as the leader of every section of society. Windsor was exactly the place where he was able to demonstrate to his subjects the importance he attached to the agricultural welfare of the country. Always a keen farmer, he gave a lead to the land-owners throughout the United Kingdom by showing a personal interest in the model farm at Frogmore. During this sojourn at Windsor Castle

he inspected his farm daily, walking round with his steward, Mr. Tait, and examining the stock. For a whole fortnight his Majesty occupied himself with these duties, only visiting London once, to lunch with the Duke and Duchess of Fife at Portman Square. For the most part he kept within the grounds of the Castle, but on April 12 he broke through this arrangement to inspect the Bachelor's Acre, which it had been suggested should be laid out as a pleasure-garden in memory of Queen Victoria. Returning to town at the end of April, he took up his residence at Marlborough House, and passed his time, apart from State business, in visiting his private friends and inspecting various alterations which were being made in Buckingham Palace. He was busy, too, in assuming the patronage of various societies, military, naval, medical, agricultural, and charitable. He gave a fillip also to the new motor-car industry by selecting and purchasing some of the finest automobiles obtainable.

On May 22 he journeyed down to Southampton to witness the trial between Sir Thomas Lipton's two Shamrocks. The accident that befel his Majesty during this visit has been narrated elsewhere. It is only necessary to point out here, as illustrating the diverse social interests of the King, that he was an enthusiastic follower of sea sports, and soon after his accession assumed

the style of Admiral of the Royal Yacht Squadron. On May 25 his Majesty, accompanied by the Queen, went again to Windsor for the Whitsuntide holidays. Here he played golf, went for boating excursions on the river, arranged for the continuance of the schools established by Queen Victoria in the park for the children of the employees on the estate, and accepted the Albert Medal of the Society of Arts for his thirty-five years'



KING EDWARD AMONG HIS PEOPLE: ON THE FRONT AT COWES

From a photograph by Stephen Cribb



KING EDWARD IN PRIVATE LIFE

From a photograph by W. S. Stuart, Richmond



THE BUSINESS SIDE OF KING EDWARD'S LIFE: HIS MAJESTY IN HIS STUDY AT MARLBOROUGH HOUSE

From a photograph by Russell & Sons

presidency of that society. Several visitors spent this Whitsuntide week with him, including Lord Salisbury and Lord Milner. A variety of entertainments was organised for their amusement, one of the most interesting being a picnic at Fort Belvedere, near Virginia Water. Early in June their Majesties returned to town, where they stayed until the 18th, in order that the King might present medals to the troops who had returned from the war, and perform other functions of the kind. A fortnight at Sandringham, during which time King Edward lent his patronage to the scheme of the Royal Agricultural Society for the erection of a permanent show-yard, and then again his Majesty was at Marlborough House.

It is possible now to review this, the first season of King Edward's reign. It was remarkable in many ways, but especially so for the change that the King's accession had brought about. The general mourning, while naturally casting something of a gloom over society, did not prevent several important entertainments being held, with the approval of the King. For the first time a brilliant garden-party was given at Apsley House. It is clear that King Edward's influence tended towards a more liberal scale of entertainments than had hitherto been the vogue, and the brilliant doings of society in the remaining years of his reign were already foreshadowed. The influence of the Queen, too, was at once demonstrated. While at Marlborough House she made it her custom to drive frequently

King Edward's First Season

in the Park, and the fact that she was usually accompanied by one of her grandchildren, generally seated on her knee, gave an impetus to a very charming, natural, and domestic custom. The toy dogs that it had been usual to see in the laps of society ladies were now discarded, and their places taken by children.

By the end of June the King began to accept invitations to dine out, and this was at once a signal for a series of brilliant entertainments. Dances and dinners followed one another in quick succession. A beautiful fête at Stafford House, in aid of the Lifeboat Fund, and the

great County Sale at Earl's Court Exhibition, in aid of the Sailors' and Soldiers' Families Association, were among the more prominent events of the season. Their patronage by the King ensured their success, and it was estimated that almost every family of the British aristocracy was represented at these two great gatherings. Even the picturesque pageant of the trial of the Earl Russell by his peers on a charge of bigamy, though it had a squalid sequel

in Holloway Gaol, added to the interests of the season; and the recovery of the lost Gainsborough, in which the King was particularly interested, specially inspecting it under the guidance of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, was also a social event of importance.

King Edward paid several visits during July. On the 12th he journeyed down to Keele Hall, North Staffordshire, as the guest of the Grand-Duke Michael of Russia and Countess Torby. The house-party included Count Mensdorff, the Countess of Kilmorey, the Hon. O. Borthwick, the Hon. Sidney Greville, Mr. Cornwallis-West, and Mrs. G. Keppel. Later on in the month the King travelled down by motor-car from Windsor as a week-end guest at Downe Place, Lord Alington's beautiful riverside seat. As usual, King Edward never relaxed his efforts on behalf of hospitals and other institutions for the mitigation of human suffering. He personally distributed medals to the Army nurses who had returned from the war, and showed a lively interest in the meeting of the British Congress on Tuberculosis, which opened at St. James's Hall on July 22, under the presidency of the Duke of Cambridge, who acted for the King. To a telegram stating that the Congress had been opened, the King wired back a lengthy message in reply.

"I have just received your telegram. I thank you for having kindly consented to open the Congress in my name, and I am glad to hear that the ceremony has passed off so well. Pray heartily welcome for me the eminent men belonging to almost every nation who have assembled to-day under your presidency, and express to them my

earnest hope that the valuable information which they will give to the world as the result of the deliberations of the British Congress on Tuberculosis will assist in mitigating the dire disease which has baffled the most distinguished physicians for so long.

"EDWARD REX."

From London, at the end of the season, the King went to Cowes, hoisting his flag on board his old yacht the *Britannia*. Though the Royal regatta, at the King's command, was shorn of some of its glory by the omission of fireworks, the meeting was a record one, such was the social attraction of his Majesty. The Solent was crowded with yachts. Cowes was full of distinguished personages, and the weather was delightful. Among the persons present on their yachts, besides the King and Queen, were the Princess Henry of Battenberg, the Duke of Alva, Prince and Princess Batthyany-Strattmann, the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Leeds, Sir Salter Pyne, Sir Samuel and Lady Sophia Scott, the Hon. Charles Russell, Mr. W. K. Vanderbilt, Miss Langtry, Mr. Gibson Bowles, Lord Colville of Culross, and Baroness Eckhardstein. His Majesty was keenly interested in the racing, and the famous week was judged to be one of the most successful in the whole history of the regatta. During his stay in the Solent his Majesty inspected the *Discovery*, which put into Stokes Bay prior to her start for the South Pole.

The visit to Germany and the death of the Empress Frederick again necessitated a pause in the social life of the King. On September 28 his Majesty paid his first visit to Balmoral, where he was received with all the customary Highland honours. He spent his time here shooting deer, seeing the tenants on the estate, and going over to call on the Duke and Duchess of Fife at Mar Lodge. Several distinguished personages came as guests to Balmoral while his Majesty was in residence there. At the end of three weeks he returned to town, and passed the remainder of the year between London and Windsor, with the exception of a short stay at Sandringham, where he received a large house-party. It was on this occasion that the famous comedian, Dan Leno, who afterwards received the title of "The King's Jester," first performed before his Majesty.

As was his usual custom, too, the King also spent Christmas at Sandringham, marking the festival this year, the first of his reign, by specially handsome gifts to his tenants.

The New Year was spent quietly at Sandringham, all the old English ceremonies attaching to the passing of the old and the ringing in of the new being observed. On January 5 King Edward was able to make an announcement, through the medium of the Press, which must have been a great pleasure to himself personally. For days previously it had become known that a large sum of money had been placed at the King's disposal by an unknown person for charitable or utilitarian purposes. For

four days the name of the giver and the object to which the sum was to be devoted were widely debated. On January 6 there appeared the following notice, printed at the command of the King:

"Sir Ernest Cassel, previous to his recent departure for India, placed at the disposal of the King £200,000 for charitable and utilitarian purposes. His Majesty for a long time past has felt the necessity for providing additional sanatoria in England for the open-air treatment of tuberculosis. His Majesty decides, therefore, on devoting this generous gift for that special object. It will be carried out, when a fitting site has been acquired, under the personal directions of the King, with the assistance of an advisory committee."

The Christmas and New Year festivities concluded on January 9 with a special performance of "A Cigarette-Maker's Romance," by Mr. Martin Harvey and his company. The following day the King returned to Marlborough House, to be in readiness for the opening of Parliament. That formal function over, he went down to Windsor, visiting from there, on the 18th, the Earl Howe at Penn House. Here he enjoyed some excellent shooting. The guns were carefully selected, and included, besides his Majesty and his host, Earl de Grey, the Hon. H. Stonor, Mr. A. Sassoon, Lord Herbert Vane-Tempest, Viscount Curzon, and General Sir Stanley Clarke. The bag amounted to over 1,200 pheasants, ten brace of partridges, ten hares, and twenty rabbits. Shooting lasted from eleven o'clock in the morning till the light began to fail, lunch being served in a tent near Penn Farm, at which the ladies of the house-party were present.

After five days' stay with Earl Howe, the King motored back to Windsor. By February 1 he was once more in London. His social doings included a surprise visit to the Lyric Theatre to see Mr. Forbes-Robertson's "Mice and Men," on February 1, and attendance at Queen's Hall at one of the famous Sunday concerts. Two days later he was again at Queen's Hall at a smoking concert given by the Royal Amateur Orchestral Society. On the 13th he attended "Niagara" at the Olympia, to witness the competition for the world's amateur championship in figure-skating.

Towards the end of February the King honoured Lord Burton with a visit to Rangemore, where a select house-party

was gathered together to meet him. During his stay here the King made a tour of inspection of Burton and the famous brewing works. The whole of the town was decorated in his honour. All work was suspended, and thousands filled the streets to greet his Majesty. After seeing over Bass & Company's brewery, where he started a special brew which was not to be touched for twenty years, and was to be known as "The King's Number 1 Special Brew," his Majesty made a progress through the town. The following day being Sunday,



A FAMILY GROUP AT MAR LODGE IN 1904: KING EDWARD, WITH THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF FIFE AND THEIR DAUGHTERS AND PRINCESS MAUD (NOW THE QUEEN OF NORWAY)

From a photograph by W. & D. Downey



KING EDWARD'S VISIT TO EDINBURGH IN 1903: HIS MAJESTY RECEIVING THE KEYS OF THE CASTLE
Drawn by Allan Stewart

he attended service at Rangemore Church, and passed the day quietly. Next day he left Burton and returned to town.

The cares of State and the onerous duties of ceremonial, which had now, with the approach of the Coronation, begun to increase, were lightened by frequent visits to the theatre and to concerts. Wales was much gratified when, on St. David's Day, the Abercarn Male Voice Choir received the Royal command to sing before his Majesty. On March 25 his Majesty went for a ten days' cruise round the coast of England. For a few days he stayed in the Solent, contenting himself with short trips to sea or motor runs inland. One of his most interesting land tours was to Beaulieu Castle, the seat of Lord Montagu in the New Forest, to which he was driven by the present Lord Montagu, then the Hon. Scott Montagu. On April 4 the sea trip proper started. In the course of that journey his Majesty visited a score of places, and looked in upon a variety of life. He visited Portland Prison, where he saw six hundred convicts dine. He put in at Plymouth, and steamed down to the Scilly Isles, where he called upon Mr. Dorian-Smith, the lord proprietor of the islands. On the 9th he anchored off St. Michael's Mount, where he was received by Lord St. Levan, drove to Penzance, and returned again to his yacht. On April 12 he was back again in London, and the famous season of 1902 may be said to have begun on that day.

The King's doings during the next two months, until he fell ill and the Coronation was postponed, were numerous in the extreme. He visited Epsom for the City and Suburban, and was present on Newmarket Heath. He attended in state at the Opera on May 8, dined with the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, and attended a magnificent entertainment given by Lord and Lady Howe at Curzon House on June 9. Five hundred guests received invitations to the supper and dance that followed the

latter entertainment, which was representative of all that was best in London society. Shortly afterwards his Majesty fell ill, and it was not until the Coronation had taken place in August that he resumed his social activities.

Another cruise in the Victoria and Albert enabled him to visit some of the outlying places in his kingdom, and to see the life of different sections of his subjects.

A Month in Scotland
 On August 25 he visited the Isle of Man, and, conducted by Mr. Hall Caine, saw as much of the island as was possible in half a dozen hours. From here he steamed to the west coast of Scotland and enjoyed, at the suggestion of the Duchess of Hamilton, a day's deer-stalking in Arran. Two days later he took part in some further sport in Kinloch deer forest, as the guest of Mr. Frank Bibby. Finally, on September 5, the King, having landed on the coast, journeyed to Balmoral. Here he passed his time in a round of social amusements such as are dear to the hearts of the Scottish people. He stalked deer, witnessed the Highland games at Braemar, and inquired as usual into the management of his estate. On the 7th he visited Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Carnegie at Skibo Castle. Towards the end of the month he returned to London for a short sojourn in his capital.

During October he was occupied in flying visits to different parts of the country, attending Newmarket, and going with the Duke of Roxburgh, Mr. Choate (the American Ambassador), and General Brewster to the links at North Berwick, where he purchased a set of clubs from Ben Sayers, the well-known professional. On October 23 he hurried down to Windsor on an errand of mercy. The Hon. Lady Biddulph, who had been Maid of Honour to Queen Victoria in 1850, lay dying in her residence in the Henry III. Tower at the Castle. Putting off all other engagements, King Edward hastened to her side. The interview was but a brief one, and a few minutes after the

King had left the sick-chamber the sad news was brought to him that one of his Royal mother's most faithful attendants had passed away. On the 28th he was again at Newmarket, where a brilliant gathering of distinguished people surrounded their Sovereign. During his stay there the King dined in succession with Lord and Lady Wolverton, the Duke of Devonshire, Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, and the Earl and Countess Cadogan. For his birthday on November 9 his Majesty went to Sandringham, where the anniversary was celebrated in very homely fashion, only members of the Royal Family being present. For the remainder of the year affairs of State interrupted his social labours.

The many-sidedness of the King's social character received an excellent illustration in the early part of 1903. On February 11 he attended a smoking concert given at the Queen's Hall by the Royal Amateur Orchestral Society. Among the guests who had the honour of meeting his Majesty were Count Benckendorff (the Russian Ambassador), Prince Louis of Battenberg, the Marquis de Soveral, Count Albert Mensdorff, Lord Howe, Lord Revelstoke, and the Right Hon. Robert Spencer. Except for the profusion of flowers and the distinguished gathering of persons, the smoking concert was conducted on the usual principles of such performances. His Majesty, with a cigar in his mouth, listened to the beautiful music, and laughed and talked with his friends. It was noticed that when Mr. Kennerly-Rumford sang "The Yeomen of England" his Majesty joked with the Marquis de Soveral. The song contains an allusion to the Spaniards, and the Marquis, leaning over to the King, made some remark that shook his Majesty with laughter. The performance closed amidst scenes of wild enthusiasm with the singing of "Here's a Health Unto His Majesty."

On February 18 the King visited His Majesty's Theatre to witness Miss Lena Ashwell's performance of Tolstoy's "Resurrection." He took the keenest interest in the play, following the development of the painful story and the enunciation of Tolstoy's revolutionary doctrine with marked attention. At the close of the third act he joined heartily in the demonstration which rewarded Miss Lena Ashwell's wonderful interpretation of Katusha, the principal character.

The following day his Majesty paid a visit to the London County Council's estate at Millbank, Westminster. The tenants of the model dwellings, swelled by many hundreds from Vauxhall and the neighbourhood, gave their Majesties a rousing welcome. The Council received them in state, and, under the superintendence of Mr. W. E. Riley, the King visited every part of the buildings, and showed by his searching questions that his long connection with the Royal Commission on Housing had made

him an expert in matters affecting the welfare of the poorer classes of his subjects. On March 10 his Majesty revived a pleasant custom, which had prevailed from the first year of his married life until 1886, when it was found impossible to continue it. This took the form of keeping the anniversary of his marriage to Queen Alexandra by a dinner-party and a small ball.

On the night of March 10 Buckingham Palace presented a most brilliant scene. At the dinner, which was a purely family affair, all the members of the Royal Family in town attended. At 10 o'clock the four hundred people who had been invited to the ball began to arrive. As the party was a private one and not a State entertainment, the guests were set down at the state entrance, the ambassador's entrance being closed. As the Royal procession entered the ball-room the spectacle was one of the greatest brilliance and animation. Masses of flowers, sent up from Frogmore, and tall palms and foliated plants adorned the



KING EDWARD'S CARE FOR HIS PEOPLE: HIS MAJESTY AT THE LONDON HOSPITAL IN JUNE, 1903

The King, with Queen Alexandra, visited the hospital to inspect the Finnsen-light apparatus for the cure of lupus, which had been presented by her Majesty when Princess of Wales
From a drawing by F. H. Townsend



THE ROYAL VISIT TO ETON IN 1904 KING EDWARD IN A BARGE ON THE THAMES

Drawn by Charles W. Wy

corners of the grand staircase. The guests included the most distinguished persons in society. Dancing, in which the King and Queen took part, was continued until a late hour, the music being provided by Herr Kandt's Austrian Orchestra. Supper was served at little tables, instead of at the long buffets which were employed at evening Courts, State balls, and concerts.

A long visit abroad and a State visit to Scotland now again broke into the purely social duties of the King. While in Scotland his Majesty took up his residence at Dalkeith Palace, the stately home of the Duke of Buccleuch. Here, when the exigencies of State ceremonial permitted, the King entertained privately a number of his Scottish friends. On the 15th his Majesty returned to town, and three days later visited the Military Tournament at Islington. On the 21st he was at Kew to open the new bridge, and on Derby Day, the 27th, he attended the famous meeting at Epsom, with the Queen. In the evening he entertained the members of the Jockey Club at Buckingham Palace, some hundred guests sitting down to dinner. At half-past eleven he went to Devonshire House to grace the ball given in his honour by the Duchess of Devonshire. The feature of the ball was the Royal quadrille, in which both the King and Queen and the Princess Victoria, the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, Lady Cadogan, and the Russian Ambassador took part.

A few days' stay at Windsor, where, on June 3, the King gave a dinner in honour of the Prince of Wales's thirty-eighth birthday, and he was back again in town to visit the new out-patients' ward of the London Hospital in Turner's Road, Whitechapel. Ascot week was spent again at

Royal Dinner Parties at Ascot

Windsor, and while at the Castle his Majesty received, in St. George's Hall, two hundred delegates of the International Telegraph Conference, who were introduced to him by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Postmaster-General. Ascot week was rendered notable by a series of Royal dinner-parties, the guests staying in the Castle including the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, the Duke and Duchess of Portland, the Marquis de Soveral, the Earl of Clarendon, the Earl and Countess of Derby, the Earl of Rosebery, the Countess Howe, the Earl and Countess Carrington, and Rear-Admiral the Hon. Hedworth Lambton.

On June 19 a magnificent ball was held in the Castle, at which some hundred guests were present, the Waterloo Chamber being used. On the 24th the King was once more in London, and on that day attended the Royal Agricultural Show at Park Royal, where, as usual, he showed his practical knowledge of live stock and his interest in agricultural pursuits by inspecting closely every one of the exhibits. On July 10 his Majesty spent a week-end with the Duke

and Duchess of Devonshire at Compton Place, Eastbourne. While here he took the opportunity of paying a surprise visit to the Princess Alice Memorial Hospital, the leading charitable institution of the borough, which had been erected to the memory of his beloved sister. His coming was an absolute surprise, and at first the hospital staff were thrown into a state of nervousness and confusion, but the kindly, unaffected bearing of the King soon set everyone at their ease. Before leaving the King wrote a testimonial in the distinguished visitors' book: "I paid a surprise visit to the hospital at 9.30 this morning and found everything in admirable order, the wards being specially well ventilated.—EDWARD R. and L. July 13, 1903."

The remainder of July was taken up with the visit of President Loubet and the State tour in Ireland. Apart from purely State functions, one of the most interesting events of the latter part of 1903 in which his Majesty took part was his visit to the Middle Temple, where, on November 3, he dined as a Benchers in Hall. He was the first Sovereign in the history of Great Britain to take up his right of dining with his brother Benchers. Attended by his gentlemen-in-waiting, he was received at the old Elizabethan Hall. A procession was at once formed, and walked in double file to the hall, which was full of members of the Inn, including well-known counsels, county-court judges, and stipendiary magistrates. The magnificently robed head porter, bearing his ebony silver-mounted staff, gave his customary knock on the floor to herald the approach of the Benchers, and all stood to attention as the King entered. As soon as he was seated the head porter gave three raps with a mallet on the table, the master said grace, and dinner at once proceeded. There were no speeches, but the toast of the King was given, followed by that of the



THE VICEREGAL HOUSE-PARTY AT THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY'S RESIDENCE, MOUNT STEWART, JULY 27, 1903

On the left of the Queen, in order, are the Earl of Dudley, Marquis of Londonderry, Countess of Erne, Lady Helen Stravordale, Princess Victoria, Earl of Shrewsbury; on the right of the King are the Hon. Charlotte Knollys, Marchioness of Londonderry, Earl of Selborne, Earl of Erne, Lady Dudley, and the Duke and Duchess of Abercorn. Photograph by Lafayette, Dublin

Queen and "Domus." It was half-past ten before the King left, and he received a tremendous ovation, in spite of the custom of the Inn, as he passed down the Hall.

The King's birthday this year—his sixty-second—was celebrated at Sandringham, where a distinguished house-party was gathered together. The tenantry and those employed on the estate were entertained to dinner in a gaily decorated marquee in the park. When the repast was served, the King, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and most of his Majesty's grandchildren, walked over from Sandringham House to see that their guests were enjoying themselves. Three days later his Majesty invited some fifty distinguished people down to Sandringham, where a command performance of "A Marriage of Convenience" was given by Mr. Lewis Waller in the ball-room. After the visit to the King and Queen of Italy and a short stay at Buckingham Palace and at Windsor, the King returned to Sandringham to spend Christmas, according to the traditional English custom, in which he so delighted.

Early in January, 1904, he visited the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire at Chatsworth. The entertainments in this historic mansion were conducted in a princely style. On January 7 the house-party, which included Consuelo, Duchess of Manchester, Earl and Countess Howe, Mr. Balfour, and the Marquis de Soveral, was entertained to some

private theatricals, which delighted the King immensely. Shooting at Chatsworth took place each day of the King's visit. A trip to Haddon Hall and Hardwick Hall, where the King planted a tree as a memento of his visit, and various motor-car excursions were among the number of the amusements provided during his stay with the Duke of Devonshire. On January 9 the visit came to an end, and his Majesty returned to town. Later, on March 25, King Edward stayed as the guest of the Earl of Derby at Knowsley for the Grand National.

For the remainder of the year his social amusements were limited by a long series of State ceremonials. A visit to Ireland, a visit to the Kaiser at Kiel, a reception of the German Squadron at Plymouth and a whole host of other important functions fully occupied his attention. He found time, however, to fulfil a long outstanding promise to visit Eton. On June 13 he watched the procession of boats and inspected the school, and returned to Windsor in the Royal barge amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the boys. Perhaps one of the most notable evidences his Majesty gave this year of his interest in every section of the society of his subjects was his reception, on June 22, of General Booth. The Commander-in-Chief of the Salvation Army was received at Buckingham Palace. The King questioned him closely on the work of his organisation, showing special



KING EDWARD AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA AT THE MARQUIS OF ORMONDE'S HOUSE-PARTY AT KILKENNY CASTLE IN APRIL, 1904

In the front row are Princess Victoria, Lady Pole-Carew, Queen Alexandra, King Edward, and the Marchioness of Ormonde. The Marquis of Ormonde is standing immediately behind King Edward. Photograph by Lafayette, Dublin

interest in the efforts that were being made on behalf of the poor. General Booth came away from that interview deeply impressed by the King's kindness and his genuine sympathy with the sufferings of his poorer subjects.

The beginning of 1905 saw the King again at Chatsworth as the guest of the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire. The visit, which began on January 2, lasted a week, and was again rendered notable by the princely hospitality of his Majesty's host. Excellent shooting and some amusing private theatricals were among the number of the entertainments provided. On January 7 the King motored from Chatsworth to Buxton to visit the Devonshire Hospital. The town was *en fête* for the occasion, and the inmates of the hospital itself greeted his Majesty with vocal honours. After inspecting the wards and expressing his appreciation of all he saw, the King drove to the Pavilion Gardens, through streets which were crowded with thousands of his enthusiastic and loyal subjects. After lunching at St. Ann's Hotel, his Majesty returned to Chatsworth. On January 10 he was back again in Buckingham Palace. On the following day he made an interesting excursion to Walmer Castle, where he had not been since he had gone as a little boy with his mother as the guest of the famous Duke of Wellington. The object of his visit was to inspect the condition of the castle with a view either to abandoning it as a residence or to making extensive altera-

those connected with the Church Army. "Give your devoted workers," he said, "my deepest sympathy. Encourage them to press on and persevere. I also send my deepest sympathy and encouragement to the poor inmates of your homes, who, I trust, will show gratitude for the benefits they have received." As a practical illustration of his interest in the work, the King sent Mr. Carlile a banknote for £100.

It will not be without interest here to give a list of the King's movements for the remainder of this month of January. It will illustrate better than anything else the extraordinary social activities of the King in



AT DUBLIN EXHIBITION, 1907

the midst of State duties, which occupied his close attention for, on an average, eight hours a day.

Jan. 16. Journeyed to Sandringham.

„ 18. Personally arranged for presentations of game to St. Thomas's, Guy's, and St. George's Hospitals.

„ 19. Shooting party at Sandringham. Gift of venison for the poor of the Church Army from Bushey Park.

„ 20. Returned to Buckingham Palace.

„ 21. Purchased at a sale held at the residence of the late Dowager Duchess of Wellington a gold and enamelled pendant pearl drop, enclosing a portrait of

the Prince Consort—a gift to the duchess from "his broken-hearted widow, Victoria R., 1861."

Jan. 22. Journeyed to Windsor. Attended with other members of the Royal Family at a memorial service to Queen Victoria, performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Dean of Windsor. Commanded the Royal Mausoleum to be opened from two till four for the servants and inhabitants of Windsor to visit.

„ 25. Shooting in Windsor Great Park.

„ 30. Unveiled a memorial in Holy Trinity, Windsor, to the officers and non-commissioned officers



KING EDWARD IN IRELAND: AT KILKENNY CATTLE SHOW, MAY, 1904

From photographs by Lafayette, Dublin

tions. He was greatly interested in the historic contents and heirlooms preserved in the castle.

On January 14 his Majesty received the Rev. W. Carlile, the Chief Secretary of the Church Army, showing a keen interest in, and a practical knowledge of, the work of the various departments of the organisation. In the course of his conversation he emphasised the undesirability of indiscriminate charity or ill-considered schemes of relief, tending to attract distressed persons from the country to already over-populated centres. He was especially interested in what Mr. Carlile had to tell him of the sorrows and sufferings of the genuinely hard-working poor. In bidding Mr. Carlile farewell, his Majesty sent a message to all

and men of the Household Brigade who lost their lives in the South African War.

This is by no means a complete list of the King's doings, but it affords some idea of the great variety of matters with which he delighted to deal. On February 27 he visited Portsmouth, where he was the guest of Rear-Admiral Prince Louis Battenberg on board the *Drake*, the flagship of the second cruiser squadron. Here he dined with the officers at mess, and made an inspection of the Royal Garrison Artillery at Clarence Barracks. The next day he was at the Hackney Horse Show, witnessing with keen interest the judging of the champion classes. On March 29 he spent three days at Knowsley, the Lancashire seat of Lord and Lady Derby. During April he was occupied with a Continental tour, from which he returned on May 4. In spite of the distractions of this journey, he did not forget his duties at home. It happened that the Diamond Jubilee of the Ragged School Union and the Shaftesbury Society, of which the King was patron, took place on April 8. Had his Majesty overlooked the matter, in view of his important tour abroad, nobody could have wondered; but that was not King Edward's way. He forgot nothing, and on April 8 the institution received, not only a cheque

King's Thought for the Ragged Schools

By October he was in Scotland, and, leaving Balmoral on October 13, he visited Lord and Lady Brougham and Vaux at Brougham, Penrith, for two days. Five days later he was back in London for the opening of Kingsway and Aldwych. On this occasion he showed not only his great social tact, but his recognition of his constitutional position. Among the addresses presented to him was one from the Poplar Borough Council, in which his Majesty's attention was particularly drawn to the want of employment and the distress resulting therefrom. After expressing his deep sorrow and grave concern for the severe hardships from which so many of his subjects were suffering, he went on to say that he would refer the suggestion mentioned in the address for the alleviation of this suffering to his Ministers, who would advise him with wisdom and sound policy.

Another important visit during this year was one of four days to Lord and Lady Alington at Crichel, Wimbourne, Dorset. His Majesty arrived there on December 6, and on the same day presented cups and medals to the team of Dorsetshire Artillery Volunteers. The house-party at Crichel included Lord and Lady Crewe, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Lord and Lady Cadogan, Lord Villiers, Sir Charles and Lady Hardinge, Sir Ernest Cassel,



A ROYAL SHOOTING PARTY: KING EDWARD WITH THE KAISER AT SANDRINGHAM, NOVEMBER, 1902

In the front row, from the left, are: (2) Queen of Norway; (4) Lady Ormonde; (5) Lady Londonderry; (6) Lady Lansdowne; (7) Lord Londonderry; (8) Lord Lansdowne. At the back are Queen Alexandra, the present King George, the Kaiser, King Edward, and the King of Norway standing next to Princess Victoria. The photograph was taken by Messrs. Latayette.

for a hundred guineas, but a special message wishing them the blessing of Providence in their work.

On his return the King took up at once his duties as the head of society. Entertainments followed one another in rapid succession. On June 1 he honoured the Duchess of Devonshire by dining at Devonshire House and taking part in the ball that followed. On the 15th a stately garden party was held at Windsor Castle, at which all the British Royalties and several foreign Royalties were present. After tea had been served, his Majesty, with the Queen, sat under an Indian tent and received some of the principal guests. On June 26 he visited the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, inspected and addressed the cadets, went through the building, and afterwards visited the Staff College at Camberley. On July 1 he visited Mr. and Mrs. Grenfell at Taplow Court, Maidenhead, three days later going to Newmarket for the races. On the 15th, after opening the second Alexandra Court, the new home for the widows and daughters of naval and military officers at Wimbledon, he spent a week-end with the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire at Compton Place, Eastbourne. Before the closing of the season his Majesty was assiduous in paying visits to numbers of his friends in town.

With the coming of autumn State and ceremonial duties occupied his attention to the exclusion of other matters,

and Mr. Lionel Rothschild. His Majesty enjoyed some excellent shooting, the bag totalling, for three days' sport, over three thousand. On December 12 the King visited the Duke and Duchess of Portland at Welbeck Abbey. Here he remained for three days, shooting, playing golf, and motoring. A gloom was cast over the King's social doings at the beginning of the next year by the death of the King of Denmark, the King's father-in-law. He was much abroad, too, being absent from the country on visits to several Continental capitals from March 2 to May 7. He found time, however, to receive again Prebendary Carlile on February 16, 1906, and to perform several public social functions.

On his return from abroad he inspected the Austro-Hungarian Exhibition at Earl's Court on May 9. A

fortnight later, on May 23, he opened the new offices of the Hearts of Oak Benefit Society in Euston Road. In reply to an

address, the King made some very wise remarks on the importance of thrift. "The encouragement of habits of thrift," he said, "and of a spirit of self-help is an object which must always have the deepest sympathy of myself and the Queen." On June 12, as Sovereign of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, he was present at the dedication of the Chapel of the Order in St. Paul's



TAKING THE "CURE" AT MARIENBAD IN 1909: KING EDWARD'S MORNING VISIT TO THE SPRINGS
Drawn by F. Matania

Cathedral. Hundreds of distinguished persons were gathered together to witness a scene which was one of exceptional brilliancy. On June 20 his Majesty travelled to Derby to attend the opening of the Royal Agricultural Society's show and to unveil a statue of Queen Victoria. On July 10 he spent three days with the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle, taking the opportunity while there to open the new high-level bridge erected over the Tyne by the North-Eastern Railway and to perform several ceremonial functions at Newcastle. The visit to the latter town was made notable by his conferring the title of Lord Mayor upon the chief magistrate of the city. Among his other doings was a visit to Armstrong College, the opening of an infirmary, and the unveiling of a statue of Queen Victoria.

After a visit to Cowes, where, on August 8, his Majesty presided at the Royal Yacht Squadron dinner at the Squadron Castle, he went abroad, returning on September 9. The following day he went for a week's visit to Lord and Lady Savile at Rufford Abbey, Ollerton. This was followed on September 17 by another week's stay at Tulchan Lodge, Mr. Sassoon's seat in Morayshire. Here his Majesty enjoyed some excellent shooting on the moors, and visited several places of interest with his host by automobile. On the 24th he was at Balmoral, where he remained until October 21. In November again his Majesty paid a round of visits to country houses. In the company of Queen Alexandra, the King and Queen of Norway, Prince Olaf, and Princess Victoria he honoured Mr. and Mrs. Willie James with a sojourn at West Dean, near Chichester, where he had some fine sport in the woods, bagging on one day 120 pheasants.

While at West Dean he visited the Duke of Norfolk at Arundel Castle, and inspected the consumption sanatorium which bore his name. At the conclusion of his stay at West Dean Park he journeyed down to King's Lynn, on November 26, where he was the guest of Lord and Lady Farquhar at Castle Rising Hall. The house-party here included Lord Rosebery and Mr. Sassoon, and on the second day of their stay they were joined by the King and Queen of Norway and the Queen and Princess Victoria. A few days sojourn in his Norfolk home, and he was back again in London, on December 6. Christmas, as usual, was spent at Sandringham.

The year 1907 began with what had now become an almost customary week's visit to the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire at Chatsworth. The house-party invited to meet their Majesties included the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, the Marquis de Soveral, Lord Rosebery, Mr. Balfour, Lord and Lady Desborough, Lord and Lady Acheson, Lord Stanley, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Sassoon,

Miss Muriel Wilson, and the Princess Henry of Pless. This pleasant week's visit was, as usual, marked by some excellent shooting and some amusing private theatricals.

On his return to town the King received the Duke of the Abruzzi on his return from his Arctic exploration. On February 27 he opened the new sessions house at the Old Bailey, and marked the occasion by conferring the order of knighthood on the Common Serjeant and Mr. Charles Mathew, the leader of the Old Bailey Bar. Visits abroad again occupied his attention until May. On the 24th of that month he received Mr. John Kirk, president of the Ragged School Union, at Buckingham Palace, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood. Among the notable events of the season was a garden party at Windsor, on June 22, at which eight thousand guests were present. During June his Majesty received the delegates of the International Red Cross Conference, attended speech day at Wellington College (June 17), unveiled a statue of the Duke of Cambridge, and laid the foundation-stone of the new wing of the British Museum on June 27.

On July 1 he opened the Union Jack Club in Waterloo Road, and on the 9th laid the foundation-stone of the North Wales University College. On the 20th, accompanied by the Queen and Princess Victoria, he paid a week-end visit to Lord and Lady Lansdowne at Bowood Park, where a large and distinguished house-party was gathered to meet him. He was back again in town in time to open the new buildings of the University College School at Hampstead on July 27. As usual, the beginning of the autumn was passed abroad, and for the rest of the year State duties occupied the attention of his Majesty to the exclusion of almost everything else.

The New Year of 1908 saw him, not at Chatsworth, as usual, but at Elveden Hall, the seat of Lord and Lady Iveagh. After a few weeks in town, during which he decorated with the new Edward medals two miners who had risked their lives to save some of their comrades employed in the Penallta Colliery, his Majesty went to Biarritz, Norway,

Sweden, and Denmark. He was back again in May, when he attended the Newmarket races and visited the Duke and Duchess of Westminster at Eaton Hall on the 13th. An inspection of the Duke of York's School, a visit to the Royal farm at Derby on June 3, a State visit to the Ascot meeting on June 16, a garden party at Windsor on the 21st, and attendance at the International Horse Show at the Olympia were among his most notable doings in June. In July he was more than usually active, opening the new building of the Royal National Pension Fund for Nurses on the 5th,



KING EDWARD IN JULY, 1909

From a photograph taken during his Majesty's stay at The Grove, Watford, by Frederick Downer & Sons



THE LAST VISIT TO BIARRITZ, APRIL, 1910: KING EDWARD WALKING ON THE FRONT WITH THE MARQUIS DE SOVERAL
Drawn by F. Matonia

attending a children's party at Buckingham Palace on the 6th, visiting Leeds and staying with Lord Harewood for two days at Harewood House, visiting Lord Rosebery at Mentmore on the 11th, attending the opening of the Olympic games at the Franco-British Exhibition on July 13, and passing a week-end for the Sandown Park race meeting with Lord and Lady Desborough at Taplow Court, Maidenhead.

On his return from his autumn visit abroad he made several country-house visits.

The King's

Last Season

On September 7 he was at Rufford Abbey for a week as the guest of Lord and Lady Savile. On the 14th he stayed with Mr. Arthur Sassoon at Tulchan Lodge, during which he motored over to Moy Hall, Inverness, the seat of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, and to Cawdor Castle. On the 22nd he was at Mar Lodge with the Princess Royal and the Duke of Fife. After his annual stay at Balmoral he visited Mr. and Mrs. Willie James at West Dean Park on October 21, stayed with Sir Ernest Cassel for three days at Moulton Paddocks on November 2, and on November 23 visited Lord and Lady Farquhar at Castle Rising Hall. During December he was twice at Brighton, on the first occasion (December 8) as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Sassoon.

The last year of his Majesty's reign was marked by a more than usually numerous round of visits. The New Year was again spent with Lord and Lady Iveagh at Elveden Hall. On January 11 he was at Cichel as the guest of Lord and Lady Alington, and while here he visited Lord Salisbury at the Old Manor House, Cranbourne, and Lord Normanton at Somerley Court. On his return from Berlin, in February, he spent four days with Mr. and Mrs. Sassoon at Brighton on the 19th. The last season of his Majesty's reign was especially brilliant, and the list of his social doings was a long one. As usual he was at Newmarket in the beginning of May. On the 19th he attended the Royal Military Tournament at Olympia, and on the same day visited Sir Arthur and Lady Paget at Coombe Warren. On May 22 he spent a week-end at Richmond, and on the 29th he was again at Wimborne, from where he paid several visits to country houses in the neighbourhood. On June 5 he passed a

week-end at the country residence near Dorking of Mrs. Ronald Greville. A week later he was at Hatfield with Lord and Lady Salisbury.

Throughout that last summer there was hardly a day on which, in addition to his State duties, he did not fulfil some social engagement. On June 21 he was at Wellington College for speech day, on the 23rd he visited the Royal Agricultural Show at Gloucester, and on the 27th he opened the new buildings of the Royal Albert Museum at Kensington. Rugby School was honoured by his presence on July 3, after which he spent the week-end with Mr. and Mrs. Arthur James at Cotton House. On the 8th he was at Manchester, whence he went to stay with Lord Derby at Knowsley. From here he visited Liverpool and Birmingham before he returned to town. On July 18 he laid the foundation-stone of the King's College Hospital at Denmark Hill, and five days later opened the new in-patient department of the Orthopædic Hospital in Great Portland Street. A week-end with the American Ambassador and Mrs. Whitelaw Reid at West Park, Bedfordshire, on the 24th, was followed by attendance at the Goodwood race meeting.

On August 10 he left for Marienbad. On his return he was again at Rufford Abbey for a week during the Doncaster race meeting on September 4. From here he went to Duntreath Castle as the guest of Sir Archibald Edmondstone, and from there to Tulchan Lodge. On the 20th he stayed for a few days with Mr. and Mrs. Frank Bibby for some deer-stalking. After the usual sojourn at Balmoral his Majesty returned to London,

A Crowded Summer

and his important social engagements for the remainder of the year included a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Willie James at West Dean Park, on October 18, and a short stay at Quidenham Park, the Norfolk seat of the Earl of Albemarle. One of the last of his Majesty's many journeys through his kingdom was made to Brighton in February, 1910. Shortly afterwards his doctors ordered him to Biarritz, where, unknown to his subjects, that fatal illness began which was destined to remove him from the midst of his people, among whom it had ever been his delight to live his life to the full.



THE ROYAL HOUSE-PARTY AT THE GROVE, WATFORD, LORD CLARENDON'S RESIDENCE, IN JULY, 1909
To the right of the King sit Lady Churchill and Lord Clarendon; on the left, Lady Clarendon. The photograph was taken by Frederick Downer & Sons.



CHAPTER LXXX

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF KING EDWARD

Describing the Last Brave Struggle against Ill-Health and
His Self-Sacrificing Devotion to his Ideals of Kingly Duty



THE record of the last months of King Edward's life constitutes in itself no mean monument to his noble, courageous, and truly kingly qualities. In the complex system of modern life a king may not even die like an ordinary man. A protracted illness fully reported in the Press creates depression in the financial world, raises the price of money, and hampers business, and its effects permeate every part of the body politic. So delicate is the machinery of human society to-day, that the slightest flaw in one part is apt to throw the whole out of gear; and when the part affected is the keystone of the whole—the King—disaster and confusion are the result, unless the damage can be promptly and speedily repaired. No one understood this better than King Edward, and it was characteristic of his deep consideration for the welfare of his subjects that not only did he not allow the declining state of his health to be made public, but he refused to permit any notification of his last illness to be issued until some thirty hours before his death.

At the beginning of 1910 those persons who were in daily touch with his Majesty realised that his strength was declining. He had been ill when, for the furtherance of his great peace policy, he had paid a State visit to Berlin in February, 1909. In the following autumn also his condition had given rise to considerable uneasiness. His medical attendants had no difficulty in diagnosing his case. There were certain definite weaknesses which they clearly comprehended. There was a weakness in the abdominal wall at the site of the operation which had been performed in June, 1902, for appendicitis. He had suffered for some time from a condition resembling diabetes. For years also his Majesty had been subject to emphysema, or a distension of the cellular tissues of the throat. Towards the close of the 'eighties he had been in the hands of Sir Morell Mackenzie, and in the early part of 1909 he had been attended by the celebrated laryngologist, Professor St. Clair Thomson. Further, he had long had a tendency to more or less acute bronchitis, with the usual symptoms of distressing and ineffective cough and diffi-

culty of breathing. He was subject to attacks of laryngitis, producing a slight spasm of the vocal cords; but, except for some inflammatory thickening at the hinder part of the glottis and chronic catarrh of the throat, there was no trace of disease in the upper air passages.

In popular parlance, King Edward suffered from "smoker's throat." This and the congestion and thickening due to this cause, combined with the loss of elasticity in the lungs, made it increasingly difficult for him to clear his chest. The necessary effort put a considerable strain upon his heart, which under normal circumstances he might have borne. Unhappily, the circumstances were not normal. Recurrent bronchial attacks, to prevent which he had undergone a vaccine treatment in the winter of 1909, had weakened the resisting powers of his constitution, and a succession of digestive breakdowns had increased the debilitating process. A man with a less high sense of his duty would have listened to the imperative call of Nature and relaxed his energies. But this was not King Edward's way.

He was the King, and to the last he would play his part to the best of his powers. In vain he was urged to rest, to abandon some of his duties, to lead a less exacting life. He refused. Not one item of his multifarious duties would he remit. His resolute will carried him through everything. He absolutely refused to shirk a single one of those trying ceremonies connected with the advancement of his peace policy. Against this determination his physicians contended in vain. Although he listened to their advice with respect, he did not always follow it if it seemed to him to stand in the way of the discharge of his duty. As a consequence, there was no respite to the strain that was continually put upon his heart. A complete rest might have saved his

invaluable personality to the State for some years; but idleness, even when authorised by his doctors, was a thing of which King Edward was incapable. During the whole course of his reign he never even had a real holiday—that is to say, a complete cessation of his ordinary life and a period devoted to other pursuits. His social life, with the enormous exertions it made upon him, never ceased; and though he was *par*



KING EDWARD'S LAST JOURNEY TO THE CONTINENT: THE ROYAL YACHT
LEAVING DOVER, MARCH 7, 1910



KING EDWARD AT BIARRITZ WALKING WITH HIS EQUERRY-IN-WAITING, APRIL, 1910

From a photograph by the Illustrations Bureau

excellence a social being, and delighted to the full in human intercourse, he ought, from the medical point of view, to have spent some weeks of perfect repose and retirement.

Such, briefly, was the state of affairs at the beginning of 1910. Unfortunately, the times did not tend to relieve his Majesty of his many trials and duties. The political situation was extremely grave. The hour seemed to be approaching when the King must be forced from that position of neutrality which the custom of nearly a hundred years had assigned to the Sovereign. He was harassed and troubled, and each day he seemed to feel the situation more keenly.

On March 7, 1910, a lull in the political storm enabled his Majesty to escape for a little from these anxieties. On the advice of his doctors he decided to visit Biarritz. On the evening of the 7th he arrived in Paris, attended by Sir James Reid, his physician in ordinary. He was then far from well, and during the first night in Paris ominous signs of his failing health were discovered. He had a severe attack of acute indigestion, followed by great difficulty in breathing and considerable pain in the region of his heart. Taking the condition of the King into account, these were ordinary symptoms rising out of the exertion of the journey. Treatment was promptly applied, and by the morning he had completely recovered. On the 8th he insisted on

performing his Royal duties, in spite of all **Ill, but Intent on His Duties** he had gone through. Formal visits were exchanged with President Fallières, and he fulfilled several social engagements. In the evening he took the train to Biarritz. As before, the journey upset him. On arrival at his destination he complained of the cold. He was at once examined by his doctors, who discovered that he had contracted a chill, which necessitated special precautions being taken. He was put to bed immediately, and all that medical science could do was done. In spite of this the chill developed into a regular bronchitic attack, and the raised

temperature, the accelerated pulse and respiration, and the physical signs in the chest occasioned Sir James Reid considerable anxiety.

It must be noticed here that not one of these facts was made public at the time. "A slight chill," such as any man might contract without causing any uneasiness, especially one with such a robust constitution as the King, was the statement generally issued by the Press. The King was determined that no public inconvenience should be occasioned by his illness. The facts were, therefore, suppressed. "The King was keeping to his rooms on account of the cold." "His Majesty still continued to remain indoors owing to the inclement weather." These and similar statements were published broadcast, and the public at home, though regretting that his Majesty's holiday was being spoilt, were quite in the dark as to what was actually going on. Only one correspondent at Biarritz seems to have discovered the real truth, but his statements in his paper were looked upon as the writings of the panic-monger, and passed altogether unnoticed. Seeing the precautions that were taken by the King to prevent any news leaking out, it is matter for wonder indeed how the information was obtained.

What was really taking place at Biarritz, while the British public remained in sublime ignorance at home, is now a matter of history. The "slight chill" was a very severe attack of bronchitis with cardiac complications. It lasted altogether for ten days. For three of those days the attack was so severe that Sir James Reid did not dare to undress his Royal patient. Constant attendance, careful nursing, and the favourable influence of the climate helped him to recover temporarily from an attack to which a few weeks later he was to succumb. On March 19 he was seen outside his apartments for the first time.

There was something about King Edward which suggested robustness and good spirits and a sense of always living his life to the full. His genial smile, his easy, pleasant intercourse with his fellow-creatures, and his air of *bonhomie*, to the eye of the general public at Biarritz obliterated all the evidences of the great physical trial he had just gone through. Again the correspondents of the various newspapers united in speaking of the splendid health of the King, his vivacity, his tireless energy, and other characteristics which indicated a normally, and more than normally, strong and vigorous man. In this chorus of acclamation there was only one discordant voice—it was that of the same correspondent who had before secured by some means or another the real facts regarding the King's illness.

In very plain language he declared that the ten days' illness of the King had left him an old man; that the elasticity had gone out of his gait and the energy from his movements; that in ten days he had passed from a robust and hale gentleman of sixty-nine to an old man ten years his senior. Again nobody credited the report. The King himself, true to his courageous determination to keep the real state of his health a secret until it was impossible to hide it from his subjects any longer, encouraged the dissemination of the favourable reports regarding himself which appeared in the other papers. He went out of his way in his conversation abroad to emphasise the suggestion that his health was as good as usual.

It really seemed, indeed, as the days passed by at Biarritz, that the ten days' illness was a false alarm. The climate acted upon him like a tonic. He was enabled to take up the usual round of his life at Biarritz. Undoubtedly, had he been a private citizen and been able to extend his stay in the South, or, indeed, had he been a King who was prepared to abandon his duties, he might have been spared for years to come. But King Edward was not a private citizen, and it was impossible for him to consider the suggestion of abandoning the weighty duties that had been entrusted to him as the Sovereign of the British Empire.

Throughout April the great constitutional crisis had been growing steadily more acute. It was imperative that the Sovereign, who was so deeply concerned in the struggle, should be present at the scene. The King determined to return home. It is conceivable that he felt himself that he had not many days to live. There is no record that any such thought was in his mind, but all his movements seemed to point to the desire

High Pressure of the King's Last Days of a great and courageous man to finish the whole of his task while yet it was light.

From Tuesday, April 26, to within a few hours of his death, King Edward lived like a man who had no time to waste. Always extremely energetic, the last fortnight of his life was, perhaps, even more crowded with action than any other period of his career. Usually, when returning from Biarritz, he broke the journey at Paris. On this occasion he travelled all the way without a break. He slept badly on the journey, but, none the less, he arrived in London on Wednesday, April 27, looking better in every way. Driving straight to Buckingham Palace, he took up at once the threads of his very full life.

He plunged, as it were, in a fever of energy, into the transaction of business. All the afternoon, with that frantic haste which seemed to suggest that there was little time left for him to work, he was occupied with affairs of State. In the evening, instead of resting, he went to the Opera. All the élite of Society were present on that occasion, and as they rose in their seats at the King's entrance, it is safe to say that not one realised that Death stood so near the man who had been so long the centre of the social life of his day.

On Thursday, April 28, the King continued to live at the same high pressure, the day being spent in business and the evening in a visit to the theatre. Friday was, perhaps, the first day on which a suspicion got abroad that his Majesty

was not as well as was generally reported. On that day (April 29) he went to the Academy and spent some time in viewing the pictures. Those who saw him on this occasion discovered a very marked change in his appearance. The tinge of health, born of the Biarritz air, had already left his cheeks. He looked ill and aged; but here, again, the truth regarding his condition was kept absolutely secret. What was but the restlessness of a man who consciously or subconsciously felt that his life's work was almost at an end, was indirectly pointed at as evidence of his Majesty's unflinching vigour and strength. It was declared that the fact that he had visited all the galleries in the Academy—a thing he had not done for years—was proof that his health was completely restored.

The few who were permitted a certain intimacy with his Majesty were, on this Friday (April 29), not a little alarmed at his appearance. He looked tired and pale, and a return of throat and chest trouble was feared. At the advice of his physicians, he determined to go down to Sandringham. On the following day, April 30, he journeyed to his Norfolk home, arriving there in the afternoon. He was still feeling a little unwell, but he absolutely refused to stay either in bed or indoors. On Sunday, true to his strict church-going principles, he attended service, and afterwards spent a long time examining

His Last Sunday at Sandringham

some extensive new planting and gardening alterations. The day was wet and cold, but the King, obsessed with the same feverish anxiety, insisted, with his usual business keenness in detail, on examining every part of the works, suggesting alterations and giving orders for their being carried out.

The result of his standing about in the bitter weather of that Sunday was inevitable. He contracted a fresh chill. On the following day (May 2) the weather was still cold, and he returned to London feeling out of sorts. He was urged again to stay indoors and to cancel his engagements, but he would not hear of it. Deliberately, knowing full well all that it meant, he performed his usual round of duties, fulfilling a variety of social engagements and personally transacting affairs of State. The same night he went out to dinner, and appeared to be in his usual good spirits. On his return, however, he sent for one of his physicians. He then felt very unwell, and an examination proved that his condition was far from what it ought to be. In medical language he suffered from dyspnoea (difficulty of breathing), with slightly raised temperature and quickened pulse and respiration. He was immediately put to bed, and passed a very disturbed night, hardly closing his eyes, except for short, unsatisfactory spells.

With the coming of Tuesday, May 3, he declared himself much better, and the medical examination seemed to bear out his statement. The symptoms had abated, and the temperature was normal. Nevertheless, his cough was still bad, and he suffered from expectoration and considerable dyspnoea. His condition was such that it was imperative he should rest. His physicians united in begging him not to do anything for that day at least. The King listened to their advice with his customary courtesy, but he was adamant with regard to the performance of his duties. Throughout that day there was a constant stream of official visitors, and his Majesty granted frequent audiences. His unconquerable will again carried him through until the evening, but at seven o'clock he sent once more for his physician. His work for the day was done, and he allowed himself to relax. He felt ill, he said, and consulted his physicians as to what should be done. They immediately examined him, and found that the symptoms of the previous day had returned.

That night was again restless and sleepless. It was noticed as a very grave sign that the attacks of severe dyspnoea, from which he suffered during the hours of darkness, were not attributable to the former causes. Hitherto they had followed on a day spent in considerable



KING EDWARD'S LAST JOURNEY HOME: GOING ON BOARD AT CALAIS, APRIL 27, 1910
From a photograph by the Graphic Photo Union

physical exertion, but on that Tuesday, though he had transacted an enormous amount of work, he had remained indoors all day. The attack, therefore, had returned not from any definite cause, but as the result of his debilitated constitution.

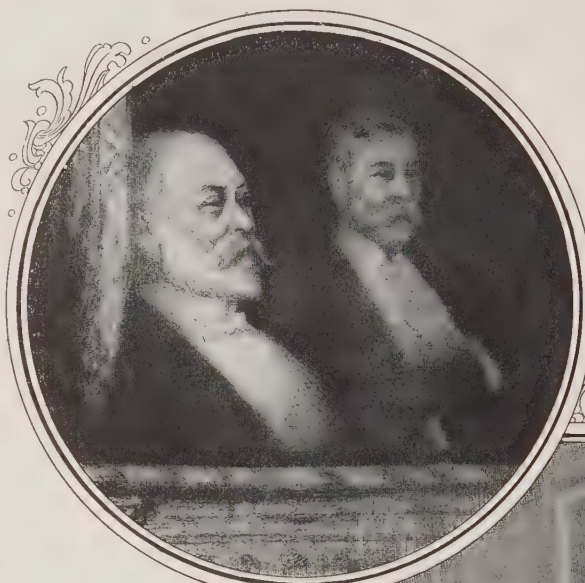
The morning of Wednesday, May 4, brought no improvement in his condition. The temperature was 99 and the pulse 90, and he complained of an irritation in the throat. Professor St. Clair Thomson was sent for. He found that the catarrhal affection had spread from the throat to other organs. The King insisted on getting up, and, though he again remained indoors, he granted several important audiences. By now it was clearly apparent that two bad nights and the severe attacks of dyspnoea had told seriously upon his Majesty. The official medical report, speaking of this time, sets it out that "there was a very imperfect entry of air at both bases, and much fine bronchial crepitation; the right side of the heart was embarrassed. The temperature was normal, and the respirations 34."

At 6.15 on Wednesday evening Sir Francis Laking, Sir James Reid, and Sir Douglas Powell held a consultation. They came to the conclusion that his condition might be described as one of anxiety. As a result, one of their number remained at the Palace all night. Again the King passed a very disturbed night. When Thursday morning, May 5, broke his condition had not improved. Nothing would induce him, however, to remain in bed or to abandon his duties. Though the attacks of dyspnoea were more frequent and distressing, and the increasing difficulty of breathing suggested the grave possibility of heart failure, his Majesty insisted on rising. That morning he received in audience Lord Islington, the new Governor of New Zealand, and Major T. B. Robinson, the Agent-General for Queensland. It was only his resolute determination to do his duty to the last that enabled his Majesty to bear the fatigue of these interviews. In the afternoon he succeeded in completing his State business. By then his condition had increased in gravity. So far, however, not a word of what was going on in Buckingham Palace had reached the public. One slight indication was given that day, but it failed to create much uneasiness.

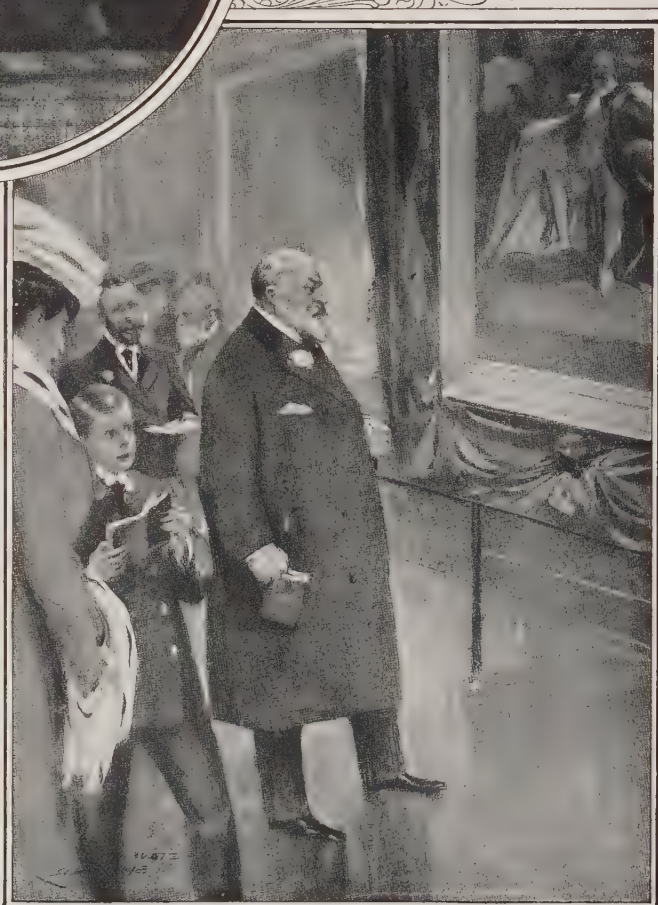
In the afternoon the Queen arrived from the Continent. Contrary to the usual practice, she was not met at the station by the King. The fact was noted, but his absence was attributed to

the slight chill he was supposed to be suffering from, and there was no thought, so well did King Edward keep his secret, that his condition gave rise to real alarm. Queen Alexandra drove straight from Victoria to Buckingham Palace, and soon after she reached the bedside of her husband the King's nurse, Miss Fletcher, was summoned. Miss Fletcher had attended him after the operation for appendicitis, and had nursed him also during his attack at Biarritz, and both the doctors and the King himself placed the utmost reliance in her skill.

The day wore on. In the evening the King's condition had become sufficiently serious to render necessary the breaking of the news to the public. King Edward was at first averse from this step being taken. He was still bravely anxious to keep his secret till the last, but there was now nothing else to be done. A bulletin was drawn up and signed by his three physicians. Before it was issued, however, the King insisted that it should be shown to him. He read it through carefully, and, considering the language too alarmist, ordered it to be modified. To prepare the way for the publication of this bulletin, a semi-official communication was issued from Buckingham Palace to the effect that the King was suffering from a severe bronchial attack, and had been confined to his room for two days. About eight o'clock the bulletin



THE KING'S LAST VISIT
TO THE OPERA, APRIL 27
Drawn by R. G. Matthews



APRIL 28 1910: KING EDWARD VISITS THE ROYAL ACADEMY

Drawn by S. Spurrer

itself was posted outside the railings of the palace. It ran as follows :

" Thursday, 8 p.m.

" The King is suffering from an attack of bronchitis, and has been confined to his room for two days.

" His Majesty's condition causes some anxiety.

(Signed)

" F. H. Laking, M.D.

" James Reid, M.D.

" R. Douglas Powell, M.D."

The news broke upon the public with the suddenness of a bomb. Some of the evening papers issued special editions that night, but the majority of the people remained in ignorance of the tragedy that was being enacted in the Royal palace. The curtain that his Majesty had kept drawn was now lifted, and every detail of his remaining hours of life was made known. All Thursday night Sir Francis Laking and Sir James Reid remained by the side of their patient. At a quarter past ten on Friday morning they were joined by Sir Douglas Powell. Ten minutes later the Prince of Wales drove up to the Palace in a one-horse brougham. Outside, an anxious crowd had assembled.

Throughout the night telegraphs and telephones had been busy seeking to elicit the latest news of his Majesty's condition. As early as eight o'clock a stream of people began to arrive at the palace. Some anxiously scanned the first bulletin, and passed on ; others waited in silence for further news. At first there seemed the possibility that the bulletin had been unnecessarily alarming. Among the first callers were Mrs. Asquith and Lord Rothschild, and the news they brought away with them from the Palace was so hopeful that it seemed as if a cloud had been lifted from the public mind. But this optimism did not last for long. At eleven o'clock the second bulletin was issued. It was based on the fact that up to 4.30 on Friday morning his Majesty had passed a better night ; after that time, however, he had had several severe attacks of dyspnoea, and the medical examination, which was conducted by his three doctors and Dr. Bertrand Dawson and Professor St. Clair Thomson, showed that the gravity of the symptoms had increased. The second bulletin was as follows :

" Friday, 11 a.m.

" The King has passed a comparatively quiet night, but the symptoms have not improved, and his Majesty's condition gives rise to grave anxiety.

(Signed)

" F. Laking, M.D.

" J. Reid, M.D.

" Douglas Powell, M.D.

" Bertrand Dawson, M.D.

" St. Clair Thomson, M.D."

As before, this bulletin was submitted to the King and also to the Prince of Wales before it was made public. When, finally, it was posted on the railings, it was eagerly scanned by the crowd, those near the board crying the news



THE LAST ILLNESS OF KING EDWARD : CROWDS READING THE BULLETIN ON THE GATES AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

to others who stood farther off. The gravity of the tidings served to attract people in large numbers, and hour by hour there was a deeply impressive demonstration of the feelings of the King's subjects. People of all ranks passed and repassed the railings during the day, looking for news. A stream of carriages went backwards and forwards, their occupants alighting to read the bulletin and then passing silently and sorrowfully away.

The visitors to the Palace itself were numerous. The Archbishop of Canterbury arrived early, and was followed by the American and Russian Ambassadors, the Belgian Minister, Lord Kitchener, and Mr. John Burns. Members of the Royal Family hastened to the Palace, and by lunch-time, besides the Queen and the Prince and Princess of Wales, there were present the Princess Royal, the Princess Victoria, and the Duke of Fife. In the course of the morning all the Ambassadors, Ministers, and *chargés d'affaires* called, and among the number of the other distinguished persons who came, full of anxiety, to inquire were Lord Rosebery, Lord Milner, Lord Salisbury, Lord Londesborough, Lord Suffield, Lord Brassey, Lord Strathcona, Lord George Hamilton, Sir Rufus Isaacs, Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema,



QUEEN ALEXANDRA STARTING FROM VENICE ON THE
NEWS OF THE KING'S ILLNESS
Drawn by Reginald Cleaver

Archdeacon Sinclair, and a host of other people distinguished in various phases of life.

Meanwhile, the last great struggle was taking place in the Royal apartment looking out on Constitution Hill. After the issue of the second bulletin, the King's condition grew rapidly worse. Nevertheless, he fought out the fight to the finish. His unconquerable will kept him to his work to the last. That final scene in the life of King Edward is one of true heroism and public devotion. He

knew his end was near. If he could not gauge the number of hours he had to live exactly, he was aware that it would not be long before he laid down the burden of his kingdom. With a courage truly noble and heroic, he did his work to the last. While his subjects were waiting anxiously outside the palace in the morning for news of his condition, the King himself was working on their behalf with the last force of his nearly spent strength.

He had insisted on getting up as usual, and for several hours he transacted business connected with his exalted station. Then he began to walk about his apartments, moving cautiously, for even slight movements began now to cause a recurrence of the attacks of heart trouble. Soon he was compelled to rest; the fits of coughing increased, and powerful remedies had to be administered to rally the strength of his heart.

In the intervals he smoked, and carried on a conversation with the members of his family. He was quite cheerful, and endeavoured his best to dissipate the gloom which had settled upon everybody. He urged the Queen to attend the opera at Covent Garden in the evening, waiving aside her

objections by frequent statements that "I am all right," and "I shall be all right."

At about a quarter to one, after a paroxysm of coughing, he fainted in his chair. Oxygen was at once administered, and as he recovered his doctors begged him to go to his bed. He refused. "No," he said, "I shall not give in; I shall go on; I shall work to the end." He persisted in his refusals, and the doctors, realising that an upright position enabled him to breathe more easily, permitted him to have his way. At about two o'clock he drank two cups of coffee and smoked another cigar. Shortly afterwards he had another fainting fit, which necessitated the second administration of

oxygen. These attacks now began to grow more frequent. Suddenly, at three p.m., consciousness began to fail, and he fell into a comatose condition. Now and again he rallied, and in these intervals he spoke to those around him. At about half-past five he spoke for the last time. "I have done my duty," he said simply. Then the shadows closed upon the mind of the great King. Shortly afterwards the third bulletin was issued:

"Friday, 6 p.m.

"The King's symptoms have become worse during the day, and his Majesty's condition is now critical.

(Signed) "F. Laking, M.D.

"J. Reid, M.D.

"R. Douglas Powell, M.D.

"Bertrand Dawson, M.D."

The press of people round the notice-board was so great when this bulletin was issued that a police inspector, in order that the news might be



THE QUEEN HASTENS TO THE PALACE ON HER ARRIVAL IN LONDON, MAY 5



THE MEDICAL MEN WHO ATTENDED
Sir James Reid,
Physician-in-Ordinary.
Photo by Hughes & Mullins.



Sir R. Douglas Powell,
Physician-in-Ordinary.
Photo by Elliott & Fry.



Sir Francis Laking,
Physician-in-Ordinary.
Photo by Russell & Sons.



KING EDWARD IN HIS LAST ILLNESS
Dr. Bertrand Dawson,
Physician-Extraordinary.
Photo by Gerschel, Paris.



Prof. St. Clair Thomson,
Throat Specialist.
Photo by Elliott & Fry.

more quickly circulated, walked along behind the railings with one of the notices affixed to a board, so that it might be read. It was clear from its reception by the crowd that the news had been unexpected, and that their hopes had led them to believe that King Edward might yet live. Dusk began to fall, and the gathering darkness seemed to intensify the impressiveness of the scene. The Palace was plunged into shadow save for a few lighted windows, and in silence the crowd gazed at it, as if comprehending the great struggle that was going on behind that curtain of stone. Hour after hour went by and no further news was forthcoming.

As the distinguished visitors left the Palace they were questioned by members of the crowd, but all the information obtainable was to the same effect as that contained in the six o'clock bulletin. Earlier in the evening, Mr. Winston Churchill, the Home Secretary, hurried up from a Territorial camp in Dorsetshire on an urgent summons. At nine o'clock, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had twice before visited the Palace, returned.

At ten o'clock, one of the police inspectors announced to the crowd that no further bulletin would be issued that night. On the authority of Sir James Reid, he stated that the King's condition was about the same, and that as no very grave developments were expected immediately, no medical statement would be made before the issue of a morning bulletin at eleven o'clock. In spite of this assurance, the crowds kept their ranks in front of the Palace railings. Those few who left had their places filled up almost immediately, and so the minutes slipped by.

Within the Royal apartment the whole of the Royal Family, with the exception of Queen Maud of Norway, was assembled. King Edward was now in a comatose condition. The end was very near. During the last moments the Archbishop of Canterbury read special prayers and conducted a short service, in which Queen Alexandra and the Prince and Princess of Wales and the other members of the Royal Family took a reverent part. Suddenly, at 11.45, the laboured breathing of the King ceased. Peacefully and quietly he passed away. Edward the Peacemaker had himself found peace.

Not for half an hour did the news reach the anxious crowds outside. At 12.17 the gates were thrown open, and the Prince and Princess of Wales drove out. The Princess, it was noticed by those who caught a glimpse of her, was weeping. Two minutes after the departure of their Royal Highnesses, a member of the Royal Household came across the Palace square, and approached the crowd. In a low and impressive tone he broke the news of the Empire's loss in the simple words, "The King is dead!"

In the early hours of Saturday morning the official bulletin was issued:

"Buckingham Palace,
May 6th, 1910.

"11.50 p.m.

"His Majesty the King breathed his last at 11.45 to-night in the presence of her Majesty Queen Alexandra, the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Princess Royal (Duchess of Fife), the Princess Victoria, and the Princess Louise (Duchess of Argyll).

(Signed)

"F. H. Laking, M.D.

"James Reid, M.D.

"Douglas Powell, M.D.

"Bertrand Dawson, M.D."



"GENTLEMEN, THE KING IS DEAD!"

Shortly after midnight on the fateful sixth of May a clergyman passed out of the Palace and was one of the first to give the sad news to the waiting crowd

Drawn by C. M. Sheldon



CHAPTER LXXXI

A WORLD IN MOURNING : I. THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Describing the Wave of Grief that Swept over the British Isles
and the Empire with the Tidings of the Death of King Edward

THE gravity of the news contained in the latest bulletins on Friday evening had attracted in front of Buckingham Palace and round the incomplete Victoria Memorial an increasing crowd of sympathising citizens, whose anxious faces and subdued demeanour were all the more impressive as dusk deepened into the darkness of approaching midnight. By a remarkable coincidence in the service for that evening in the Church of England Service Book was Psalm 33: "There is no King that can be saved by the multitude of an host; neither is any mighty man delivered by much strength." It was a prophetic foreboding of the announcement of the passing of King Edward, which was made by a member of the Royal Household shortly after the departure of the Prince and Princess of Wales from the Royal death-bed for Marlborough House. The sad-faced messenger passed along within the barrier railings of the Palace gates, saying in low, impressive tones, "The King is dead!" An awed silence fell on that curiously mixed assemblage, which had come in carriage or on foot from theatres, social functions, clubs, the middle-class districts, and even the purlieus of the vast metropolis to hear the latest, and, as it turned out, the saddest news of their beloved King. Gentlemen raised their hats reverently; even the waif who had no home but a shelter provided by the Salvation or Church Army, or a resting-place on the iron-bound seat of an Embankment or park bench, slipped off his tattered head-gear with a catch which echoed a genuine sorrow. Women, always numerous where sympathy is keenest, wept silently.

A crowd is not the sum of its parts; it has a soul entity of its own, and the aching heart of great London, asleep and awake, anticipating that of unnumbered millions of the human race in every quarter of the globe, seemed to be concentrated in the whispered sob, "The King has passed away!" As time went on the crowd slowly and mournfully dispersed, to carry the fateful tidings through the streets and squares of the West End. In the meantime, at 12.20 a.m., the Prince of Wales despatched a telegram to Sir John Knill, Lord Mayor of London, saying: "I am deeply grieved to inform you that my beloved father the King passed away peacefully at 11.45 to-night." This announcement was posted outside the Mansion House, and the great bell of St. Paul's, by order of the Home Secretary, rolled out in solemn tones a passing dirge which gave notice of the dread event to the City and the East End.

It is interesting to note that ere the inhabitants of Outer London or of the provinces received the news or realised its significance, it had reached by wireless telegraphy

great liners ploughing mid-ocean, startling passengers and crews. And in this way was borne "the tidings that their hearts with anguish tore" to the Prime Minister and the First Lord of the Admiralty, who were on holiday voyage in the yacht *Enchantress* for Gibraltar, and to Lord Gladstone on his way to South Africa to take up the Governor-Generalship of the new union, in which King Edward had taken so much interest. Before many hours had passed, from the snow-bound North to the shores washed by long Australian seas, from the lands of the rising to those of the setting sun, there pulsated on ether waves, or by lightning flash, the solemn lament that an Empire's beloved head had found rest in the eternal.

At dawn on Saturday, when London began to bestir itself, workers making their way by tram, tube, omnibus, or on foot to that endless toil which even the death of a beloved Sovereign could not arrest, showed little pathetic marks of mourning on arm or neckwear. As the grey sky silvered, shops and warehouses opened for business, but with windows barred by blackened or craped shutters. Flags fluttered at half-mast from every building where a staff was available or could be improvised, from Government offices, embassies, legations, hotels, banks, business establishments in the City and Greater London, and from numberless private dwellings. The newspapers appeared with heavy black lines, and ere breakfast was sorrowfully over, the metropolis was garbed in mourning. In the course of the morning the Lord Mayor conveyed to the Prince of Wales an expression of most true sympathy and condolence from the citizens of London. "May God in His loving mercy," said Sir John Knill, "comfort you and the Princess. The prayers of the nation are with you, and they keenly share your sorrow."

His lordship also sent a message to Queen Alexandra: "The City of London hears with profound emotion that God has called to Himself your august husband, and our most gracious and beloved King, and desires to lay at your feet its loyal devotion and deep sympathy, praying that His loving hand may bless and comfort you, and those who are so dear to you, in this your hour of need and sorrow." To this message Queen Alexandra replied: "I am deeply touched by your telegram. Please convey to the citizens of the City of London how greatly I value and appreciate their sympathy at the moment when it is so sorely needed. I feel that my sorrow and grief are shared by them and by the whole nation."

The precincts of Buckingham Palace had never through the long night been divested of their awe-struck volunteer guardians. Hundreds had increased to thousands when,

at 8 o'clock, the Royal Standard was raised to half-mast over the main entrance. Despite the fact that every window had its white blind drawn, there seemed to be a deep shadow on the austere building, and a fascination possessed that still assemblage of sorrowing men, women, and children as they looked upwards towards that quarter of the Palace where they imagined were the late King's apartments, with the whispered soliloquy, "He lies there."

And so they peered through the railings and sighed, and passed on with a subdued rustle to make room for ever-growing crowds, and an ever-flowing stream of carriages bearing distinguished visitors to and from the Palace. The mournfulness of the scene was added

The Sorrowing Crowd at the Palace

to between noon and 1 o'clock by a heavy fall of hail and snow, accompanied by thunder and lightning. Somehow, the people did not appear surprised at this access of misery when they caught sight of a Royal carriage which came from Marlborough House bearing the King and Queen, dressed in the deepest mourning, and watched it drive through the Garden Gate into the palace of woe and peace.

The Supreme Law Courts and the Middlesex Sessions, which held a Saturday sitting, adjourned after the presiding judges had made sympathetic reference to the event which was in everybody's mind; and at a meeting of theatrical managers, in the course of the forenoon, it was agreed to close the theatres till after the late King's funeral, although that arrangement was subsequently modified at the request of King George.

The BB Battery of the Royal Horse Artillery marched down Constitution Hill and took up a position in St. James's Park near the Horse Guards' Parade, and at 3 o'clock fired a salute of sixty-eight guns, one for each year of the late Sovereign's age. Similar salutes were fired at all the military garrisons and arsenals in the United Kingdom, and from the war-ships in home waters. The naval exercises in Scottish waters were abandoned, and the ships ordered to repair to their bases; and the Atlantic Fleet was recalled from Norway to Dover. Navy and Army orders were issued that officers should wear mourning with their uniforms till November 6, and that regimental colours and drums should be draped with crape.

It was befitting that a memorial service of "supplication" should be held at the earliest opportunity in the National Cathedral of St. Paul's, and accordingly it took

place at one o'clock on Saturday afternoon. There was a vast congregation, including representatives of the Ministry, the Government Departments, the Navy and Army, and the Deputy Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London. Mourning garments were generally worn, and these contrasted effectively with the white robes and veils of a large number of young girls who had previously been confirmed by the Bishop of London, and the dash of colour provided by the naval and military uniforms and the gowns of the municipal officials. The service was simple and dignified. A special service was also held at the same hour before a large congregation in Westminster Roman Catholic Cathedral. It was not a requiem for the dead, but was intended to afford the faithful an opportunity of offering special prayers for the sorrowing Royal Family and Empire, and for the rulers of the land.

The Foreign Office presented a scene of subdued activity during almost the whole of Saturday, when the members of the Diplomatic Corps resident in London called to leave with Sir Edward Grey, Minister of Foreign

Condolences of the Diplomatic Body Affairs, official expressions of condolence with King George, Queen Alexandra, and the members of the Royal Family. M. Paul

Cambon, French Ambassador, as doyen of the corps, addressed the following letter to Sir E. Grey: "A cruel grief has just smitten the British Empire and the Royal Family. It is my sad duty as doyen of the members of the Diplomatic Body to express to you on its behalf the deep pain which we all feel at the grievous loss your country has experienced in the person of its respected Sovereign,

his Majesty King Edward. The news of this lamentable event will be received with regret throughout the world, but this sorrow will be more painfully felt by those who have had the honour of approaching his Majesty King Edward, and have had the opportunity of appreciating his loftiness of mind, his rare qualities of heart, and his unvarying kindness. It is inspired by these sentiments that in the name of the Diplomatic Body I beg your Excellency kindly to convey to her Majesty Queen Alexandra, and to their Majesties the King and Queen, and to all the Royal Family, the expression of our condolences and our respectful sympathies."

Sir George Reid, High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia, in his letter to Lord Crewe, Colonial Secretary, representing in a sense the feeling of all the dominions and



THE EMPIRE'S GRIEF

From a drawing by Gilbert Holiday



FIRING THE LAST SALUTE OF SIXTY-EIGHT GUNS IN ST. JAMES'S PARK

From a photograph by the Illustrations Bureau

colonies beyond the seas, said that "the sudden termination of the illustrious reign of our late Sovereign, the passing away in the midst of health and strength and the full performance of duty of the Empire's brightest life, most powerful influence for good and for universal peace and friendship, will add to the sense of public loss the more precious tributes of the grief that follows the loss of one well beloved by all his subjects."

The Privy Council met in the Council Chamber of St. James's Palace at four o'clock to approve a Declaration and Proclamation announcing the accession

Proclamation of King George V. The Earl of Crewe officiated as President of the Council in the absence, through indisposition, of Lord Wolverhampton, and submitted the Declaration, which in the ancient language recited that "it hath pleased Almighty God to call to His mercy our late Sovereign Lord King Edward VII., of blessed and glorious memory, by whose decease the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is solely and rightfully come to the Most High and Mighty Prince, George Frederick Ernest Albert."

After the Declaration and Proclamation of George V. had been signed by Peers and Privy Councillors present to the number of a hundred, the King entered the Council Chamber, and delivered the following Address: "My Lords and Gentlemen,—My heart is too full for me to address you to-day in more than a few words. It is my sorrowful duty to announce to you the death of my dearly beloved father the King. In this irreparable loss which has so suddenly fallen upon me and the whole Empire, I am comforted by the feeling that I have the sympathy of my future subjects, who will mourn with me for their beloved Sovereign, whose one happiness was found in sharing and promoting theirs. I have lost not

only a father's love, but the affectionate and intimate relation of a dear friend and adviser. No less confident am I in the universal loving sympathy which is assured to my dearest mother in her overwhelming grief. Standing here a little more than nine years ago, our beloved King declared so long as there was breath in his body he would work for the good and amelioration of his people. I am sure that the opinion of the whole nation will be that his

Declaration has been fully carried out.

King George addresses the Privy Council To endeavour to follow in his footsteps, and, at the same time, to uphold the Constitutional Government of these realms, will be the earnest object of my life. I am deeply sensible of the very heavy responsibilities which have fallen upon me. I know I can rely upon Parliament, and upon the peoples of these islands, and of my Dominions beyond the Seas, for their help in the discharge of those arduous duties, and for their prayers that God will grant me strength and guidance. I am encouraged by the knowledge that I have in my dear wife one who will be a constant helpmate in every endeavour for our people's good."

These were words which gripped the heart, as was evident from the expression on every face in the historic Council, and his Majesty spoke them with great earnestness and manifest feeling.

In the afternoon everywhere the thoroughfares were busy for a season. Itinerant merchants sold their memorial cards, well-to-do citizens invaded warehouses to purchase or order mourning, while already they were distinguished by the sombreness of their attire. The shops had been transformed, bright-coloured stuffs had disappeared, the only variation from black or white being fabrics of violet and purple.

As evening approached, the theatres and business premises being closed, there only remained the restaurants open; but they had no guests. The roar of traffic ceased; the people went home to mourn.



THE ARMY MOURNS ITS KING: LIFE GUARDS WITH DRAPED COLOURS ON SUNDAY, MAY 8, 1910

Throughout provincial England, in every city, town, and village, business was almost wholly suspended, and messages expressing universal regret were telegraphed to the Royal Family. The chief magistrates, in hurriedly summoned meetings of the municipalities or general body of the citizens, made brief, sympathetic reference to the late King's public career. In every port in the United Kingdom the shipping, foreign as well as British, half-masted their flags. The blow fell with peculiar force on the people of Scotland. At Edinburgh there was not even such intense sorrow on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria, because then her demise was not unexpected, and she departed full of years. Now King Edward had passed, with a suddenness which startled even the reserved Scots, in what was regarded as the full vigour of mature manhood, with apparently many happy years still before him. In addition to his annual holiday in the Highlands, which he had known and loved since a boy, and whose garb he delighted to wear, King Edward had paid many interesting State visits to "mine own romantic town."

So, too, his Majesty had visited Glasgow on many a public function, and there, and at the chief towns of Scotland, his death caused profound sorrow, the manifestations of which were universal and striking. The bells of St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, and all churches were tolled, messages of condolence were sent by the Lord Provost on behalf of their citizens by the leading cities of the country, by the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of Scotland, of which King Edward was patron, and by a vast number of Chambers of Commerce and other corporations.

Ireland, said the "Times" correspondent, was profoundly affected by the King's death. The unexpected news established an unprecedented bond of sympathy between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Unionists and Nationalists alike loved King Edward for his qualities as a king and as a man. He had paid seven visits to Ireland, the first as a child of eight, and the last three years before his death. His late Majesty was not only the Sovereign of the Order of Knights of St. Patrick, but its senior installed member. Moreover, he was at the time of his death the only member of the Order at whose installation there was a religious service in St. Patrick's Cathedral. The news of the King's demise was first communicated to Lord Aberdeen, the Lord Lieutenant, at the Viceregal Lodge, and his Excellency despatched a telegram to Queen Alexandra, expressing on behalf of his household and of the whole Irish people their sorrow. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr. Michael Doyle, and the chief magistrates of the other cities and towns of Ireland sent similar sympathetic messages.

Sunday was a day ever to be remembered in the metropolis of the Empire. If there was greater calm, and the people were graver in their demeanour than on the previous day, pent-up feeling found expression everywhere in intense sympathy with the grief-stricken

The Sunday of Sorrow Queen Alexandra and the other members of the Royal Family. Notwithstanding the chill rain and hail, thousands passed or lingered for a few minutes in front of Buckingham Palace, and not a few found their way to Marlborough House, from the roof of which the Royal Standard could be seen flying, indicating that the King was there in residence. Vast congregations



THE SERVICE HELD IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL IN MEMORY OF KING EDWARD, SATURDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 7, 1910

Drawn by A. Forester

filled the churches of all denominations. The sacred buildings were draped in black, relieved only in many cases by white flowers; and the people without exception, in mourning dress, were more than usually solemn during the services. The Bishop of **Salvation Army at** London preached in St. Paul's, and pronounced a beautiful and eloquent eulogium upon King Edward. In Westminster Abbey the Archbishop of Canterbury preached to an overflowing congregation, the majority of whom were obliged to stand throughout the service.

Perhaps the most striking incident of this most memorable Sabbath was, so far as the general public was concerned, as unexpected as it was touching. In the morning Major Frank Barrett, in charge of the Oxford Street Division of the Salvation Army, sent a message to Buckingham Palace, asking that their band might be allowed to play a few hymns in the courtyard as an expression of the grief of the Salvation Army at the death of King Edward, who for many years showed a sympathetic interest in their social work among the poor, and liberally subscribed to their funds. A messenger came back with the gracious reply that Queen Alexandra was deeply touched by the request, and wished the band to play at four o'clock in the afternoon. Accordingly, the band left Regent Hall shortly before that hour, headed by their crimson and purple flag, draped with black and white mourning ribbons, and followed by a procession of salvation soldiers, men and



WEST FRONT OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE, SHOWING THE ROOM IN WHICH THE KING DIED
From a photograph by H. N. King

women, in uniform. Marching with slow and dignified steps, the band playing "O God, our help in ages past," the procession passed down the Mall and through the gates of Buckingham Palace into the courtyard, passage being cleared for them by the police on duty. A circle was formed round the flag of the corps, and the bandsmen bared their heads while Major Barrett offered a few words of prayer. One of their number in a rich tenor voice began to sing, accompanied by the band, "Nearer my God to Thee," said to have been the favourite hymn of King Edward. This was followed by "Abide with Me" and "The Church's One Foundation." And the airs were rendered with a softness and delicacy of tone that was greatly appreciated, not only by those within the Palace, but by the listening crowd outside. At the end of the performance, which lasted twenty minutes, Major Barrett was told that Queen Alexandra was very grateful for the music, and thanked the band very much. The procession reformed and marched away towards Hyde Park Corner to the strains of "Lead, Kindly Light."

In every town and parish in the United Kingdom feeling references were made by clergymen of all denominations to the high qualities and sincere virtues of King Edward. Reference need only be made to one in particular—*viz.*, to the short address which the Rev. R. F. Percival Farrar delivered in Sandringham parish church. "A week ago," he said, "our King was here. He went the round of his estate. He inspected, planned, approved. Here, in this church so dear to him by the most sacred ties, he was a humble fellow-worshipper with you of his God and of our God. We may be glad that we have been permitted to serve in a humble but personal capacity the kingliest of men and the greatest of our Kings. We loved him as our King, but we loved him also as our master. Yes, for in his kindly condescension to us he made us ever feel that he was our friend. He evinced a genuine interest in our lives and in our homes. In

times of joy and in times of distress. He never forgot anyone who served him even in the humblest capacity. His was a heart that seemed to beat for all."

In acknowledgment of the thousands of letters of sympathy which had been received daily from the morning of May 7 from individuals in every grade of society, corporations, institutions, and associations throughout the United Kingdom, Queen Alexandra issued the following touching message from Buckingham Palace on May 10:

"From the bottom of my poor broken heart I wish to express to the whole nation and our kind people we love so well my deep-felt thanks for all their touching sympathy in my overwhelming sorrow and unspeakable anguish."

"Not alone have I lost everything in him, my beloved husband,

but the nation, too, has suffered an irreparable loss by their best friend, father, and Sovereign, thus suddenly called away."

"May God give us all His Divine help to bear this heaviest of crosses which He has seen fit to lay upon us. 'His will be done.' Give me a thought in your prayers, which will comfort and sustain me in all I still have to go through."

"Let me take this opportunity of expressing my heart-felt thanks for all the touching letters and tokens of sympathy I have received from all classes, high and low, rich and poor, which are so numerous that I fear it will be impossible for me ever to thank everybody individually."

"I confide my dear son into your care, who, I know, will follow in his dear father's footsteps, begging you to show him the same loyalty and devotion you showed to his dear father."

"I know that both my dear son and daughter-in-law will do their utmost to merit and keep it."

"(Signed) ALEXANDRA."



THE PRIVATE CHAPEL OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE, WHERE THE ROYAL FAMILY HELD SERVICES AFTER KING EDWARD'S DEATH
From a photograph by H. N. King

Parliament was in recess, having adjourned on Friday, April 29, to Thursday, May 26. But the demise of the Crown is a contingency upon which Parliament is required to meet at once without summons in the usual form of a Royal Proclamation, for the purpose chiefly of enabling members of both Houses to take the oath of allegiance to the new Sovereign. The House of Lords met for this purpose at three o'clock on Saturday, May 7. The House of Commons also met at three o'clock on Saturday, but in the absence of the Speaker, who was on a visit to his brother, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, the Home Secretary, Mr. Churchill, immediately moved the adjournment of the House till Monday, May 9. The House met on that and the following day, with Mr. Emmott, Deputy Speaker, in the chair, and members were sworn in.

On Wednesday, May 11, there was a large attendance in the House of Lords, and the Peers' Gallery was also well filled, peers and peeresses all attired in deep mourning. Earl Crewe, as Leader of the House, announced that he had a message from the King, which he handed to the Lord Chancellor. Noble lords rose from their seats and stood uncovered while the Lord Chancellor from the Woolsack read the Royal message: "The King knows that the House of Lords shares in the profound and sudden sorrow which has fallen on his Majesty by the death of his Majesty's father, the late King, and that the House entertains a true sense of the loss which his Majesty and the nation have sustained from this mournful event. King Edward's care for the welfare of his country and his people, his skill and prudent guidance of affairs, his unwearied devotion to public duty during his illustrious reign, his simple courage in pain and danger, will long be held in honour by his subjects at home and beyond the seas."

Lord Crewe moved a humble address in reply to his Majesty's message, assuring him of the heartfelt sympathy of the House "in his grievous affliction and loss by the death of the late King, his Majesty's father of blessed and glorious memory"; and that "we shall ever remember with grateful affection the zeal and success with which our late Sovereign laboured to consolidate the peace and concord of the world, to aid every merciful endeavour for the alleviation of human suffering, and to unite in justice and freedom all races and classes of his subjects to his Imperial Throne." He also moved "an address of condolence to her Majesty the Queen Mother, to assure her Majesty of the deep and warm sympathy which this House feels for her Majesty in this melancholy time of sorrow and irreparable loss, and that this House and the nation will ever preserve towards her Majesty sentiments of unalterable reverence and affection."

His lordship in a sympathetic speech, beautifully phrased, touched on the suddenness with which the calamity of King Edward's demise had come upon the nation, and then spoke warmly of the late King's charge of his multifarious duties at home, and of his real and potent influence on international politics. No Sovereign had been the personal friend of his people in the sense



SALVATION ARMY BAND PLAYING KING EDWARD'S FAVOURITE HYMNS IN THE COURTYARD OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE, SUNDAY, MAY 8, 1910

in which King Edward was, and this was the origin and outcome of his influence.

Lord Lansdowne, in seconding the resolutions, dwelt on the fact that King Edward was a symbol of Imperial unity, but it was not only within the Empire that the King's death had caused an irreparable loss. His Majesty had established relations with the chiefs of other states and the public men in those states which enabled him to bear unostentatiously, and strictly within the limits of the Constitution, a distinguished and useful part in international affairs. It was the possession of his great qualities which enabled the people to reverence him, not only as a Sovereign, but as a man. After a feeling reference to Queen Alexandra, who was the embodiment of all that was most graceful, tender, and sympathetic in woman, his lordship recognised in her son, King George, the presence of many of the qualities of the father, and the reign now opening would, he believed, not be a less creditable chapter in their history, nor less creditable to the traditions of the Royal Family.

The motions were agreed to.

In the House of Commons on the same afternoon there was a hush, a moment of intense silence while the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, rose from his place on the Ministerial Bench and walked to the Bar, from which he returned bearing "a message from the King signed by his own hand." Uncovered, and with keen interest, all the members heard the contents of the message (similar to that delivered in the House of Lords) read by Mr. Emmott, Deputy Speaker, Mr. Lowther not yet having arrived from Constantinople. In moving the resolutions, which were identical with those adopted in the House of Lords, the Premier showed that his feelings were deeply stirred. He reviewed the striking events of the ten years of King Edward's reign, and went on: "In all these manifestations of our national and imperial life, history would assign a part of singular dignity and authority to the great ruler whom we had lost. His powerful influence was steadily

and assiduously directed to the avoidance, not only of war, but of the causes and pretexts of war, and the title by which he would always be remembered was 'Peacemaker of the World.' Within the boundaries of his Empire he

The Prime Minister's Tribute

won such loyalty, affection, and confidence as few Sovereigns had enjoyed." Among the qualities which so admirably fitted the late Monarch for the performance of his kingly task, he placed first "King Edward's strong, abiding and dominating sense of public duty. His late Majesty recognised in the fullest degree both the powers and the limitations of a constitutional monarch. Though no politician, he was a keen social reformer. He loved his people at home and over the seas; their interests were his interests; he had no self apart from them."

After referring to King Edward's personal charm, Mr. Asquith proceeded: "His late Majesty has been called suddenly without warning to his account. We are still dazed by the blow, and it is too soon as yet to attempt to realise its full meaning. But this we may say at once, that he has left his people a memory and example which they will never forget—a memory of great opportunities greatly employed, an example which the humblest of his subjects may treasure and try to follow, a simplicity, courage, and self-denial, a tenacious devotion up to the last moment of conscious life to work, to duty, and to service." With equal depth of feeling Mr. Asquith referred to the calamity which had befallen Queen Alexandra, "who was enthroned in the love of the British people."

Mr. Balfour, in seconding the resolution, was also greatly moved as he declared that nothing could exceed in pathos the sudden grief which had befallen the whole community within these islands, and the whole Empire of which these islands were the centre, and which had an echo in every civilised nation in the world. All of them felt that they had lost one who loved them, and who only desired to serve the people whom he represented. In regard to his influence abroad, Mr. Balfour emphasised that they ought not to think of King Edward as a dexterous diplomatist. It was because his late Majesty was able, naturally and simply through the incalculable gift of personality, to embody in the eyes of all men the friendly policy of this country, that he was able to do so great a work in bringing the nations together. His successor

approached his heavy task as constitutional monarch with deep-rooted patriotism, love of the Empire, and an earnest desire to do his duty. And as to Queen Alexandra, while her bereavement was almost too sacred a matter for public discussion, it was fitting that the House should not withhold the formal expression of its deep sympathy.

Mr. Enoch, member for Hanley, spoke a few words on behalf of the Labour Party with impressive sincerity. The late King, he said, had toiled for the good of the poor, and in him the people had felt that they had a warm friend. In the cottage homes throughout the Empire the sorrow would be true and deep.

Public men of every degree, the most illustrious of the aristocracy of Great Britain, Members of Parliament, men of every political colour, men of every creed—Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Nonconformists of every

shade of theological belief, Jews, Moslems, Buddhists—seized the opportunity of testifying to the late King's greatness as a monarch, and his sympathetic virtues as a man.

India was stunned with the entirely unexpected news of the death of the King-Emperor. At first the people received the announcement in the Press with incredulity, and it was not until late on Saturday that it was generally realised that death had removed the beloved and revered Monarch. The Viceregal Court was at Simla, and on May 8 the Viceroy, the Earl of Minto, telegraphed to the Secretary of State for India: "Government of India have heard with the greatest sorrow of the sudden death of his Majesty the King-Emperor of India. The expression of grief is universal. Messages of sympathy are pouring in from all quarters. The princes and people of all races and creeds unite with the



THE WIDOWED QUEEN: BUCKINGHAM PALACE, MAY, 1910

Drawn by F. Matania

Government in lamenting the death of the beloved and revered Sovereign, of whose abiding affection for India they have received many tokens, and whose visit to them in years gone by has not been forgotten. On behalf of all classes we beg of you to convey to his Majesty the King-Emperor of India this expression of heartfelt sorrow, and to offer him our respectful homage on his succession to the throne of the British Empire."

The Lament of India

Not only was Simla, the Viceregal hill station, plunged in mourning, but Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and all the cities of British India; and the sympathy felt for the Royal Family was intense. Mourning salutes were fired at



KING EDWARD IN DEATH: A PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDY MADE IN HIS MAJESTY'S BEDCHAMBER AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE
From a photograph by W. & D. Dooney

all the military stations in the peninsula. The European and native Press united in lamenting the King-Emperor's death, recalled the generous words of his proclamation on the occasion of his accession, and eulogised his constitutionalism, wisdom, and his interest in and sympathy with the diverse peoples of India. References to his late Majesty were made on Sunday, May 8, in all churches, mosques, and temples, and the Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist priests offered special prayers. A common phrase heard in the bazaars was, "Widowed India mourns her dead husband."

It was generally acknowledged throughout the Dominion of Canada that the news came as an absolute shock to the warm-hearted people, ever intensely loyal to King Edward's person and throne. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of the Dominion, telegraphing for himself and his Government to Lord Crewe, said: "The people of Canada share the great grief that has visited King George and the Royal Family. In the discharge of the duties of his exalted station, his Majesty not only won the respect of all his British subjects, but by his efforts on behalf of international harmony and goodwill he became universally esteemed as the great Peacemaker. Nowhere was this gracious attribute of the Royal character more deeply appreciated than in the Dominion of Canada."

The leaders of every pursuit and profession were no less instant in their respectful communications of sorrow. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Montreal, Monsignor Bruchesi, telegraphed: "The King was an admirable Peacemaker, and we have not forgotten in our grateful hearts how he had solemnly constituted himself the protector of religious liberties. The nine years of his reign have been prolific in great and beautiful accomplishments." Rarely if ever had Canada seen such a Sabbath as May 8. In every city and town the churches were crowded and the commemoration services called forth manifestations of the deepest emotion.

On receipt of the news in South Africa, on Saturday morning, all business proceedings and amusements were abandoned till the following Monday, and there were universal signs of public mourning. Messages of condolence were despatched to King George and the Royal Family, through Lord Crewe, from the officer administering the Government of the Cape of Good Hope, from the Governor of Natal, the Administrator of the Orange River Colony, the Deputy Governor of the Transvaal, and the High Commissioner of Rhodesia. General Botha, Premier of the

Transvaal, in an address to the people, said: "I feel deeply that we have lost, not only our Sovereign, but a great personal friend, and the Dutch South Africans do not feel less profoundly than their fellow British subjects their great national loss." Mr. Fischer, Premier of the Orange

River Colony, said in an interview: "In these times of unrest I know no one whom the world could so ill spare and whose loss to humanity I would more deeply deplore. Orangia sincerely shares the Empire's grief."

Similar expressions of sympathy were given by Mr. Merriman, Premier of Cape Colony, and Mr. Moor, Premier of Natal.

Throughout the continent of Australia the people were, as the leading journals stated, "stunned and dazed" at the receipt of the cabled news of King Edward's death. Forthwith signs of public mourning were universal; all amusements were cancelled, and the church bells tolled daily until after his Majesty's funeral. Lord Dudley, Governor-General of the Commonwealth, telegraphed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies "that there was deep sympathy in the terrible grief that had fallen on King George and his Queen, Queen Alexandra, and the Royal Family. . . . He shared to the fullest extent with every British statesman the feeling of intense sorrow at the death of so great a Sovereign and of a beloved master"; and his Ministers joined with him in tendering their condolences. The President of the Commonwealth Senate, Mr. A. J. Gould, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. C. Carty Salmon, telegraphed, through Lord Dudley, as follows: "Having met together as soon as possible after the recent death of King Edward VII., we desire on behalf of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, to express to your Majesty the universal sorrow with which the news of the great loss sustained by the nation was received by all Australia. The people of the Commonwealth feel that the British Empire, of which Australia is proud to be a part, has lost a father, and that the whole of the civilised world has lost a friend and its greatest Peacemaker."

Similar expressions, conveyed in messages from the Governors, Ministers, and Presidents of the Legislative Councils and Legislative Assemblies, were despatched from New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, West Australia, Queensland, and from Tasmania.

In New Zealand the grief was universally heartfelt and profound, and was reflected in the general mourning which was adopted in all the provinces of the Dominion, and also in sympathetic articles in the Press.



CHAPTER LXXXII

A WORLD IN MOURNING : II. FOREIGN COUNTRIES

A Chronicle of the Manifestations of Grief among Foreign Nations on the Passing Away of the Great Peacemaker



MESSAGES, intimate and purely personal, were immediately forwarded to Queen Alexandra and the Prince and Princess of Wales by the Sovereigns related through ties of blood with the English Royal Family, including the Emperors of Germany and Russia, the Kings of Denmark, Greece, Norway, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Bulgaria. These, of course, were not made public. Official and formal expressions of condolence from other rulers and governments, all couched more or less in the same sympathetic phraseology, need not be repeated unless under special circumstances. Be it said that they were spontaneous, and went to the marrow of human sorrow. What may be reproduced are the striking sentiments of rulers, statesmen, parliaments, and representative bodies who wished to testify how they felt the unexpected demise of King Edward and the cutting short of the career of a great and all-pervading personality, and how it affected them, their countries, and the civilised world as a whole.

The announcement of the death of King Edward produced a tremendous sensation throughout the United States. Immediately on receipt of the news at Washington early on Saturday morning, May 7, President Taft despatched the following telegram to Queen Alexandra: "On the sad occasion of the death of King Edward, I offer your Majesty and your son, his illustrious successor, the most profound sympathy of the people and Government of the United States, whose hearts go out to their British kinsmen in their national bereavement. To this I add the expression to your Majesty and the new King of my own personal sympathy, and my appreciation of those high qualities which made the life of the late King so potent an influence towards peace and justice among the nations." Mr. Taft sent his military aide-de-camp to the British Embassy to express his condolences to Mr. Bryce, who was deeply affected. When the House of Representatives met in the Capitol, Mr. Foster, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, forthwith moved: "That the House of Representatives of the United States of America has learned with profound sorrow of the death of his Majesty King Edward VII., and sympathises with his people in the loss of a wise and upright ruler, whose great purpose was the cultivation of friendly relations with all nations and the preservation of peace. That the President be requested to communicate this expression of the sentiments of this House to the Government of Great Britain. That, as a further mark of respect for the memory of King Edward, the House now adjourns." The resolution was unanimously adopted, and the House adjourned.

Sympathy of the United States

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"These manifestations of mournful regret," said the "Times" New York correspondent, "reflect but feebly the profound emotion which the news aroused in this country. In all quarters spontaneity and genuineness of grief are discernible such as leave no doubt of the unique esteem in which King Edward was held. No monarch has ever had a stronger grip over American public sentiment. His visit to this country more than a generation ago as Prince of Wales was never forgotten. His tact and charm of personality made a lasting impression, of which no Englishman who has sojourned in the United States can be long unaware. What the young

American Eulogies of the Dead King

Prince sowed the King reaped. During his reign the American people felt that they knew him as intimately, and were known by him as intimately, as the people of the European countries which he visited so often. They admired his qualities as a man of ideals, his kingship, and the success of his diplomacy." For once the American Press reflected with practical unanimity the unanimous sense of its readers. "A strong power for good, a mainstay of the peace of Europe, a preventer of mischief in England, a steady friend of the American people," exclaimed the "New York Sun." "There is no other monarch whom the civilised world could not better have spared, and at no other time since he ascended the throne could death have meant so great a loss to the English people," said the "New York World." Such sentiments were repeated with multitudinous but uniformly sympathetic variations by all journals.

Already at six o'clock on the morning of May 7 the news was known in Paris. At the British Embassy the Union Jack was flown at half-mast, and shortly afterwards the Tricolour was hoisted half-masted over the official residence of the President of the Republic at the Elysée. The Ministries and other public buildings followed suit, and in the course of the forenoon crape-decked British flags and mourning emblems were displayed not only from the houses, offices, and shops of the British and American colonies, but from large numbers of Parisian warehouses in the principal thoroughfares.

President Fallières was at Rambouillet, but early in the morning, M. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, proceeded thither and communicated the sad news to the head of the Republic, who at once forwarded the following telegram to King George: "I learn with genuine and deep emotion of the death of your beloved father, his Majesty King Edward VII. The Government of the Republic and the people of France will profoundly regret the august Sovereign who on so many occasions had given them proofs of sincere friendship, and they unreservedly associate themselves in the great sorrow which has befallen you, together with the Royal Family and the whole of the

British Empire, by his unexpected loss. With a heart filled with sorrow, I beg your Royal Highness to accept, together with my personal sympathy, the condolences of the Government of the Republic and of the whole of France."

Sir Francis Bertie, British Ambassador in Paris, proceeded to Rambouillet in the afternoon, and personally presented King George's reply to this message, which ran: "Monsieur le Président,—I thank you, as well as the Government of the Republic, sincerely for the kind sentiments which you have been good enough to express to me upon the occasion of the painful and irreparable loss which my family and the whole British nation have suffered by the death of my father, our late Sovereign. The valued sympathy and friendship of France will help us to bear this great sorrow."

Official messages were exchanged between M. Pichon and Sir E. Grey, Ministers of Foreign Affairs for France and England respectively, in both of which reference was made "to the part played by King Edward in drawing close the relations of friendship between

King Edward's the two countries which has already so **Greatest Memorial** largely contributed to the maintenance of peace." Sympathetic callers at the British Embassy numbered thousands, and included all that was distinguished in aristocratic society, politics, science, and art. M. Caron, President of the Paris Municipal Council, and M. de Selves, Prefect of the Seine Department, per-

sonally conveyed to Sir F. Bertie the official condolences of the City of Paris, and the former, through the French Ambassador in London, telegraphed to King George and the Royal Family "the profound and respectful sympathy of the City of Paris on the death of King Edward, who had left at the Hôtel de Ville the memory of a sovereign who was the friend of Paris, as he was the friend of France."

A wave of sympathy, the like of which has seldom been witnessed in a foreign land on any similar occasion swept over France, and, as was said by M. Briand, the Prime Minister, "what gave French sorrow its true quality was that their grief sprang, not from anxiety on their own account, or from apprehension with regard to the future, but from the spontaneous sympathy and from memories which were still fresh in their minds."

The German Emperor was on a visit to Wiesbaden when the news of his Royal uncle's death arrived, and he immediately communicated personally his loving and sympathetic expressions of grief to Queen Alexandra, King George, and the other members of the Royal Family. The Kaiser returned to Potsdam on Saturday morning, and called on Sir Edward Goschen, British Ambassador in Berlin, in the afternoon, and remained with him for an hour and a half expressing his deep and grave sympathy in the most cordial terms. Berlin itself manifested its sorrow by the display of half-masted flags and other emblems of woe. The German Press, official and otherwise, was fully appreciative of King Edward's work as a constitutional monarch and statesman, and one who had administered faithfully and successfully the inheritance handed down to him; while his personal qualities were extolled on all sides. The Reichstag did not meet on Saturday, but the President, like the President of the Upper House of the Prussian Diet, telegraphed a respectful message of sympathy to the Emperor; and in the session of the Lower House of the Prussian Diet members stood while the President briefly expressed sympathy with the Emperor and the Prussian Royal Family and with the whole British people in their grievous loss.

On Monday, May 9, the Reichstag, before proceeding to ordinary business, paid honour to the memory of King Edward, the members and Ministers and the occupants of the gallery standing while a short speech was made from the chair. In the unavoidable absence of the President, Count Schwerin, the first Vice-President, Dr. Spahn, read the following: "The unexpected news of the death of his Majesty King Edward VII. has deeply moved his Majesty our Emperor and the whole Imperial House. The sorrow is the more intense inasmuch as ties of blood closely united our Emperor with the late King. The whole German people shares this sorrow sincerely and unfeignedly. Grief weighs heavy upon the English people, who come of the same stock as ourselves, and the suddenness of the death of his Majesty makes their grief especially painful. With the sympathy of the whole world is united our sympathy in the heavy loss which, together with its Royal House, the whole British people has suffered."

The feeling uppermost in Austria-Hungary, wrote the Vienna correspondent of the "Times," "is that the greatest King of modern times has passed away." The Emperor Francis Joseph received the news of King Edward's death at 5 a.m. on Saturday. His Majesty was deeply moved, as he had always reciprocated the warm friendship of King Edward. Vienna put on the garments of mourning, and the Heir Apparent, the Archduke Ferdinand, and the other Grand Dukes and Imperial Ministers



"A MESSAGE FROM THE KING SIGNED BY HIS OWN HAND"

In the House of Commons on May 11, after the members had sworn allegiance to King George, Mr. Asquith received at the Bar of the House a message from the King relative to the death of King Edward, following the reading of which resolutions of sympathy with the Royal Family were passed

Drawn by S. Begg

called at the British Embassy to express their condolences.

At the opening of the Austrian Chamber on May 10, the President, Dr. Pattai, in the course of an address, during the delivery of which all the members listened standing, said: "King Edward VII. of Great Britain

Austrian Chamber's from a life rich in power and success.
Message to the Commons With profound regret we contemplate the loss suffered by the English people, traditionally friendly towards us, and by its Royal House. King Edward was bound by affectionate friendship to our exalted Sovereign. With his sorrow unite the feelings of all the peoples of Austria, mindful of the attachment of the late Sovereign to our Fatherland, which he repeatedly visited, and where he was ever warmly welcomed. I beg the House to authorise its President to convey, through the Government, our sincere sympathy to the Speaker of the House of Commons."

Messages of condolence were also despatched by the municipalities and other corporations of nearly every city and town of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The news of King Edward's death spread rapidly through Rome on Saturday forenoon, and was followed by demonstrations of sorrow so universal and so spontaneous that no doubt could be entertained of their heart-felt sincerity. As in Rome, so in Florence, Turin, Naples, Palermo—everywhere the Italian people mourned King Edward, "for he had cast the spell of his personal charm over them." In his official dispatch to Sir Edward Grey the Marquis di San Giuliano, Premier, said that "the memory of the great Sovereign who has just disappeared from the world's scene will remain ineffaceable, not only in history, in which he has left a track of light, but also in the hearts of all those who knew and loved him, and all those who knew him also loved him." At a solemn sitting of both Houses of the Italian Parliament the Premier delivered speeches commemorating King Edward, in which a strong personal note added no little warmth and sincerity to the orator's eloquence. "King Edward's last words," he said, "were 'I have done my duty.' That powerful and comprehensive sense of duty which is one of the chief factors of British greatness, and which inspires the whole life of that great people, was, without ostentation and with perfect simplicity, the consistent rule of all the King's actions and thoughts. Great Britain is not alone in her grief. It is shared everywhere, and finds an echo in the inmost soul of the Italian people, which is united to Great Britain by the same fervent and unshakable faith in liberty."

The Presidents of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies both referred to the traditional friendship between England and Italy; and to the "heavy loss sustained by Italy in the death of a constant friend, and by the whole world in the disappearance from the scene of one who was a most active promoter of international peace." After sending a message of condolence to the British Parliament, the Senate and Chamber adjourned for four days in token of mourning.

Russia was deeply moved by the tragic suddenness of the death of King Edward, who was regarded as a particular friend of the country, and had dispelled the long estrangement between the two nations. The Tsar received the news at 3 o'clock on Saturday morning, May 7, and three hours later, when Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace had audience of his Imperial Majesty, he found him much

distressed. The Dowager Empress Marie left St. Petersburg almost immediately for London to be with her sister Queen Alexandra. Official condolences were conveyed to the British Ambassador by the Grand Marshal of the Court, and among the first to make calls on the British representative were all the Grand Dukes. The Premier, in his official telegram to Mr. Asquith, spoke of the "cruel loss which Britain and Russia had sustained." M. Isvolsky, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said to a friend, "We have lost the mainstay of our foreign policy," and in his official dispatch he spoke of King Edward as being regarded by all Russia as "a genuine friend."

On Monday, May 9, at a special session of the Duma, the representatives of all parties remained standing while the President, M. Guchkoff, in a touching address, said that "England was not alone in mourning for a wise and noble Monarch. Her sorrow is shared by Russia, which has lost in the deceased King a near kinsman of our Imperial Family and a Sovereign who rendered a successful service in bringing together the two great nations whom, much divided in the past, much will unite in the present and the future." At the same

The Loss to Russia sitting, M. Isvolsky, in low and trembling accents, referred to the sudden removal of King Edward from a sphere of universal and fruitful activity. In the name of the Government, he gave heart-felt approval to the sentiments expressed by the President of the Duma, and he laid stress on the magnitude of the loss to Russia by the death of a Sovereign who had ever been a friend of their country. M. Guchkoff wrote to



GRIEF OF PARIS: WREATHING THE BUST OF KING EDWARD IN THE SALON
 Drawn by Gilbert Holiday

Sir Arthur Nicolson, British Ambassador, asking him to transmit the sympathy of the Duma to King George and the Royal Family.

The Greek Court was in residence at Corfu when the unexpected intelligence of King Edward's death was received by his Royal brother-in-law, and created profound grief. "There is perhaps no country in Europe," wrote the "Times" correspondent, "where King Edward's death is more deeply deplored than in Greece. Not only the close relationship of the Greek Royal Family with that of England, and the well-known attachment of his Majesty's brother-in-law, but the sympathy he always displayed towards Greece in moments of adversity and danger endeared King Edward to the people of Greece, such as his beneficial interference after the unfortunate war of 1808 and during phases of the Cretan difficulties."

The Premier, M. Dragoumis, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs proceeded immediately on receiving the sad news to the British Legation to offer condolences, and the Greek Government and the municipality of Athens, which city was dressed in mourning, sent telegrams of condolence to King George and Queen Alexandra. The Cretan Assembly, on May 9, sent expressions of condolence, and adjourned for three days as a mark of respect.

The close personal relationship between the Royal Families of England and Denmark demanded the immediate interchange of tender and intimate messages. King Frederick was absent from Copenhagen when the news of King Edward's death arrived, but the city was immediately dressed in signs of mourning, and a movement was made by the leading journal to purchase a golden wreath by public subscription "as a mark of the Danish people's homage to the dead Monarch."

Queen Maud of Norway, on receipt of news of her Royal father's death, resolved at once to go to London. King Haakon on the following morning received the members of his Cabinet, the President of the National Assembly, the British Minister, and the Burgomaster of Christiania, who came to express their sorrow at the death of the father of the Queen. The city was placed in mourning, and the Burgomaster and Corporation forwarded messages of sincere condolence and deep sorrow to the English Royal Family and the British people. In the National Assembly the President made an impressive speech, in which he expressed the nation's participation in the sorrow of the Royal Family, and mentioned with special gratitude King Edward's attitude towards the British Cabinet during the conflict between Norway and Sweden in 1905.

Sincere grief was felt by the Royal Family of Sweden on the announcement of the death of King Edward, and personal and official messages giving expression to it were at once despatched. The news produced a striking impression on all classes of the population, and the Press

unanimously expressed deep sympathy with the British people, and regret "at the immense void in the political world" the immense void which King Edward's death will cause in the political world."

In both Houses of Parliament, on May 8, the Presidents expressed the sympathy of the Swedish nation for the people of England in their great loss.

Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands sent personal condolences to Queen Alexandra and King George, and Prince Henry, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Burgomaster of The Hague called at the British Legation and left sympathetic messages. The official telegram



GERMANY'S SYMPATHY: THE CHANCELLOR SPEAKING IN THE REICHSTAG
Drawn by H. W. Kockcock

from the Dutch Government referred to the "noble virtues of King Edward," and declared that his "efforts for the good of humanity assured to his memory a durable place in the hearts of all the Netherland people."

Brussels was stirred with emotion on the receipt of the news of King Edward's death, and King Albert of Belgium and his Government despatched personal and official messages of sympathy to the English Royal Family. The festivities in connection with the Brussels Exhibition were postponed, and the British section was closed to the day of the funeral.

The President of the Swiss Confederation sent personal condolences direct to King George and Queen Alexandra; and the President of the Federal Council, on behalf of himself, the Council, and the people of Switzerland, forwarded official messages of sympathy to Sir Edward Grey.

In Spain there was a general recognition of sympathy with the Royal Family of England and the British people, and in Madrid and other cities signs of mourning were displayed from both public and private buildings. King Alfonso cancelled all engagements, and, in a message to King George, said "he shared his sorrow with all his heart, and offered him his sympathy and affection at this sad moment." To Queen Alexandra he expressed in a personal message "the hope that God would comfort her in her terrible bereavement."

King Manoel and his mother, Queen Amelia, as relatives of the English Royal Family, telegraphed their condolences

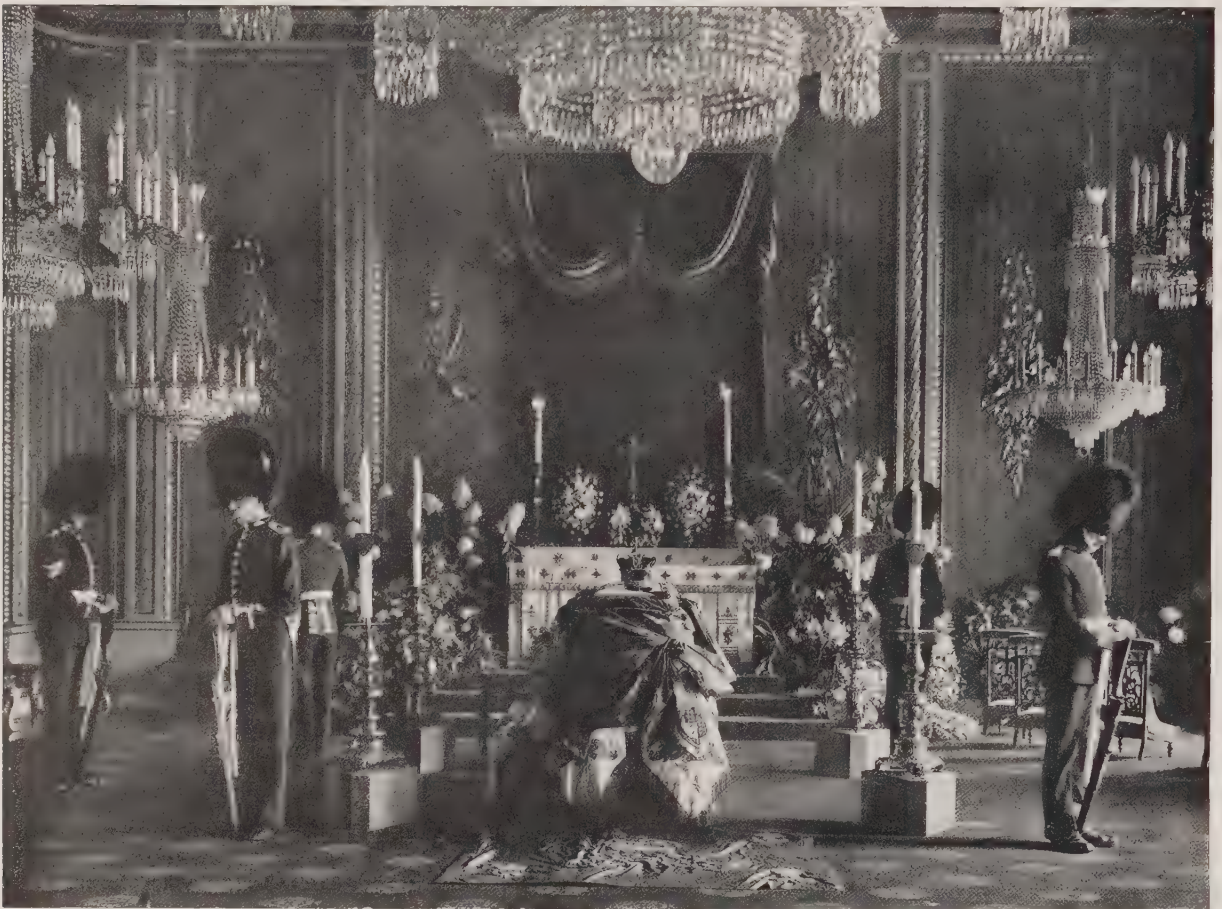
direct to King George and Queen Alexandra. Lisbon was placed in mourning, and the Press, reflecting the general grief and opinion of the people, declared that "King Edward was the best friend of Portugal among the Sovereigns of Europe." Personal and official expressions of sorrow were transmitted by the Kings and Governments of Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria.

The Sad News in Constantinople The Ottoman Government, the Press, and the people of Constantinople received the news with every mark of respect.

The Sultan telegraphed to King George that the "death of his august father had caused him the utmost regret," and to Queen Alexandra he presented his "sincerest condolences, and prayed God to console her Majesty in her cruel loss." Official messages were conveyed to

for ten days. Official messages of condolence were also received from the Republics of Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Cuba, Bolivia, Colombia, and Costa Rica.

The Japanese Court at Tokio was startled on receipt of the dispatch announcing the death of King Edward, and the Emperor and Empress, the Crown Prince, Princes Yamagata and Oyama, and Marquis Inouye immediately telegraphed to King George and Queen Alexandra their personal condolences; while the Japanese Ambassador communicated the official message to Sir Edward Grey, expressing "the profound grief and sorrow" of the Imperial Government of Japan. From every house in Tokio there was displayed the flags of England and Japan draped in black and crossed. The native Press declared that no more poignant sorrow would be felt by the people of Japan



THE PRIVATE LYING-IN STATE OF KING EDWARD: THE CATAFALQUE IN THE THRONE ROOM AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

For a week and a day the body of the Peacemaker remained in his bedroom; but Royal mourners began to arrive from all the Courts of Europe, and it was necessary that there should be a private lying-in-state. On May 14 the dead King was placed in an oaken casket and borne to a catafalque in the Throne Room. The illustration is from a photo by W. S. Stuart.

the British Ambassador by Rifaat Pasha, Grand Vizier, and by Ministers and prominent representatives of all creeds and races in the Ottoman Empire.

The Khedive of Egypt and his Government expressed officially their "profound grief at the terrible misfortune which had befallen Great Britain." The British Diplomatic Agency in Cairo received large numbers of telegrams and letters from all sections of the population, European and native, expressing sorrow and sympathy. Official messages of condolence were despatched from the Sultan of Morocco, the Sultan of Zanzibar, and the President of the Republic of Liberia.

The President of the Republic of Argentina telegraphed messages of sympathy to the Royal Family of England; the President of the Cabinet decreed national mourning

over their own Sovereign's demise. King Edward, it was said, deserved to be called "a god of peace and a model among wise rulers. The influence of his beneficent life would long remain active though the tomb enclose his body."

The Emperor of China forwarded a message to King George by the Chinese Minister in London saying: "It is with emotions of profound grief and great distress that I have received the sad intelligence from Li Ching Fong, our Minister to your Majesty's Court, that it has pleased Heaven to summon his Majesty King Edward VII. to His side. During his reign his departed Majesty did great work, which will ever be remembered by the people of all the countries of the earth." The Shah of Persia telegraphed direct to King George and Queen Alexandra his personal sympathies.

The Emperor of China's Message



CHAPTER LXXXIII

THE LYING - IN - STATE : I. FROM BUCKINGHAM PALACE TO WESTMINSTER HALL

Describing the Private Lying-in-State of King Edward in the Throne Room of Buckingham Palace and the Sad Procession to Westminster Hall

THE strangely sudden death of the beloved Peacemaker produced on the minds of both his kinsfolk and his people a dazing shock. In the agony of their grief, Queen Alexandra and King George could not bear to discuss with the Ministers of the Crown any arrangement for the funeral. Before bringing themselves to this last sad task they turned to the nation for guidance and solace. And they did not turn in vain. For some days the people were numbed and silent. But when they slowly recovered from the first overwhelming effect of the national disaster their personal feelings for the dead King came into play, and found at last expression in a common wish. With extraordinary unanimity they pleaded that they might be allowed to pass in homage before the body of the man who had worked himself to death in too loving and ardent a care for their well-being. The sorrowing son and the mourning wife of the dead King at once showed a pathetic and eager interest in fulfilling the desire of the people. It is a strange and yet a common thing for persons who have just lost someone deeply loved to try and find alleviation in little kindly services about their dead. They busy themselves in a touching way over work of this sort, because it partly enables them to forget for a moment their loss, and partly fosters in them the fancy that the loved one is still alive and in need of their help.

It was no doubt a feeling of this sort which enabled King George and Queen Alexandra to take so active a part in the arrangements for the lying-in-state. The painful thought of the funeral was put by. Neither of the Royal mourners would allow a date to be fixed for that melancholy event; all their thoughts were bent on the more inspiring task of arranging for the people to come and pay their personal tributes to the best loved and the most admired man who ever wore a crown. This would not be a scene of utter sorrow, like a funeral procession, but a consoling manifestation of the affection, esteem, and

gratitude generally inspired by the person and achievements of the Peacemaker. The Royal Family and their advisers cannot have foreseen how deep and sincere, how wide and universal was the loving admiration which the people wished to show in the presence of all that was mortal of their great King; but they knew that no tradition could serve to guide them in the present case.

The last English King who had lain in state was George III. Dying in Windsor Castle in 1820, he had been placed in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, for one day before his funeral. This was the only precedent in the matter, and it was useless. The capital city of the British Empire was clearly the only place where the lying-in-state of the King-Emperor could be carried out. St. Paul's Cathedral was first suggested, but King George wisely chose Westminster Hall. Not only was the great hall built by William Rufus incomparably richer in historic memories than the cathedral erected by Wren, but it was more remote from the vast traffic of London, and more easy of access by a long, enormous crowd. On May 11 the Earl Marshal formally announced: "The remains of his late Majesty King Edward VII., of blessed memory, will lie in state in Westminster Hall from Tuesday, the 17th, to Friday, the 20th inst. The public will be admitted on Tuesday, the 17th inst., from 4 p.m. to 10 p.m.; on Wednesday, the 18th, and Thursday, the 19th inst., from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m."

For a week and a day the body of King Edward remained in his bedroom. Several times the arrangements were made to carry the remains of the Peacemaker to the Throne Room, but Queen Alexandra could not bear the thought of her husband being removed. The death chamber was close to her apartments, and she spent all her time by the side of her dead spouse, finding a strange, sad consolation in the presence of his inanimate corpse. He rested on the little mahogany bed in the darkened room, and though from his features death had taken away all qualities of charm, their absence only revealed more clearly the



THE QUEEN-MOTHER IN THE PROCESSION TO WESTMINSTER HALL

fundamental physical characteristics of the master spirit of the age. Gone were the smiles of the eyes and the lips, and gone the gleaming geniality which made the Peacemaker so winning a personality; yet on his lifeless face still abided marks of that force of character which had made him the greatest personal power in the world. The lines were strong and noble, and the whole physiognomy was that of a warrior rather than that of a *roi charmeur*. Yes,

he was as ardent and brave and capable a captain as the most brilliant of his warlike ancestors! But, living in a more enlightened age, he had set an example to all the rulers of the earth by making war against war. Many and glorious were his victories, but they had been victories of peace; and now peace lapped him round.

His weeping widow and sorrowing children came frequently to his bedside to find a momentary solace in the peaceful solemnity of his presence. And on the white coverlet where his hands rested, Queen Alexandra softly and tenderly placed a wreath of laurel and white roses, her last sad gift. Night and day she came to his death-bed, and she would not have him taken away and put in a coffin.

But Royal mourners began to arrive from all the Courts of Europe, and it was necessary for their convenience that there should be a private lying-in-state. So at last, on Saturday evening, May 14, all that was mortal of King Edward was reverently placed in an oaken casket and borne by the colour-sergeants of the First Grenadier Guards to a purple catafalque in the Throne Room of Buckingham Palace.

In the place where the Peacemaker used to sit enthroned when he held his State receptions a simple altar was now erected. Tall candles threw a dim light on the coffin in front of the altar. The casket was covered with the Royal Standard, and above the head of the dead King was laid the Crown of England, and at his feet were placed his Sceptre and Orb. A tall Guardsman stood at each corner of the bier, and a fifth Guardsman stood facing it. Their arms were reversed, the muzzles of their rifles rested on the floor; their gloved hands were crossed upon the butts; and their heads were bowed in statuesque immobility over their hands.

The scene was very simple, and yet solemn and majestic. Queen Alexandra knelt on a praying-stool between the altar and the coffin. King George and Queen Mary knelt on her right hand with the Princess Royal, Princess Victoria, the King and Queen of Norway, the King of Denmark, the Empress Marie of Russia, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and other members and kinsmen of the Royal Family.

At ten o'clock in the night the service opened with the pathetic hymn:

When the day of toil
is done,
When the race of life
is run,
Father, grant Thy
wearyed one
Rest for evermore.

The domestic chaplain to their Majesties

read a lesson from the Burial Service and recited a few simple prayers, and then all the Royal mourners sang the hymn "Rock of Ages cleft for me"; and the service was concluded with the Benediction.

All the next day there was a constant succession of privileged visitors to the dimly lighted Throne Room. It was Whit Sunday, and an innumerable crowd of people assembled in mournful silence at the gate of the Palace, sacrificing one of the few public holidays of the year in gazing at the sombre edifice where their dead King lay. Many of them were countrymen and countrywomen who had come from a long distance, and practically all of them were clad in black. The King of Norway and Prince Olaf, the King of Denmark and Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, the members of the Royal Household, and the entire Diplomatic Corps, were among the callers. The Royal Family held another solemn service around the body of the dead Peacemaker at ten o'clock that night, and so deeply affected were they all that they were unable to sing the concluding hymn, and they slowly left the Throne Room, each bowed down with sorrow and moved to tears.

By the desire of Queen Alexandra another short service was held in the Bow Drawing-room as the body of King Edward was borne down the staircase of Buckingham Palace on the morning of Whit Tuesday. The widowed Queen could not let her dead husband depart, after a companionship of nearly fifty years, without this little domestic and touching farewell, ere he was carried to Westminster Hall to receive from his mourning subjects a testimony of their respect and affection.

The last private prayers were said, and then at half-past eleven, as Big Ben began to toll with slow and heavy

sound, the oak casket containing the remains of the Peacemaker was carried by twelve bareheaded Guards down the Palace steps and placed on a gun-carriage drawn by eight fine black horses. King George delegated to no man the sad tender task of overseeing the arrangement of the coffin; he stood by the gun-carriage and carried the matter out himself. It was not, he rightly felt, an occasion for funeral display—that would come when his father was borne to his last resting-place; now the greatest of the Edwards was being carried out so that his memory might be honoured and glorified by his assembled people. King

George, therefore, allowed no tinge of mourning to be seen, no sign of black or even of Royal purple about the body of the Peacemaker. A splendid pall of cream silk, made under the personal direction of Princess Christian for use at the funeral of Queen Victoria, was placed over the coffin, and the Royal Standard was draped at the foot. Saint Edward's Crown and the Orb and Sceptre were placed above the corpse, with the Ribbon and Star and Garter. Roll after roll from the muffled drums broke weirdly and strangely through the awful silence; the strains of Beethoven's



THE GUN-CARRIAGE BEARING KING EDWARD'S COFFIN TO WESTMINSTER HALL



THE QUEEN'S ROSE: A TOUCHING INCIDENT AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE, MAY 7, 1910

Drawn by A. Forester

solenn funeral march came mournfully and yet considerably upon the air, peering in the minor key and swelling out into the major. Then from the batteries in Hyde Park and the Tower of London were fired the parting salutes of sixty-eight guns—one for each year of life of the Peacemaker; and, as a final pathetic signal of farewell, the Royal Standard over Buckingham Palace was fully hoisted to the masthead. King Edward the Seventh was no longer in residence. The central gates of the Palace were thrown back, and the head of the procession moved forward towards the Mall. There a vast multitude had been collecting ever since four o'clock in the morning. Every man now removed his hat and stood bare-headed and silent until the whole of the procession had passed. The only sounds heard were the mournful strains of the music, the steady tramp of



KING GEORGE AND HIS SONS IN THE PROCESSION TO WESTMINSTER HALL PASSING THROUGH THE MALL
From a photograph by the Topley Press

the military escort, and now and then a half-suppressed sob from someone in the crowd. Many of the women, as well as the men, were bareheaded; and many of them burst into tears as they reverentially bent their heads towards the coffin. The troops lining the way all reversed their arms, and with heads bowed down and hands crossed on the butts of their rifles, they looked like images of grief.

There was little pomp or display in the procession. In the front two officers of the Life Guards walked with their swords reversed under their right arms, and their heads inclined upon their breastplates. Behind them, marching with slow funeral step to the wailing music, were the lords of peace and war, the chiefs of the Army Council and the Admiralty Board.

The long vanguard of the great officers of State followed silently and solemnly. A group of Gurkhas were there to honour the dead Emperor of India, and with them was a dismounted escort of Life Guardsmen in scarlet tunics, white breeches, and black boot-tops, with breastplates and white plumes. After them came four hundred bandsmen with muffled drums. Then the troops suddenly brought their arms from the reverse to the Royal salute. The band ceased to play, and the musical requiem was caught up and carried along by the pipers of the Scots Guards. The coronach they played was the sad and yet sweet melody of "The Flowers o' the Forest." To the sound of

King Edward's Musical Requiem

this native and most plaintive of elegies, which had been played at the funeral of Queen Victoria by her own pipers, the great Peacemaker was brought out among his people. Yeomen of the Guard, in their picturesque Tudor garb, walked on either side of the gun-carriage, just as they had walked beside the ancient state

coach which had borne King Edward over the same route to the Palace of Westminster at the opening of Parliament a few months before. The Royal coffin, mounted high on the plain gun-carriage, with the Orb and the Crown resting on it, was visible to all the mourning citizens. Behind the coffin

the Royal Standard was carried in front of King George. Dressed in the uniform of an admiral, the young Sailor King walked alone, grave and dignified, and with sad, downcast eyes, behind the coffin of his father. After him came his two eldest sons, the Duke of Cornwall and Prince Albert, both in the dress of naval cadets. The Duke of Connaught, in the scarlet and plumes of a Field-Marshal, walked between the King of Denmark and the King of Norway, two Sovereigns closely allied by marriage to the Royal Family.

In the next section of the procession were the illustrious representatives of the many nations who joined in the mourning of the British people over the death of the Peacemaker. They formed a splendid array of varied and brilliant uniforms with orders and decorations. But after the passing of the coffin and of King George, the interest of the people was centred on the bereaved Queen-Mother. At the sight of Queen Alexandra all men doffed their hats and caps, and all the women bent their heads in token of loving respect and sympathy. Moved by that communion with the feelings of the people, which is one of her rarest gifts, her Majesty raised her veil as she drove by, and inclined her head in recognition of the sorrow expressed in the countenances of the spectators. A muttered "God bless you!" came from the crowd, and women, their hearts aching for the Royal widow, sobbed. Queen Alexandra wore deep mourning, with a long, drooping veil, and her sable garb formed a striking contrast with the gold and



THE ROYAL REMAINS WITH A BODYGUARD OF YEOMEN OF THE GUARD ON THE WAY TO THE PUBLIC LYING-IN-STATE

From a drawing by N. M. Price, by permission of "The Times"

scarlet of the state coach. Beside her were her sister, the Mother-Empress of Russia, and her two daughters, the Duchess of Fife and Princess Victoria. In the second carriage were Queen Mary and Queen Maud of Norway, the favourite daughter of the dead King, and Princess Mary and Princes Henry and George. Seven other state carriages followed, containing the ladies of the Royal Family, and the suites of Queen Alexandra and Queen Mary.

The Royal procession arrived at New Palace Yard at a quarter-past twelve o'clock, and King George took an active part in superintending the removal of the coffin from the gun-carriage. Borne on the shoulders of the stalwart soldiers, the body of the Peacemaker was received at the entrance to Westminster Hall by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Great Chamberlain, and the Earl Marshal. At the same instant the Union Jack on the Victoria Tower was lowered, and in its place the Royal Standard was hoisted to half-mast, as a sign that the body of a Sovereign was within the Royal Palace of Westminster.

It was the first time in English history that one of our Kings was brought to lie in State in the hall built by the son of William the Conqueror. For nine hundred years its

The Only King to Lie at Westminster

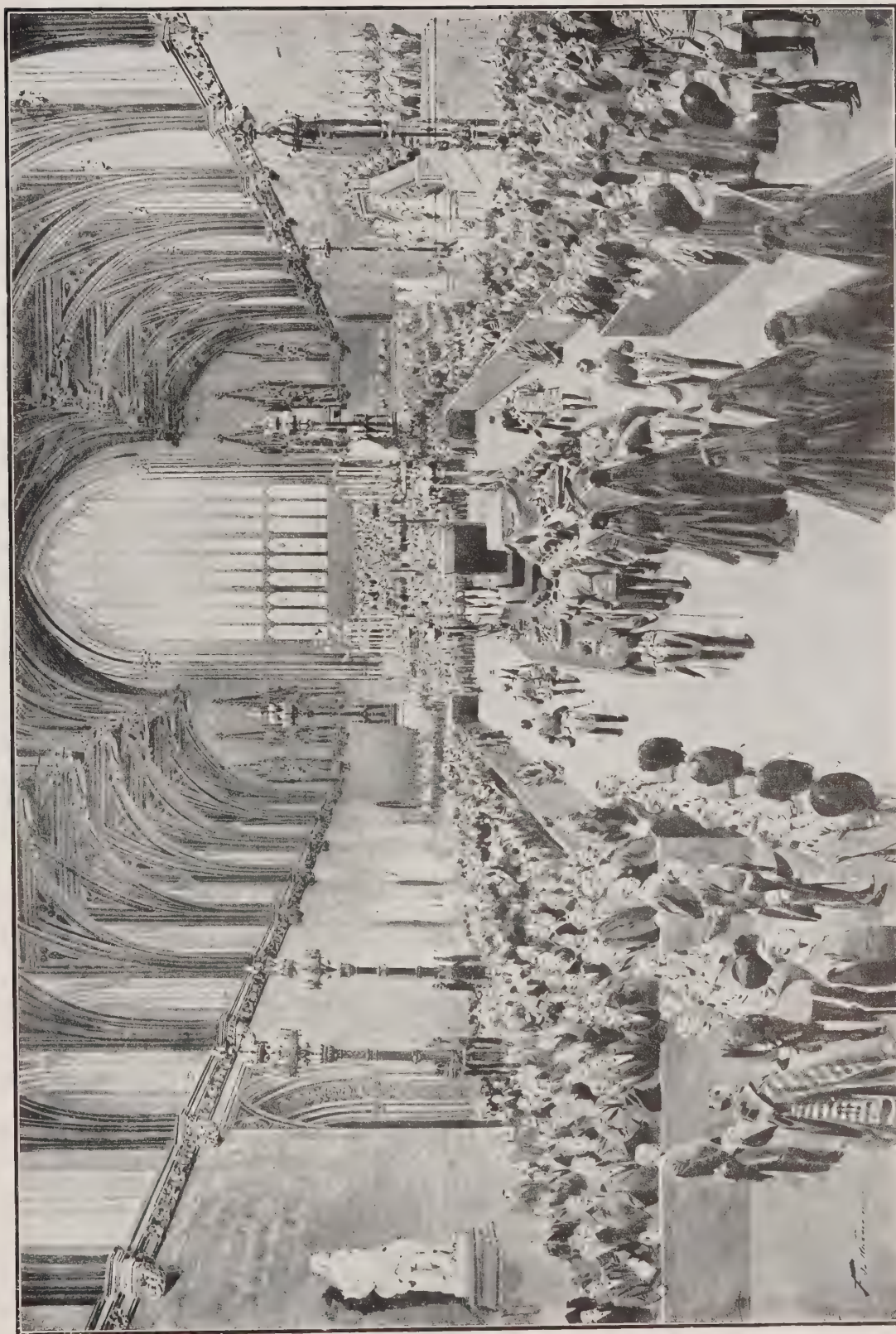
grey walls had witnessed the coming and the going of our monarchs, their coronation banquets, their state festivals, and their great assemblies. But never in the annals of the ancient building was it the scene of so impressive and significant a ceremony as that which took place in it on the morning of May 17, 1910. Even from his coffin the Peacemaker continued to exert his calm, healing, and reconciling power. When he died his subjects were about to be rent in two fiercely hostile parties over

a question of tremendous importance concerning a profound change in the Constitution. No force on earth, men thought, was capable of averting a long, harsh, and bitter struggle, in which all the passions and prejudices and sullen, angry feelings consequent on the progress or defeat of a great political revolution would be provoked and kept employed. The death of King Edward,

Peacemaking Even in Death

however, completely changed the temper of both the Lords and the Commons. Instead of dressing themselves for the great battle, which, whatever way it went, would change the character of the British Constitution, and throw, perhaps, too much power into the hands of the winning side, the contending parties proclaimed a truce, and met together united at last by common sorrow.

It was the wish and the inspiration of King George himself that the solemn preliminary to the lying-in-state of the Peacemaker should be a reunion between the two warring branches of the Legislature. So, for the first time in our island story, Lords and Commons assembled together, silently, sadly, and peaceably, to mourn over their King. This wonderful and unexpected reconciliation was no doubt due in some degree to the sincere and ardent efforts made by King George for his father's sake. He could not bear to think that his beloved parent should go down to the grave while a fierce and clamorous strife of tongues was raging throughout the land. But it was in chief measure owing to the influence and authority which the Peacemaker had acquired during his brief but triumphant reign that the leaders of the two contending parties agreed, at the request of his son, to an armistice. It was a wise, kindly, and hopeful arrangement. It did credit to the living King who advised it; it brought a crowning



THE ROYAL SERVICE IN WESTMINSTER HALL AFTER THE PROCESSION TO THE PUBLIC LYING-IN-STATE

After the coronation of King Edward I had been placed on its altar in the historic hall, Queen Mary and King George, Queen Mary and King George, gathered round it and a short service was conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury. On either side were seated the Lords and Commons, their constitutional conflict forgotten in the face of the common grief. It was the first time in English history that a Sovereign had been brought to lie in state in the ancient hall, built by William Rufus in 1097.

honour to the dead Sovereign who inspired it; and by it the English system of party government, which for some years had been falling continually in repute, was suddenly restored to its old incomparable position in the eyes of the thinking men of all nations.

As by a miracle, it changed the ceremony of the lying-in-state of King Edward from a spectacle of sorrow, foreboding, and aching, irretrievable loss to a scene of religious hope and consoling confidence in the future of the people of the British race. There was the Peacemaker, resting in his oak coffin on a purple catafalque in the ancient hall where the English Parliament had met for centuries and slowly built up the fabric of free government. Under the mighty rafters of the magnificent chamber erected soon after the Norman Conquest as an extension of the Palace of St. Edward the Confessor the long struggle for freedom had gone on

Till our fathers 'stablished, after bloody years,
How our King is one with us, first among his peers,

when, in January, 1648, Charles I. stood before his judges, and was by them condemned to death. The stone marking the spot where he stood was not far from the place where the body of King Edward was deposited. Under more peaceful and constitutional forms, the political battle was still going on, and the men on both sides, in spite of an apparent urbanity, were as fiercely vehement as their ancestors in the seventeenth century.

On this occasion, however, the King was far removed from the noise and tumult of the strife. Yet, though the breath of life had gone from his body, his spiritual presence was felt in a tremendous and overpowering manner. On either side of his catafalque was a laurel wreath in the shape of a heart. One was a tribute from the House of Lords, the other a tribute from the House of Commons. Tributes, indeed, they were; acknowledgments of submission from two mutually hostile armies to the master spirit who

had come forth strangely from his grave and subdued their enmity and brought them into agreement.

The scene of their reconciliation formed a striking and dramatic prologue to the ceremony of the lying-in-state. Through the windows of the great hall came the deep, plangent sound of the tolling of Big Ben, and with the thunderous knell mingled the noble music of the "Dead March." Far away, at the head of the broad flight of stairs at the south end, were the children of the Chapel Royal, in scarlet coats laced with gold; and by their side, in red cassocks and white surplices, were the choirmen and choristers of the Abbey. Nearer at hand was a balcony full of the scarlet and gold of officers of the King's Company of Grenadier Guards, flanked by Gentlemen-at-Arms, with shining helmets of brass and long white plumes. On either side of the north door were heralds and pursuivants in gorgeous attire, with the Garter King-at-Arms, waiting for the coming of the procession. Everywhere there were bright spots of colour at rest or in motion, and everywhere, as it seemed, the promise of a dazzling spectacle. It was more like a joyful and yet solemn setting for the coronation of a king than the scene of gloomy mourning over the death of a beloved ruler.

The four tall brass candelabra at the corners of the catafalque were lighted, and then, through the Star Chamber entrance, the members of the House of Commons appeared. First came the Serjeant-at-Arms bearing the Mace, which was laid in front of the catafalque. Here the Speaker, clad in his robes of State, came and stood with the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition on either side of him. The other Privy Councillors ranged themselves round the Chief Commoner without distinction of party. Liberals and Unionists and Labour men were now all united by a common feeling; and they gathered together in a long line, silent and expectant, which stretched right along the south side of the Hall. Then the House of Lords entered through St. Stephen's



REPRESENTATIVES OF GREAT ROYAL HOUSES FOLLOWING THE COFFIN OF KING EDWARD

Immediately after King George, the Duke of Cornwall and Prince Albert, walked the Duke of Connaught, with the King of Norway on his right and the King of Denmark on his left. Afterwards, walking four abreast, were Prince Christian, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, and Prince Arthur of Connaught; Prince Albert of Schleswig-Holstein, Prince Andrew of Greece, the Grand Duke Michael Michaelovitch, and the Reigning Prince of Waldeck and Pyrmont; the Duke of Teck, Prince Louis of Battenberg, the Duke of Fife, and the Duke of Argyll. Then, three abreast, Prince Francis of Teck, Prince Alexander of Battenberg, and Prince Maurice of Battenberg; Count Gleichen, Prince Alexander of Teck, and Prince George of Battenberg. The names read from the foreground to the background.

porchway. The Black Rod descended with the Great Mace on his shoulder, and placed it in front of the catafalque on the side opposite to that where the Mace of the Commons had been deposited. Behind him the Lord Chancellor came with slow and stately step, followed by the spiritual and temporal peers. The House of Lords ranged itself opposite to the House of Commons. Between the two Houses—symbolical of the great constitutional dispute which had recently so sharply and violently divided them—stretched two purple barriers. But in the central space between the barriers rose up, high above their heads, the emblem of that which had annulled all their divisions and dissensions, and brought them in amity together—the temporary resting-place of the dead Peacemaker.

The great north doors were opened, and the funeral march, played by the four hundred bandsmen in the courtyard, rolled in upon the fresh air and filled the ancient Hall. Lord Kitchener and Lord Roberts and a throng of naval and military chiefs entered, and, led by the heralds and pursuivants, marched down to the choir. Behind them, in solemn procession, was borne the oaken casket containing the body of King Edward. At its head was a priest carrying the Cross, then the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Dean of Westminster followed. The coffin, borne on the shoulders of the tall Guardsmen, next appeared; and another company of soldiers brought in the Crown, the Orb and the Sceptre—all the pathetic insignia of the stupendous sovereignty of a dead man, who, a few days before, reigned over one-fourth of the human race.

The glories of our blood and state
Are shadows, not substantial things;
There is no armour against fate;
Death lays his icy hand on kings;
Sceptre and Crown
Must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade.

Some men with swords may reap the field,
And plant fresh laurels where they kill;
But their strong nerves at last must yield;
They tame but one another still;
All heads must come
To the cold tomb!
Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in their dust.

Not only did the actions of the Peacemaker blossom in his dust, but they bore fruit. There was a poignancy of grief in this procession of his corpse which strangely and deeply moved each member of the Houses of Parliament. Behind the insignia walked the widowed Queen Alexandra. On her right was her son, King George, supporting her on his arm; on her left was her sister, the Empress Marie of Russia, the widow of Alexander III. It was a strange and trying moment for the bereaved Queen,

yet she bore her crushing burden of sorrow with the fortitude which sustained her since the blow fell so swiftly and suddenly twelve days before. Her face, almost hidden in her deep mourning veil, was wan and set; yet her step was firm and unflinching. Only once in the Hall did her son really have to aid her, and that was when she tottered towards the praying-stool by her husband's coffin.

Queen Mary followed the Queen-Mother, holding in her hand the hand of her little son, Prince Henry; while Princess Mary walked with the Princess Royal. Princess

Victoria and Queen Maud of Norway came with the Duke of Cornwall (the Heir Apparent) and Prince Albert. Immediately behind them were the Duke of Connaught, with the King of Norway on his right and the King of Denmark on his left. The procession was closed by representatives of the Royal Households, chief among whom was Lord Knollys, the faithful friend and secretary of King Edward, who had enjoyed the intimate confidence of the Sovereign for many years before the Peacemaker ascended the throne, and who now mourned the loss of



CARRYING KING EDWARD'S COFFIN INTO WESTMINSTER HALL

both a kind master and an affectionate comrade.

The bearer company of soldiers raised the coffin on the high catafalque, and the emblems of sovereignty were placed above the dead King. The Queen-Mother and her son, and Queen Mary and the other Royal mourners, took their places on the slightly raised platform around the coffin. Thus was formed the saddest and the most significant assembly ever gathered together

Sad and Tragic Splendour

in England, for in the centre of all was the purple bier with the body of the best loved of all our rulers; around the bier were the wife and children and kinsfolk of the dead King; and around the Royal Family, enfolding them in a manner typical of the way in which the Royalty of England is enfolded in the hearts of the people, were the Lords and Commons, the Church, and Army and Navy.

In spite of the sad beauty and the tragic splendour of the scene, there was something touchingly homely about it, and this homeliness was still further brought out by the short and simple ceremony with which the lying-in-state began. Ascending a raised desk beside the catafalque, the Archbishop of Canterbury said the Lord's Prayer, and then the choir sang exquisitely, without any accompanying music, the lovely and consoling 23rd Psalm, "The Lord is my Shepherd." Few of the mourners can have realised beforehand how fine a place for sound would be the huge Hall, with its bare walls and its lofty, timbered roof. Large though the choir was, it did not seem large in so great a building, and it sang the quiet passages with an almost imperceptible softness and beauty of tone.

Finely chosen indeed as requiem music for the great Peacemaker was the anthem by Spohr that followed the Lesson: "Blessed are the departed who in the Lord are sleeping, from henceforth for evermore: they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." The beautiful

cadences of the moving music, with its varieties of light and shade, were sung by a boy with a voice of rare beauty. Every heart was moved and consoled, for so finely did the words and the melody express the blessedness of death that death itself became a thing to love rather than dread. By a happy inspiration the "Amen" at the close of the anthem was that arranged by Sir Frederick

**Thanksgiving for
King Edward's Work**

Gibbons, for the coronation of King Edward. As the last thrilling harmony softly died away on the air, the Archbishop of Canterbury offered up in the name of the people a thanksgiving to the King of Kings for all the good work done by the man over whose dead body he prayed :

"O Lord our heavenly Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, by Whom kings reign and princes decree justice, we remember before Thee our late Sovereign Lord, King Edward, in thankfulness for the blessings which Thou hast bestowed upon us through his reign ; for the wisdom of his rule, and the faithfulness with which he served the people committed to his charge ; for his continual efforts to further and maintain peace among all nations, and for his watchful care of the sick and of the poor. And we beseech Thee to give us grace, that, having these Thy mercies in remembrance, we may with one heart and one mind set forward the welfare of this land and Empire, and hasten the coming of Thy Kingdom of Peace and Goodwill among men, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Then, before the final Benediction, the Primate gave in a brief address expression to the new feelings of union and friendship which on this sorrowful occasion had suddenly stilled the bitter strife between two great parties.

"Brothers," he said, "the Sovereign whom his Empire and the world delighted to honour is suddenly taken from our head, and perhaps we find it difficult to fix in our thoughts the significance of these memorable days, the lesson of this scene for us and for the multitude who will throng to look upon it.

"Here in the great Hall of English history we stand in the presence of death. But death is, to us Christians, swallowed up in a larger life. Our common sorrow reminds us of our common hope.

"Rise from sorrow to thanksgiving and prayer.

"We give thanks. We thank God for a ruler devoted to the service of his people ; we thank God for the peace and prosperity which have marked King Edward's reign ; we thank God for teaching us still to see His Hand in the story of our nation's well-being.

"And we pray. We pray God that, as we are united by this great sorrow, we may be united for the tasks which lie before us—for the fight against all that is unworthy of our calling as the Christian inheritors of a great Empire, the fight against selfishness and impurity and greed, the fight against the spirit that is callous or profane."

A scene of intense pathos brought the simple service to an end. After the Benediction there was a strange silence. Rising from the chair on which she had been seated, Queen Alexandra knelt beside the coffin of her dead husband, and, with uplifted hands, offered up a silent prayer. All eyes were turned towards her. For a moment it seemed as though her grief would overcome her. But when her prayer was done she rose up, pale and yet composed, and with queenly dignity signed to her son to escort her to the door ; then, with calm fortitude, she walked, with King George upon her right and the

Empress Marie on her left, out of Westminster Hall. In a few minutes the glittering company of the Princes of the blood Royal and mourners from foreign Courts had departed. The Lords and Commons retired ; the choir passed out of view ; the gorgeous medley of heralds, soldiers, and men-at-arms passed away ; and at last the Peacemaker was left alone in the vast, grey, empty chamber, lying in strange, solitary and solemn state, ready to receive from the people themselves the wonderful testimony of their love, honour, respect, and gratitude.



THE ROYAL CATAFALQUE IN WESTMINSTER HALL FOR THE PUBLIC LYING-IN-STATE



CHAPTER LXXXIV

THE LYING-IN-STATE: II. THE PEOPLE'S HOMAGE

How an Imperial Democracy Paid Reverence to its Dead King—The Marvellous Line of Mourners that Stretched for Seven Miles from Westminster Hall



FOR a space after the Royal mourners had withdrawn all was calm and still within the great Hall. In this august interval of silence the spectacle presented was one of stately simplicity. In the middle of the wide, dim, grey floor was a shield-shaped dais covered with violet cloth. From this dais rose in three tiers the purple-draped catafalque, and on this rested all that was mortal of the great Peacemaker. A shroud of richly embroidered cream satin covered the oaken coffin, and fell in folds around the bier. Over the shroud was placed the Royal Standard; the Crown, Sceptre, and Orb were grouped on the top; and at the head of the casket was raised a beautiful processional cross. In front stood four members of the King's Bodyguard of Gentlemen-at-Arms, with halberds reversed; flanking the bier on either side were two officers of the Grenadier Guards, standing motionless with bowed heads and leaning on their swords. At each of the four corners, by the four huge candles burning in the great bronze candelabra, was a Yeoman of the Guard. Behind, standing strictly at attention with his hand on his drawn sword, was a dusky Gurkha in sombre uniform, who in his strange immobility formed the most remarkable figure in the solemn and statuesque group of watchers.

It was all touchingly and beautifully arranged. The dim palace, with its enormous rafters, yellow with age, its stern, grey, bare walls stirred the imagination of every man acquainted with the history of his country. The air was sweet with the fragrance of the wreaths of lovely flowers piled at the foot of the catafalque, and sweeter still with memories of the high and noble-hearted men who had fought within its walls for freedom and good government.

In the ancient Hall, in which memories of the great men of the past floated like dim, ghostly presences above his bier, hallowing and glorifying it, the Peacemaker lay in peace, while at the door a vast and silent multitude of his people waited for the signal to enter and pass in homage before him. It was

not until the procession arrived at Westminster, and the body of the King was carried into the Hall, that the crowd was permitted to assemble. But now, in almost three hours, it had increased in a marvellous way. At four o'clock it formed a mile; when the door was opened it extended for two miles. The head of the line was opposite the tower of the House of Lords. It ran down Grosvenor Road to the Embankment; thence it stretched to the new Vauxhall Bridge, and ended at Pimlico Gardens. The multitude moved forward six abreast at a walking pace; but so immense was their number that it seemed unlikely that the persons at the extreme end of the line would get into the great hall before it closed in six hours' time.

It was the most wonderful procession that was ever seen on earth. Nothing remotely comparable with it can be found in history. No one had summoned this long, trailing multitude of men and women, and no one had organised them. Had it been necessary to impose order upon them, and maintain that order, an army of soldiers might have found the task impossible. Only a race so long accustomed to free government that each man was able to govern himself could have shown so mighty an example of the working of a general instinct for law and order. Only a race so long habituated to act in unison in matters affecting the common weal that each man was eagerly responsive to a sound, popular sentiment could have displayed a spontaneously concerted movement on this vast scale. There were, it is true, a few policemen here and there. But they were only the servants of the people; they gave advice, they furnished information, but they did not govern the mob. There was no mob to govern. It was a self-organised host of individuals without captains or leaders, and yet guided and ordered by sympathy and sweet human feeling.

The quietness with which it moved was remarkable. In so immense a concourse of people one expected to hear the murmur as of a million bees, but the noise was no more than the whispering that winds make in the summer foliage. Even the hawkers who came to sell memorial cards did their



THE PEOPLE'S HOMAGE TO KING EDWARD: WAITING AT WESTMINSTER HALL IN THE EARLY MORNING

vending in subdued tones. When, now and then, someone took a place in the procession to which he was not entitled, the persons behind never complained to the police. So tolerant a spirit, when the long hours of waiting are taken into account, can be attributed to nothing else than to that tenderness which comes of profound sorrow. But these cases of intrusion were very rare. The spirit of the London crowd that afternoon was entirely different from that which it generally displays. The people were not curious of what went on around them; they were not talkative; they were not eager. Slowly, sadly, and almost reluctantly they went forward into the presence of their dead King. Every class was represented in this strange procession.



THE SLOWLY-MOVING QUEUE ON GROSVENOR ROAD EMBANKMENT, A MILE FROM WESTMINSTER

In the first part of the line women of various ranks in life were chiefly found. Suburban matrons, mothers of the artisan class, shop assistants, and many poor working girls, who must have made some sacrifice in order to be among the first to gaze at the coffin of the beloved Peacemaker, formed the great majority. Some of them had been waiting since half-past eight in the morning. Behind the women was a crowd of men of the middle classes, who had arrived at noon. Among them were many clergymen and comfortable fathers of families with their boys, with not a few working men who were temporarily off duty, postmen, and representatives of the night workers of London. One could tell these last by the tired look in their eyes, which betokened that they had missed their ordinary rest in order to pay their tribute of respect to King Edward. Many of them had with them their wives and their little ones, some of whom were indeed so little that they had to be carried; yet the babies were brought and borne for hours in the father's arms so that the mother and the older children need not have to stay at home to look after them.

Nurses off duty also came in large numbers, and here and there one saw a crippled child or woman or man. When there was a momentary pause in the progress of the

line, the persons behind the poor, brave, maimed creatures would tenderly lend supporting arms, so that the strain of the crutch might be lessened. Scenes of this kind were common. Not only was help given to the infirm, but when one fell out of the line under a passing touch of faintness, and needed for a while the care of the ambulance men and their nurses, it was pleasant to see how carefully the vacant place was kept, and with what comforting, kindly words the returning comrade of the moment was welcomed. One could multiply instances of this sort of kindness and camaraderie on the part of the crowd—a crowd such as has never been seen in London before.

When one considers that the greater number of persons in this procession were drawn from the poorest classes, the fact that nearly all of them were clothed in black is very significant. It showed that they had made for their beloved King the same sacrifice of time, labour, and money as they would have made on the death of their own father. Very often in the crowd one could discern a large family of working folk—husband and wife, two or three tall girls, two or three tall boys, and a couple of smaller children, all neatly clad in mourning raiment, moving in utter silence, and with bowed heads, towards Westminster Hall. When one thought that this sincere religious manifestation of personal love, sorrow, and respect was a movement wholly voluntary and popular, one was amazed at the power which the Peacemaker had gently gained over the hearts of his people. Yet amid all the display of



THE LONG LINE APPROACHING WESTMINSTER HALL

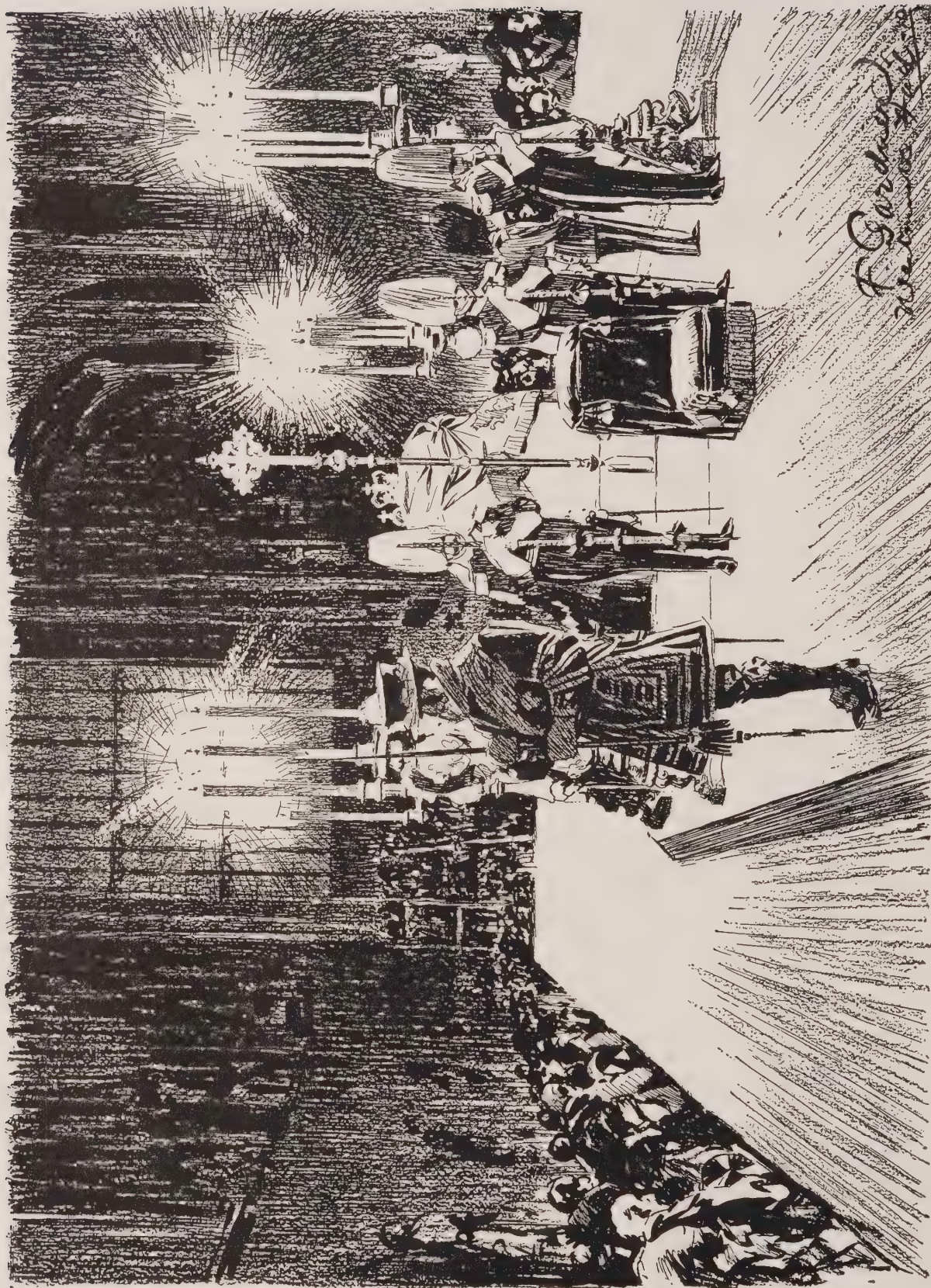
From photographs by the Illustrations Bureau and the Record Press.

general mourning there was something in the demeanour of the crowd at the lying-in-state which would not have been found in a funeral ceremony. In a strange, subtle, curious way the multitude was happy rather than sorrowful. One felt it in mingling with them. It was an inexplicable feeling, this feeling of the people; there was something eager, passionate, and even fierce in it. Oh, the mystery of an English crowd! It was so quiet, so reserved, so kindly and dignified that a foreigner would have thought that its feelings were utterly numbed by an overwhelming sense of loss. Yet, in matter of fact it was strongly and deeply moved by a sense of gain.



A WONDERFUL NIGHT SCENE AT WESTMINSTER DURING THE PEOPLE WAITING IN A THUNDERSTORM TO PAY THEIR RESPECTS TO THE DEAD KING

—THE END—



THE PUBLIC LYING-IN-STATE OF KING EDWARD VII IN WESTMINSTER HALL, MAY 17 TO MAY 19, 1910

The lying-in-state of King Edward VII in Westminster Hall attracted a vast army of people, who, to pay homage to their dead King, patiently waited for long, weary hours, through bad weather and fire, in a marvellous queue which reached a length of seven miles and extended along the Grosvenor Road Embankment towards Chelsea. The Hall was open to the public from the 17th, and from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. on the 18th and 19th. During this time nearly half a million persons could pay their last respects to the late monarch.

Drawn by F. Gardner at Westminster Hall, and reproduced by permission of "The Times."

"They're givin' 'im to us now," said a white-faced work-girl at the head of the line, when the doors of the great Hall were thrown open. "They're givin' 'im to us now!" It was a cry of triumph uttered with tears in the voice. In it was revealed the secret feeling of the people. Breaking through the stately formalities of the Court mourning, they had all that was mortal of the man they loved to mourn over and honour and reverence to the height of their desire. No shadow of official authority now came between them and their dead King. He was theirs, wholly theirs, and they would now show the world how much they admired him, how much they respected him, how much they loved him.

So until ten o'clock that night they passed in an unending procession into Westminster Hall. For one tragic, unforgettable moment they stood in the presence of all that was mortal of their dead King. They bowed their heads in prayer; not a word was spoken; then sadly, reluctantly, they moved out into the sunshine, the women weeping, and the men with moist eyes. So immense was the number of people forming the ceaseless stream which flowed in homage before the unsepulchred coffin of the Peacemaker that, though the formation of the line was stopped an hour before the closing of the doors, thousands of persons had to be turned away, after waiting all the evening. The rain began to fall as the King of Spain entered and paid his tribute to the memory of his Royal relative; but in spite of the weather, some of the disappointed crowd, instead of departing, kept vigil all night long by the closed doors.

At two o'clock on Wednesday morning the rain poured down in torrents that scarcely ceased for eight hours. In spite of this, the band of watchers rapidly grew in number, and the line soon extended to Lambeth Bridge. Most of the newcomers were early workers, who had given up half of their night's rest in order to be among the first to enter the hall at six o'clock; but among them was a very considerable sprinkling of men and women of leisure who had put aside all thoughts of comfort in order to secure a foremost place in the extraordinary procession. At ten o'clock the sun came out in great power, and the streets dried under foot. Thousands on thousands of people then appeared from all parts of London. Sometimes four abreast, sometimes eight abreast, they formed an extraordinary human chain.

During the greater part of the day it was four miles long. On one side it extended as far as Chelsea Bridge, and then it doubled back on to the other side of the road to Parliament Square, where it crossed the path of those who emerged from New Palace Yard after gazing on the dead King. The mass of people was such as the police authorities had never in their wildest dreams anticipated. Order would have been impossible had not the crowd policed itself. It was a patient and humble multitude willing to suffer almost any inconvenience in order to reach the Hall.

Although it was greatly increased in number during the afternoon, there was no crushing or unseemly haste. The vast and intricate line was admirably kept. It grew at the rate of well over one hundred a minute; at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the last constable the people formed up quietly and regularly, eager to creep along for four hours in the hot sunshine for the sake of their Peacemaker. They passed before his catafalque at the rate of ten thousand an hour, and when the Hall was closed there were still thirty thousand persons vainly waiting to gain entrance. At half-past ten Queen Mary and Prince Henry of Prussia, the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and the Grand Duchess of Hesse, came and knelt before the coffin. Half an hour afterwards King Manoel of Portugal entered the Hall and did homage to the body of the Peacemaker of Europe.

In the night, the earth passed through the tail of the comet which had flamed in the sky, vast and portentous, when William of Normandy set out to conquer England.

Thunder and lightning and heavy rain heralded the dawn of the last day of the lying-in-state of the King who had conquered the world, not with sword and flame, but by the power of loving friendship. Again his people kept vigil by the door of the Palace where his body lay. At six o'clock on Thursday morning the crowd was ten times greater than it had been at the same hour on Wednesday. The hard, driving rain descended the whole time, but the extraordinary processional line quickly extended from Vauxhall Bridge to Pimlico Pier. At one o'clock it was seven deep and five miles long. Towards the evening its length was from six to seven miles. The fact that it was the last day of the beloved Peacemaker's strange sojourn among his subjects filled the people with a wild, aching passion of loyalty. No other city in history ever presented such a spectacle as London did on May 19, 1910. An array of people of all ranks in life, from the very highest to the very lowest, forming



ANOTHER VIEW IN WESTMINSTER HALL
Drawn by F. Matania

a mass ten to twelve feet deep and six miles long, waited for hours, now in the storm, now in the heat, just to gain a momentary glimpse of the coffin containing the body of their dead ruler.

At three o'clock in the afternoon one of the mightiest of earthly potentates, moved by the wonder and the glory and the volume of the affection poured by the English people on the coffin of the Peacemaker, lovingly joined them in honouring their beloved dead. On a sudden, the mass of people which had been flowing for three

The Kaiser Joins the Crowd

days down the broad stairway of Westminster Hall was checked and held back. As the foremost ranks stood at gaze, the narrow door from the Court of the Star Chamber was opened, and King George appeared and led in the Emperor William. The Emperor carried a great wreath of white and purple flowers, which he placed with his own hands upon the catafalque. Falling on his knees on the dais, he remained in silent prayer, and King George, too, knelt,

and prayed by the coffin. For some moments Kaiser and King remained together in the awful presence of the dead, communing with the greatness beyond all the power and splendour of mortal life. At last the Emperor William rose to his feet, and, turning, looked with great affection at King George, and held out his hand. Both of them were

**King and Emperor
Watch the Pageant**

visibly affected, and with a firm, long clasp of the hands, they renewed in that tragic and solemn moment the bonds of kinship and affection. It was a sacrament of friendship hallowed by the spiritual presence of the King of love and peace. Moved by the same impulse, the son and the nephew of the Peacemaker turned together towards the coffin on the catafalque. When at last they averted their gaze, the eyes of each were bright with tears. Then they passed beyond the barrier, and the long silence which had accompanied the simple, human, homely scene between the two great rulers was broken by the soft but far-reaching sound of the people marching to take their last farewell of their King.

For a time, King George and the Emperor William stood by the purple barrier watching the wonderful procession. Some persons as they passed the catafalque fell upon their knees for an instant in homage to him who lay there, and in prayer to the King of Kings under Whom he had reigned. Some went by lifting their hands in military salute; others made the sign of the Cross, or bowed their heads and moved their lips in silent invocation. There were tears in the eyes of the women and sorrow on the faces of the men. This wonderful pageant of passionate loyalty and mourning love moved both the King and the Emperor. The Royal visitors at length departed with the soft, steady tramp of a sorrowing nation reverberating in their very souls; and for many hours after they were gone this strange muffled music which the procession made as it moved, echoed round the bier of Edward the Peacemaker.

Daylight turned to twilight, and twilight into darkness, and still the broad, sombre river of people flowed, wave upon wave, down the stairway, past the coffin. In the great spaces of the dim palace, the close, dark ranks of the crowd

loomed grey and strangely distant. In watching them one seemed to gaze upon an infinite array of soldiers. They were, indeed, soldiers, drawn from that vast industrial army by whose efforts our country had been transformed in a hundred and fifty years into the greatest of earthly empires. Weary with their long day's work, they had yet slowly tramped for four or five miles in the procession in order to take a last sad farewell, not of a superb potentate, but of a noble fellow-worker. The poet of the Empire had finely said in his verse on the lying-in-state of King Edward:

Who in the realm to-day lays down dear life for the sake of a land more dear?

And, unconcerned for his own estate, toils till the last grudging sands have run?

Let him approach. It is proven here.

Our King asks nothing of any man more than our King himself has done.

For our sakes, without question, he put from him all that he cherished.

Simply as any that serve him he served and he perished.

All that kings covet was his, and he flung it aside for us.

Simply as any that die in his service he died for us.

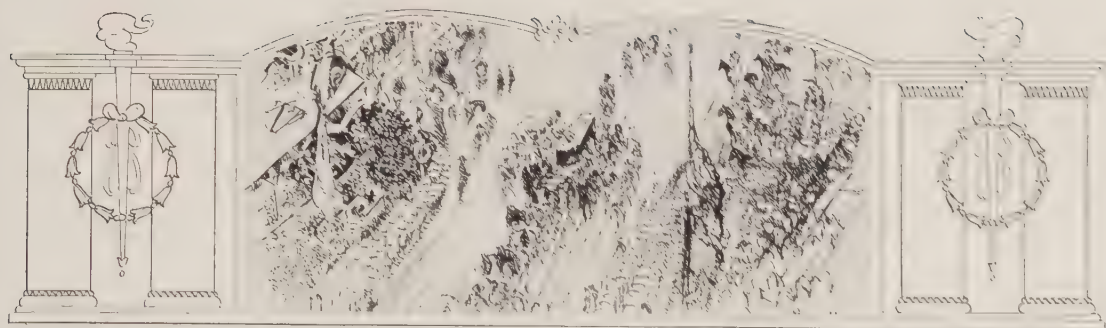
Of the 500,000 persons who came to look upon their dead King, there were scarcely any who were unworthy of coming into his presence. In the immense multitude which for three days passed in reverence and sorrow before his coffin there was practically no representative of the classes swayed by fashion, moved by social considerations, or in any way affected by a mere desire to discharge a conventional duty. The long wait in the storm and

An Incomparable Democratic Tribute the heat, the slow tramp through leagues of dusty streets, and all the tedium and fatigue of the procession to Westminster Hall formed an ordeal which was gone through only by those men and women whose love and admiration for the Peacemaker were passionate, sincere, and unfaltering. It was an incomparable tribute to an earthly monarch, this procession of the English democracy. It was so simple and yet so strange, so homely and yet so tremendous!



THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF KING EDWARD SEEN FROM CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE

From a photograph by Frederick Downer & Sons



CHAPTER LXXXV

THE FUNERAL OF THE KING: I. THROUGH LONDON'S STREETS

Being a Graphic Account of King Edward's Last Journey through the Sorrowing Multitudes of London, and of the Historic Pageant of Royal Mourners



It was a strange and pathetic vigil which London kept on the night of May 10, 1910. Scarcely had the doors of Westminster Hall closed, when the sorrowing people began to gather in the darkness in the streets that stretched for three miles from Westminster to Paddington. Long before the lamps were lighted the crowd was two deep in some parts of the route; at midnight the country people began to arrive. Along all the great highways radiating from the capital they came marching in groups from the towns and villages of the home counties. When they reached the edge of the metropolis, they were lost in the dark and silent swarms hurrying from every slum and every suburb. All classes were represented, and all ages. At every corner on the line of the procession the people took their stand, and there were many long unbroken ranks waiting on the kerbstones. By one o'clock all the streets were occupied, and the extraordinary multitude then set in earnest to keep its great vigil.

The moonlight fell on London, transforming it into a city of dreams, thronged by a strange, spectral crowd. Then clouds gathered in the heavens, and blotted out the moon; the lightning flamed down, and the thunder rolled heavily, and the rain fell in torrents. Had the multitude been composed of mere sight-seers, it would have quickly dispersed. But no one moved. The storm, however, was an occasion for a remarkable display of chivalry and kindness. Most of the men had come in overcoats, and they at once took them off and gave them to the women about them; it was not between relatives that these kind offices were performed, but between persons unacquainted with each other. During the last fifty years London crowds have been growing more urbane and genuinely good-hearted; on the eve of the funeral of the Peacemaker their rare and fine qualities were seen at their highest. In their

combination of sweetness and gentleness of manner and patient and steadfast strength of will, they reflected, better perhaps than they were aware, the spirit of the man whom they had assembled together to honour and mourn over.

Some foreign observers have said that one of the chief forces of the English genius is its sentimentality. But, surely, something more than sentimentality was necessary to keep this immense concourse of persons together in darkness and tempest and privation, waiting for the passing of their dead King. Sentimentality is not a thing which will stand a fierce storm, and the ordeal of a vigil lasting for twelve hours and kept on the cold, wet pavement. It was reverence and love and sorrow for their dead King. They wished to make his funeral, as they had made his lying-in-state, something more wonderful than the obsequies of the mightiest of those conquerors who imposed themselves upon the nations by the power of the sword. So, with an even freer spontaneity than they showed at Westminster Hall, they gathered in the open streets, and there kept vigil all through the night and through the morning till the body of the Peacemaker was borne before them to his last resting-place.

And very touching was the manner in which the funeral

route was adorned. It was green with laurel—the ancient meed for a hero. The laurel way began at Parliament Square; it ran down the long streets, and by Green Park and Hyde Park and on to Paddington Station. Lamp-posts and gateways and railings were hung with innumerable wreaths. They were the work of the whole people of Great Britain. In hundreds of places school-children had gone out and gathered sprays of fresh leaves, and woven simple garlands with their own hands, and sent them up to London. Many of the green tributes came from distant villages; many from groups of working men and bands of working women. In the East End, where the poor people could not, like country folk, go out and gather the foliage and twine the wreaths themselves,



THE MOURNING SISTERS: QUEEN ALEXANDRA AND THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA



THE CAMP OF THE
MILITARY IN HYDE PARK

the very poorest classes had put their pennies together in order to purchase little laurel chaplets for the widest and most beloved of kings.

The movement was a little simple, kindly thing; but when one saw on the same railing a wreath from a village in Cornwall resting beside a garland from a hamlet in the North Country and a chaplet from a corner of Kent, one felt that these quiet green tributes of mournful love were strangely expressive of the grief of the entire nation. Slight each twine of laurel was in itself, yet the wreaths were so numerous that they formed the most picturesque and significant embellishment of the streets of London when the Peacemaker was carried forth for the last time among his people. Tall purple masts, from which, half-way down, a flag sadly drooped, lined the route, and the houses on either side were draped in mourning colours; but it was the laurel wreaths of the people of Great Britain which made the homeward way of the Peacemaker green and lovely. The work of putting up the garlands was carried out by the Boy Scouts. It was their last service to their dead lord.

After a night of thunder and storm the sun came up above the eastern house-tops of the great, quiet city, and dispersed the mist and shone in the clear blue sky in white splendour; as the morning advanced it swelled more and more into perfect summer loveliness and glory. It was such a day as befitted the passing of such a man as King Edward. A dark, iron-grey arch of clouds would no doubt have lent an air of grim solemnity to the last sad scene in the life of some fierce warrior king; but at the quiet close of the victorious career of the Peacemaker, the heavens put on their serene beauty to glorify his passing and console his mourning people. The sudden burst of sunlight revealed how enormous was the assemblage of spectators. The multitude was so vast that from a distance it did not seem to consist

of human beings; it formed along the route a black, indefinable shadow, which seemed more like one of the great mysterious elements of nature than a London crowd.

It was not, indeed, a London crowd. Mingling in it one heard the dialects of all the shires, and the languages of the chief countries of the world. Representatives of "all people that on earth do dwell" had come that day to the capital city of the British Empire to see the funeral of the great King. By nine o'clock the concourse all along the route was incredible in size and density. It was the greatest agglomeration of people that the world has ever seen.

In many of the streets the gigantic stands formed an uninterrupted line; the front ranks of the seat-holders seemed to mingle with the crowd on the footpath, and in looking at them all one got the curious impression that the multitude in the road had, like a wave breaking over rocks, risen against the high houses and carried away the walls and seethed to the roof-tops in a white foam of faces.

At the end of Piccadilly, where the space widens at the entrance to the park, the tremendous crowd spread inward and covered the grass, and made a dark level plain of heads with the foliage showing here and there above it in green islets. And the broad, magnificent road through Hyde Park, with its great avenue of ancient trees just bursting into bloom, seemed to pass through a sea of people which trembled and whitened in the distance. And the silence was magical, prodigious, superhuman. It was something more terrible



WAITING AT HYDE PARK
CORNER AT 5.30 A.M.



THE CROWD IN WHITEHALL AT 5 A.M.
MINOR SCENES ON THE DAY OF THE KING'S FUNERAL



THE PRINCE CONSORT OF THE NETHERLANDS
ARRIVES IN THE CRUISER "JACOB VAN REEMERSMA"



THE HOHENZOLLERN AT PORT VICTORIA

THE ARRIVAL OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR AND THE PRINCE CONSORT OF HOLLAND, MAY 18, 1910, FOR THE FUNERAL OF EDWARD VII. British battleships and cruisers were assembled at the Nore on May 18 to greet the Kaiser, but at the last moment his Majesty asked that no salutes be fired, and the Imperial yacht, escorted by the British ships, entered the river in silence.

Specially drawn by R. H. Smith

than a tumult, something subjugating in its majesty; for it was charged in a strange, mystic manner with the collective emotion exhaled from the vast soul of one of the mightiest of races. London that day was unrecognisable.

Almost everywhere the pressure of the crowd was uncomfortable, and at certain places it was well-nigh beyond human endurance. At some points the pavements

The Stupendous English Crowd were so packed and the swaying of the spectators so irresistible that the police were overpowered, and it seemed likely that the line of troops would also be broken. All

this was entirely due to the unparalleled immensity of the multitude gathered in the three-mile route. It speaks well for the discipline and self-control of the people that nowhere was the roadway actually invaded. They willingly submitted themselves to the guidance of the persons in authority, upon whom rested the heavy responsibility of maintaining order and keeping a free passage for the procession.

Indeed, the considerateness of this stupendous English crowd was splendid. Everybody tried to make things as easy as possible for the rest, and the mutual egotism of the individual was effaced in the interest of the well-being of the general mass. Little acts of kindness were numberless. Women removed their hats and bonnets for the sake of the spectators behind them, and men denied themselves tobacco at a time when they were most in need of it, and when the swaying crush grew very severe they often hoisted on their shoulders not only children, but girls and women. Owing to the heat and the tension, many thousands of persons fainted, and in every case the sufferer at once found scores of kind hands ready with help and succour. The roughest man in this dense assembly of millions never forgot that he had left his work and come to pay the last tribute of respect and affection to the Peacemaker; and out of the general feeling of reverence there was born a marvellous spirit of patience and amity and goodness.

For hours the close-packed multitude waited on, until at last there fell upon their ear the muffled boom of Big Ben, tolling the first of his solemn funeral notes. This was the signal that the procession of Kings and Queens had left Buckingham Palace and was coming to Westminster Hall to conduct the body of King Edward to his grave in the Chapel at Windsor Castle, where his ancestors were sleeping. In the meantime, the great officers of State had assembled in Palace Yard. First came the Earl Marshal, the Duke of Norfolk, in white and scarlet. Lord Carrington, the Lord Great Chamberlain, in the gold embroidered uniform of his office, and the Lord Steward and other dignitaries of the Court in splendid attire also gathered at the portal of the ancient Palace where King Edward still lay on his catafalque with Guardsmen, Gentlemen-at-Arms, and Yeomen of the Guard watching over him. The Prime Minister, in the uniform of an Elder Brother of Trinity House, and Lord Rosebery, dressed in the dark green attire of the Scottish Archers, joined the group outside the Hall, which soon became a large, picturesque, and brilliant throng of distinguished men. A detachment of the Royal

Horse Artillery then brought into New Palace Yard the gun-carriage on which the Peacemaker was to take his last drive through his capital city. Two grooms led in the King's charger, carrying his military boots in the stirrups, reversed.

The most touching sight of all was the little wire-haired terrier, Cæsar, which was brought to follow the coffin of his dead master. Ever since King Edward died the little dog had gone about the Palace seeking for him and grieving that he could not find him. It had refused to eat, and a veterinary surgeon was called in, but could not prescribe for it. Its grief could not be cured by drugs. The poor faithful animal's unspeakable sorrow had deeply touched Queen Alexandra and King George. It moved them to revive one of the most primitive of funeral customs, and let the terrier walk among other mourners beside the coffin of the King. No more human touch was ever given to any great event. It affected the multitude of people in a peculiarly poignant manner; the English race is pre-eminent for its love for the most companionable and intelligent of animals, and the sight of the little faithful friend of their dead King, walking in the procession of the Kings and Queens and Princes of the earth, gave to the gorgeous pageantry of sorrow a note of simple homeliness that went straight to the heart.

When all was ready the Earl Marshal, mounted on a richly caparisoned horse, rode out of New Palace Yard to meet the funeral cortège. At the same moment the Royal cavalcade came slowly riding into Parliament Square. Round the wide, open, sunlit space they wheeled, a brilliant, glittering assembly of the rulers of the earth. Visions of gold and scarlet, blue and green, succeeded one another with dazzling rapidity, and it was not until the spectators became used to the general magnificence that they were able to distinguish one splendid potentate from another. King George was first recognised. In the uniform of a general, with his large white and red plumes waving in the breeze,

his Majesty came on, grave and somewhat haggard of countenance, yet impressing every beholder by his gracious and manly bearing. On his right hand was the Emperor William, seated upon a superb grey horse, with his marshal's baton resting on his hip. Solemn and statuesque in appearance, with a pale and proudly austere face, the famous war-lord of Germany carried himself with an air of supreme dignity and domination, which was now softened by an expression of sadness. On the left hand of the King was the Duke of Connaught, a fine, noble, and thoughtful figure, but with very mournful eyes.

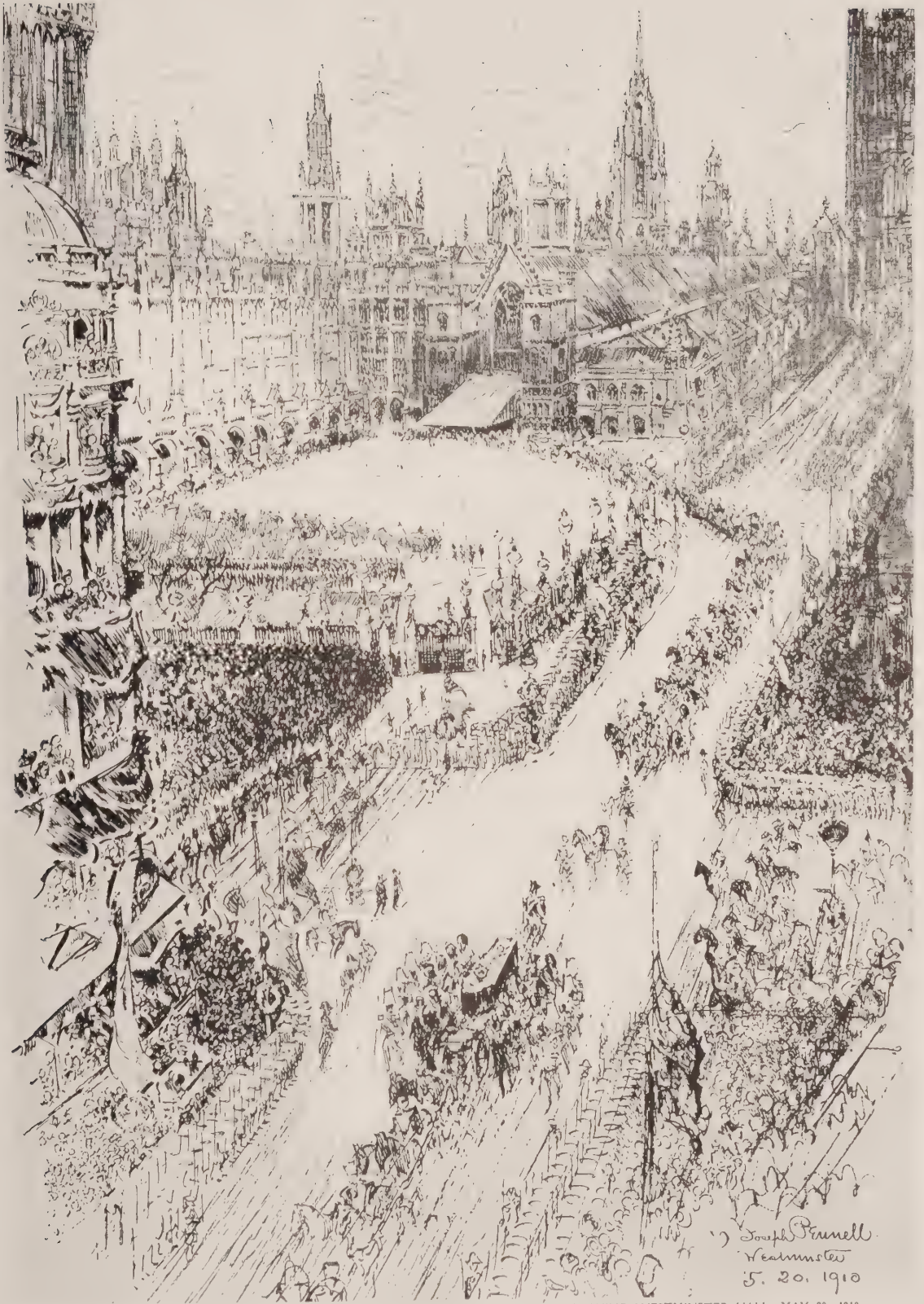
The Three Chief Mourners

Did he remember the day when he and his brother stood by the grave of their father, and the elder boy tried to comfort the younger, but broke down himself, and was led weeping away? Did he remember the cold winter morning, only nine years ago, when he rode through London with King Edward and the Emperor William behind the gun-carriage carrying all that was mortal of his mother? Yes, he did remember; his face was the face of a man utterly stricken with grief.

the next line was King Haakon of Norway, the fine manly husband of the Peacemaker's favourite daughter,



BOY SCOUTS DECORATING THE FUNERAL ROUTE WITH LAUREL WREATHS
From a photograph by the Record Press



THE PASSING OF THE PEACEMAKER: KING EDWARD'S FUNERAL CORTÈGE LEAVING WESTMINSTER HALL, MAY 20, 1910
Drawing by Joseph Pennell, by permission of "The Times"

Princess Maud, who won a crown and the loyalty of a brave, hardy, and famous race in 1905, when, in circumstances of great difficulty, the Norwegians separated themselves from the Swedes. By the side of King Haakon, the youngest member of the House of Denmark to win a European throne, was another relative of Queen Alexandra. This was King George of the Hellenes. A brother of our Queen-Mother, he accepted, in 1863, the crown offered to him by the Greek National Assembly; he was then only eighteen years of age, and he will soon celebrate the Jubilee of his accession. Next came the well-known figure

A Cavalcade of Kings

of the young King Alfonso of Spain, whose marriage with one of the loveliest of English Princesses in 1906 has made him as popular in Britain as he is in his own country. In the third line in the procession of Kings was King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, who, though elected Hereditary Prince by the Bulgarian National Assembly in 1887, is one of the most recent additions to the list of European Sovereigns. The critical events of 1908, when the Kingdom of Bulgaria was proclaimed at the same moment as the annexation of Bosnia, were a recent memory, and if England had not then been under the rule of the wise Peacemaker great trouble might have ensued. Nobody, however, grudged King Ferdinand a success which he had long deserved, and his presence at the funeral of King Edward was a gracious act of courtesy which was deeply and widely appreciated. He was accompanied by King Frederic VIII. of Denmark, the elder brother of Queen Alexandra. Born in 1843, eighteen months before his sister, he succeeded his father as lately as 1906; but, like our own late beloved Monarch, he came to the throne ripe in wisdom and full of experience. By a strange vicissitude of European politics, his younger son, Prince Charles of Denmark, was crowned before he was, and, as we have seen, he now rode in front as King of Norway.

The grave young face of King Manoel of Portugal excited pity and admiration. Called to the throne in 1908, by the assassination of his father and elder brother, the boyish monarch was still six months short of his twenty-first year.

Placed, while still a lad, on the most uneasy throne in Europe, he had faced his task with resolution and courage, and he now came to represent at the funeral of King Edward an historic land, connected with England by the most ancient of our alliances. No doubt he often thought, later in the year, that had the Peacemaker lived to counsel him and help him out of the store of his political wisdom, things might have gone differently at Lisbon. Behind him was the enlightened King of the Belgians, who, in the brief space since he succeeded the founder of the Congo State, had done much to remedy abuses and promote the cause of humanity and civilisation. The heir to the Crown of Austria-Hungary, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, on whose future policy the general condition of Europe will largely depend, appeared a fine, tall, military figure as he rode by the side of the King of the Belgians. With him was also the Hereditary

Prince of the Ottoman Empire, whose brilliant presence created a welcome though unfamiliar precedent in Turkish affairs.

Many of the kings were clad in English uniforms; but the Duke of Aosta, who represented the King of Italy, wore a striking blue attire, with a head-dress of vividly green plumes. Prince Rupert of Bavaria was distinguished by his dark blue uniform and red sash; and the scarlet tunic and small cap of Prince Danilo of Montenegro, the turban of the King of Bulgaria, the Highland tartans of the Duke of Fife were other features of a splendid and varied panorama, which left no quarter of Europe unsuggested.

Though the twelve State carriages, with their gilded and scarlet trappings, were lacking in the variety and picturesqueness of the cavalcade of kings, they still increased the high and gorgeous circumstance of the magnificent procession. In the first carriage were the Queen-Mother, the Empress Marie, and Princess Victoria. In the second carriage came Queen Mary with the Queen of Norway and Princess Mary. They were followed by other members of the Royal Family and their suites; and Mr. Theodore Roosevelt and M. Pichon of France, and Prince Tsai-tao of China, and many other persons of eminence joined in the procession. It arrived at Westminster Hall at half-past nine.

King George and his uncle and cousin drew rein at the portal of the ancient Palace, and the other Sovereigns and

Royal Mourners in Westminster Hall

Princes slowly filed into the yard and formed a semicircle on the side of the open space opposite the Hall. All of them sat in their saddles with the horses facing towards the empty gun-carriage. The purple-covered steps for the Royal horsemen were first taken to the German Emperor, and he alighted and shook hands with the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Lord Steward. While King George and the Duke of Connaught were dismounting, the State carriages drove into New Palace Yard and formed up in an inner semicircle between Westminster Hall and the line of kings and potentates seated on their steeds.

As soon as Queen Alexandra's carriage was drawn up, the Emperor William ran to the door with so much alacrity that he arrived there before the Royal servants. Seeing, however, that her Majesty could not alight from that side of the carriage, he motioned the lackeys round to the other door; but there also he was before them, and he opened it himself. When he had assisted the Queen-Mother to the ground, he kissed her upon the cheek with marked warmth and sympathy. By this time King George had dismounted, and taking his mother gently by the hand, he led her into Westminster Hall, where the Archbishop of Canterbury received their Majesties. Princess Victoria, who had driven with the Queen-Mother, was also conducted into the spacious death chamber by the Duke of Connaught and the German Emperor. No one else entered. The cavalcade of kings stood motionless and silent, like a private bodyguard, around the State carriages by the porch, while the five Royal mourners went sadly and



THE FUNERAL PROCESSION PASSING OUT OF HYDE PARK

From a photograph by the General Press Photo Co.

reverently and quietly to take their last homely farewell of all that was mortal of the Peacemaker ere he was borne in State through the sorrowful city to his grave in Windsor Castle.

What took place in the Hall during the brief minutes which followed no one outside was able to see or record. It would have been unseemly for any person to intrude on the scene of sorrow which King George and the Queen-Mother wished to hide from the eyes both of their Royal guests and of their faithful people. Above the vast, silent, and picturesque assembly in the great square, Big Ben tolled on, slow and grandly; the glittering host of kings and princes sat on horseback with bowed heads; and the soul of the multitude of London was hushed in awe whilst the service around the coffin of the Peacemaker proceeded. It was soon over, and then came the culminating episode in the splendid moving picture.

The glittering cross of the Archbishop of Canterbury appeared in the portal; the Primate of All England followed, and behind him was the bearer party of twelve stalwart Guardsmen bearing the coffin of the dead King shrouded in the Royal Standard. As the corpse of the Peacemaker was borne out with loving care, the hand of every king and prince was lifted in respectful salute, and all heads were bowed. With measured pace the soldiers walked with their sacred burden and gently lowered it on the gun-carriage and fastened it to its new resting-place. A moment later Sir Arthur Bigge and Sir Henry Ewart brought out the magnificent pall which had covered the remains of Queen Victoria. This was placed above the oaken casket with the Crown and the Orb and the Sceptre, and the clear summer sunshine fell on the jewels and turned them into a blaze of rainbow splendour. The Equerries and Gentlemen-at-Arms ranged themselves on either side of the gun-carriage, and a little incident followed which brought a lump into every throat.

As the Queen Mother was waiting under the awning the charger of King Edward was brought forward by two grooms to walk behind the body of his master, and the little white terrier, Cæsar, was also led up by a Highlander. The magnificent bay came close to the kerb; Queen Alexandra patted her husband's horse on the neck, and then stooped and did the same to the dog. More intelligent, and therefore more responsive to the touch of a friendly hand, poor Cæsar gave a whimper of delight in which there was a strange note of wistfulness. It seemed as though the little animal divined the sad significance of all the shining pageantry and solemn ceremony around him, and knew that someone that had fondled him in the past

would never do so again. For days he had been whining and searching for his master, and now he seemed to guess at last that all his searching had been in vain.

Meanwhile the long lines of troops had been standing at the salute. All round was the same intense stillness which, in the presence of so immense a concourse of human beings, touched one's soul with deep religious awe. Not a sound broke on the ear save the twittering of the sparrows, the stamping of a hoof, or the jingle of a bit or stirrup, in the pause between the clanging knell from the great tower,

rolling away over the illimitable streets of London. One could hear the trees rustle as the procession moved slowly forward. The King, the German Emperor, and the Duke of Connaught turned in their saddles and saluted Queen Alexandra as they rode out to fall into their positions, and the fifty princes who followed them all paid the same touching tribute to her Majesty's mournful pre-eminence in the ceremonial of the day. At last all was ready, and at a signal from the Earl Marshal the marvellous cortège set out on its way.

The funeral of a great king is a thing which may easily be made to seem pompous and unreal. The gorgeousness of state with which it is accompanied is apt merely to dazzle the mind and leave the heart untouched, so that the sense of grief is entirely lost in the glitter of display. King Edward, however, went to his tomb amid a pageant of unparalleled power and glorious circumstance, and yet with a solemnity of universal sorrow which was almost appalling.

His last journey through London was attended by all the superb and picturesque ceremonial of kingly glory. And this was right and seemly, for, as Shakespeare said:

Though mean and mighty, rotting
Together, have one dust; yet Reverence,
That angel of the world, doth make distinction
Of place 'tween high and low.

And monarchs cannot even go down to their grave in quietness and obscurity. King Edward was brought from Westminster to be buried with the same pomp as he had been taken there to be crowned. The wealth of military show, the blending of rich colours, the parade of gilded and emblazoned coaches made the funeral as majestically brilliant as the coronation eight years before.

**Pomp and
Kingly Glory**

The air was clear and radiant with sunshine, and it was that lovely and delicious season of the year when upon the winds of spring there comes the richer fragrance of summer flowers. How was it, then, that the thrilling spectacle only filled the beholders with mournful and depressing feeling? Perhaps it was because they never fully knew how great was the



THE MOURNING CROWDS IN PICCADILLY
Photograph by Sport and General Illustrations Co.

genius of the man who had won their love, until they saw his coffin pass before them on its way to Windsor. They had learnt to love him long before his genius was able to reveal itself, and they had continued to love him simply for his charm, his humanity, and his kindness. Had he died before he ascended the throne they would have grieved at the loss of a comrade. Now they saw that

An Historic

Pageant of Kings

his death was a great national disaster; his funeral revealed the fact that he was the master spirit of his age and an incomparable leader of men. Nay! They saw that his death was not a national disaster, but a calamity of world-wide consequences. It was not, as at his coronation, his own subjects who gave to the ceremony its meaning and importance; his tremendous and universal influence, authority, and power were at last made manifest by the marks of respect paid to him in person by the greatest gathering of potentates ever seen in the history of mankind.

Behind the simple gun-carriage on which his corpse was borne there followed nine Kings and the leader of the great democracy of America; fifty Crown Princes and Princes of the Blood; a throng of Empresses, Queens, and Royal women, and great statesmen from distant lands. There have been a few occasions in the annals of the human race when one or two kings met to take counsel together; but this has only happened in times of fierce and widespread strife; and each monarch, as a rule, came to meet his fellows with a view to winning by intrigue some advantage which would be useful to him in war. There have also been, but more rarely, assemblies of rulers drawn together by some conqueror who had defeated them and wished to show by their abject and enforced meeting the extent and the glory of his conquests. But it was left to the great Peacemaker to exhibit from his grave in how wonderful a manner the triumphs of peace excel the triumphs of war. Out of mere spontaneous esteem for the great work which he had done in his brief and quiet reign in linking the races of the world together in amity, the kings of Europe, the princes of the Far East, and the chief statesmen of the mighty republics gathered around his coffin and transformed his funeral into an unexampled pageant of historic figures.

Including Mr. Roosevelt, there were seventy-two persons of supreme rank in the procession; the nine reigning Sovereigns ruled over one hundred and fifty millions of people in Europe alone, and when their subjects overseas were included, the number grew too enormous for exact calculation. Moreover, there were five Heirs Apparent present, and if these all live to ascend their thrones, the future historian of the British Empire will be able to give the names of fourteen kings who took, in all reverence and honest affection, a part in the sublime ceremony of the burial of King Edward VII.

It may seem a strange thing for the only man who has won the title of Peacemaker to have the most magnificent military funeral ever given in ancient or modern times. And yet it was not strange. Who could render a more striking homage to the great pacificator than the men of the sword gathered from the ends of the earth? It was because the world was at peace that they were able to stand

in friendship side by side in honour of the man who had won more fame by preventing strife than any conqueror had by promoting it.

All the naval and military forces of the Empire were represented in the procession. There were battalions of the Territorials, detachments of the Colonial corps, Highlanders, Foot Guards, Hussars, and Household Cavalry. Sections of artillery with their guns, engineers, marines, and sailors made up the vanguard.

Slowly they went by, these fighting men whose field of adventure stretched from London to Bombay, from Wales to New South Wales, from Birr to Bareilly, from Leeds to Lahore; men who man the North-West of Canada or have their quarters beneath the Lion's Head of the Cape; men who were enrolled in Edinburgh or Dunedin; in Melbourne or Dublin. Every arm of the Service passed by—the Army chaplains, with Father Collins, wearing the Victoria Cross he won at Tel-el-Kebir; the Army doctors, and the Indian Army men. With a melody not of string or brass, but of the earth pressed by rhythmic feet, his soldiers and sailors ushered in King Edward to the Horse Guards Parade ground. As the men marched with slow and perfect pace under the arches, the stone pavement sent the beat of their steps up to the low stone roof, and the sound reverberated and made a grandly simple funeral air. When the men

issued out from under the archway, there were no stones to catch their footfall in rolling echoes, and the sound of the measured movement of their tramping was diminished and attenuated until it softened into a faint murmur like the slow cadence of the sea. But it was sombre music of the finest, this plaint of the earth beneath the feet of mourning men.

They passed, and after them came into the light of the square the military attachés to the foreign Embassies, and a deputation of officers from the armies and navies of Europe. Dressed in a bewildering variety of

glittering uniform, this troop of strange warriors shone in a brilliant parterre of colour, and formed a picturesque and significant feature in the funeral procession of the Peacemaker. Among them were splendid cuirassiers from Germany; the flower of the horsemen of Austria-Hungary; cavalrymen from Bulgaria; the soldiers of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden; others from Spain and Portugal; as well as captains and admirals of the fleets of Germany and Russia, Sweden and Spain. It was a dazzling array of Europe in arms.

It reminded the spectators that the countries of the world are still armed camps, and yet it filled them with hope that the new spirit now moving in the hearts of all the races would inspire their leaders to carry on the

work of the Peacemaker. At some time or other in building up our Empire we had had to fight with the nations to which many of these fine warriors belonged, but now they had come to form, with our own soldiers and sailors, a magnificent escort for the dead ruler of our Empire, and to show that the fight had always been a fair one, and had left behind no bitterness, but a feeling of common friendship based on a feeling of common respect.



THE THREE CHIEF MOURNERS: THE KAISER, KING GEORGE AND THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT



KING EDWARD'S LAST JOURNEY THROUGH LONDON: THE CORTÈGE IN PICCADILLY
From a drawing by Byam Shaw, by permission of "The Times"

Behind the troop of foreign captains walked—a blaze of scarlet—two lines of English generals. After these, nearer to the coffin, nearer to the place of honour, rode the great servants of the dead king. The Field-Mmarshals of his Armies, the Admirals of his Fleets, the men at whose bidding the squadrons rode to death and the ships formed into line of battle. And, nearer yet, those

Great Servants of the Dead King who had served him at the council chamber, and had helped him with their fine intellects to promote the welfare of the Empire and the peace of the world. Here was a soldier from Kandahar, Lord Roberts, who had served the Throne for the span of a lifetime; and here was he who had woven for sixteen years around Khartoum that web of strategy which enabled him to vindicate at last the honour of his race and bring peace and justice and stable government to the Soudan. In his hand he carried the marshal's baton received from King Edward only a short time before his fatal illness. Here, also, were the brains of the Navy, the organisers of defence and the leaders of the people—all of them servants of the King—and with them were his equerries, the officers of his household, his chamberlains, his secretaries, his aides-de-camp, those who were near him in life, and by his side in death.

As these approached, a new sound, soft at first, but growing louder, came upon the air and mingled with the trampling of the hoofs. It was the wail of a funeral lament. At the solemn music of the Beethoven march, the emotion deepened in the hearts of the far-stretched multitude of mourning spectators. Up to this moment they had been looking at the great procession, splendid in its pomp, and wonderfully impressive in the massed power that it signified—but, still, only a pageant. But the music, the beautiful, sorrowful music, suddenly brought home the pathos and the pity of the tragic reality of the gorgeous ceremonial. Every voice was stilled, every head uncovered. With the sound of the funeral march in their ears, no one looked any longer on the distinguished men passing in front, but turned with strained face to catch a glimpse of the coffin behind the eight dark horses. The death knell was now ringing from every belfry, and at last there slowly came into sight the simple gun-carriage which bore all that was mortal of the King, Emperor, and Peacemaker. The jewelled crown and the burning gold and silver and purple of the symbols of the dead King's power passed before the misty eyes of his mourning nation; and then came his charger and his little dog. The unexpected presence of the faithful animal had an electrical effect on the strangely tense emotions of the people. All the pageantry of State dissolved; Edward the King was for the moment forgotten, Edward the man only was remembered.

He had always been one of the most human of men. It was his lovable humanness which had won for him the love of the people when he was yet but a young prince, and the thought of him as an actual ruler was so remote

that it was never dwelt on. For half a century he had moved among the people in their pleasures, in their work, and become one of them, sharing in their pastimes and helping them in their social movements. In those days he was just a charming English gentleman, as ready to take the chair at a cabmen's dinner as he was to sit in State at a levée. Easy of access, and winningly familiar in manner, hard-working in every good cause, and yet as light-hearted as a schoolboy in his leisure moments, and a true Englishman in his passion for open-air pursuits and in his love for animals—such was King Edward in the earlier part of his career.

His wonderful achievements in later life seemed to have effaced the purely human image of him as the most popular of English Princes. One began always to picture him as he appeared at his coronation—a wise, pale, grey-haired, and venerable king absorbed in difficult and far-reaching schemes for the advancement of his Empire and the preservation of the peace of the world. And the sight of a little terrier sadly following his coffin changed all that! It brought back the homely figure; the human man in his weakness and in his strength; the man who had had a little dog always at his side to play with; the man who thought of poor sufferers in hospitals; the man who liked men of the working class, and came to their dinners and

collected money for them, and wanted to improve their education so that they might retain their pre-eminence in an age of intense competition. Thus it was that when they saw Caesar the people caught their breath. "Ah, poor thing!" said the men, while many of the women hid their faces in their hands.

It was only with a blank curiosity that the multitude looked at the vision of regal magnificence which followed. Here, mounted on horseback, were the kings of the earth come to do homage to one whose power had resided wholly in the charm and magic of his personality. Among them were mighty rulers who possessed over the lives and labours of their subjects far more legal authority than he had, or ever wished to have. Yet who among them could command such passionate love and loyalty as he had freely given him? But gradually the look of blank curiosity in the eyes of the vast crowd changed to one of silent amazement. They began to feel the marvellousness of the achievement which the Peacemaker was strangely

performing as he lay in his coffin there on the gun-carriage. If the presence of this throng of monarchs meant anything, it meant that the spirit of King Edward was still going out and working among the peoples of the earth. His death was the most potent of all his actions towards that peaceful concord of nations for which he gave up the last years of his life. This shining cavalcade of kings was a peace congress—the most wonderful, the most powerful, the most spontaneous peace congress in all history. These nine great rulers, with Mr. Theodore



THE SORROWING QUEEN WITH THE EMPRESS MARIE OF RUSSIA
From a photograph by the World's Graphic Press

Roosevelt, the uncrowned King of America, M. Pichon, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Heir Apparent of Austria-Hungary, held in their hands the destinies of the human race. The dead Peacemaker, it seemed, was holding his last great review of all the forces of civilisation, and inducing them to work together without conflict or envy in changing this wild earth of ours into that Kingdom of God for the coming of which our Lord has taught us to pray.

All the reigning houses of the world were represented in this historic assembly. Behind the cavalcade of the nine kings came the scions of Royal race. Here was the Prince of the Ottoman Empire, which at the height of its power had swept over Hungary and besieged Vienna, riding by the side of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, who had recently wrested Bosnia completely from the Ottoman dominions. Prince Fushimi of Japan and the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, the brother of the Tsar of Russia, represented the two great peoples whose terrific struggle for supremacy in the Far East had lately been brought to a conclusion by another great man—Mr. Roosevelt—who was also taking part in the procession. The Japanese Prince and the Russian Grand Duke were now companions in grief, ranged together with the Duke of Aosta, who had come in place of his kinsman, the King of Italy. Prince Rupert of

Bavaria, the Duke of Sparta, the eldest son of the King of the Hellenes, and the Crown Prince of Roumania rode abreast. Behind them were Prince Henry of the Netherlands, the consort of Queen Wilhelmina, Duke Albrecht of Wurtemberg, and the boyish Crown Prince of Servia. Prince Henry of Prussia, the brother of the Emperor, and the Grand Duke of Hesse and the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz formed the next rank. After them paced Prince Charles of Sweden, representing his brother King Gustavus, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Prince George of Saxony.

Mohammed Ali Pasha, the only brother of the Khedive of Egypt, had come for the first time to England in honour of the great English King whose Ministers had raised up his country from the dust and defeated the Mahdi and won back the Soudan. He was a youngish man, with a fine, delicately cut face, and, as he rode with Prince Waldeck and Pyrmont, he stared in utter astonishment on the silent, innumerable multitude of English people. He was followed by Prince Arthur of Connaught and the Princes Albert and Christian of Schleswig-Holstein. The Duke of Fife and Prince Alexander of Battenberg came next. The Princes Alexander and

Scions of Royal Race

Francis of Teck rode on either hand of the Duke of Teck. The Grand Duke Michaelovitch, who was exiled from Russia in consequence of his marriage with the Countess Torby, had Prince Andrew of Greece and Prince Maximilian of Baden as companions. Behind him were Prince Danilo of Montenegro, the heir to the most romantic throne in Europe—a fine, picturesque figure in the dress of his country. By his side were Prince Christopher of Greece and Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg. In the next line of horsemen were two descendants of Henry of

Navarre—Prince Pierre of Orleans and Prince Louis of Orleans—who live in hope of some vicissitude in French politics which will enable them to win back the throne lost to their family in 1830. Two Princes of the House of Coburg and the House of Waldeck rode with Prince Bovaradej of Siam.

When these had passed, the magnificent and unparalleled cavalcade which gave such historic splendour to the mourning funeral of the great Peacemaker came to an end. Such a pageantry of power at the obsequies of a man whose energies had been entirely bent on pacific ends was surely an event of incomparable importance. Practically all the human race was represented in a long procession behind the coffin of the Peacemaker. This showed that the peoples of the earth were weary of war. Science had been drawing them closer and closer together

for half a century, and commerce had been weaving their lands together in the bonds of common interest and mutual helpfulness. At the dawn of the twentieth century the King of a little island off the coast of Europe had felt, interpreted, and in large measure realised this universal desire for peace and friendship among all nations. And now that this King was dead, all nations acknowledged him as their spiritual leader, and sent their rulers and princes and Ministers to follow his funeral bier, and honour and glorify his memory.

But the thoughts of

the silent sea of spectators were again turned from the extraordinary political significance of the gorgeous procession to the human pathos of it all at the sight of the first State coach that followed the Royal horsemen; for in it sat the Queen Mother, her face strangely pale and wet with tears. Yet, even in this tragically poignant moment of her life, she still kept over her feelings that stern control which

The Widowed Queen

queenly women have to exercise throughout their existence. Occasionally her sorrow overmastered her. The Queen disappeared, and there remained only a broken-hearted, widowed wife, whose eyes were so dimmed with tears that she could not see all round her the sea of faces turned in deep, silent, loving sympathy upon her. Yet even while she wept she must have felt all that she did not see. There is a magnetism in the spirit of an immense multitude moved by one single intense, unspoken feeling which works far more powerfully in a solemn hush than in a thunder of acclamations. And it worked on the heart of Queen Alexandra, and lightened the gloom of her sorrow. Again and again in the long, slow, mournful journey through London she turned, responsive to the strong and tender sympathy of her people, and silently thanked them with glistening eyes and bowed head.

In the next carriage was Queen Mary, a sombre figure almost hidden in her black robes. No consciousness of the great position into which she had been suddenly thrust was seen on her drawn and pallid face; utterly absorbed in sorrowful thought was she as she moved amid the pageantry of woe. By her side was the Duke of Cornwall, his clear, bright, boyish features full of that wondering grief which the death of a kind and loving grandfather fills the mind of a boy. He looked in the



FOLLOWING THEIR MASTER TO THE LAST: KING EDWARD'S CHARGER
AND HIS DOG CÆSAR IN THE PROCESSION
Photograph by the Illustrations Bureau



KINGLY MOURNERS OF EDWARD VII: SIX MONARCHS IN THE FUNERAL PROCESSION

Never before the funeral of King Edward has been seen so great a gathering of European monarchs on a State occasion. Sorrow for his death drew nine reigning kings to follow his body to its last resting-place. In the above illustration (from a photograph by Montague Dixon) are seen the Kings of Norway, Greece, and Spain, followed by the Kings of Bulgaria, Denmark, and Portugal. King George, the Kaiser, and the King of Belgium were also in the procession.

same sad wonder at the multitude of bare-headed spectators, and they gazed back at him with loving and anxious eyes. He, like his noble father, was now their stay and their consolation. In a year or two he would begin to take on his strong young shoulders some of the burden of Empire which his father was now bearing alone. His early manhood would be spent in travelling

The Young Heir Apparent

in the ends of the earth, consolidating in his future dominions the bonds of Imperial unity, and studying the strength and the needs and the aspirations of the widely scattered race that he would one day be called to govern.

Queen Maud of Norway and Princess Mary sat in the second carriage with the Heir Apparent and the Queen-Consort. The Duchess of Argyll, the Duchess of Connaught, Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, and Princess Henry of Battenberg followed in a landau. In the fourth carriage were the Duchess of Albany and Princess Patricia, and then came another landau with four more Princesses—Princess Alexandra, Princess Maud, Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, and Princess Marie Louise. After them rode Prince Albert and Prince Henry and Prince George of Cumberland. In the seventh carriage Prince Tsai-tao of China and Lord Lichin-Mai sat. Mr. Theodore Roosevelt followed, with M. Pichon of France and his Excellency Sanad Khan Montaz-os-Saltaneh of Persia. Our great Colonies were next represented in the persons of Lord Strathcona, Sir George Houstoun-Reid, and the Hon. William Hall-Jones. The suites of Queen Alexandra and Queen Mary came behind; and in the last carriage, the twelfth, was Lord Knollys, who had for a great number of years carried out the delicate and responsible duties of private secretary to King Edward.

At the end came the only touch of civilian life, and even this was of a semi-military character. There were detachments from the Metropolitan and City of London

Police, the Edinburgh Police, the Royal Irish Constabulary, and the Dublin Metropolitan Police—a magnificent body of men the last were, and their presence was significant. King Edward was the first of his line to win the affection of the Irish people, as he was, indeed, the first to recover the general popularity which some of the Tudor and some of the Stuart monarchs only had gained. One thought of the Stuarts as the coffin of the Peacemaker was drawn down Whitehall under the ancient arches of the Horse Guards into the open space facing St. James's Park. For here the dead King figuratively passed out of the narrow way of the absolute monarchy of the seventeenth century into the spacious scenes of the modern constitutional era, this era, which he illustrated with such a genius of kingcraft.

Whitehall reminded one of a gallant gentleman of romantic memory who was, unfortunately, out of touch with the temper and the spirit of his people. There was the ancient palace in which the grim struggle between him and his subjects had so pitiful and tragic an ending. Those grey stones were the monuments of kings who had failed for lack of sympathy and lack of judgment. But the green pleasaunce beyond, which was once a Royal garden, but was now the happy playing-ground of the children of London, stood for the new and triumphant ideals of English government. And as King Edward, the shepherd of his people and the guardian of their peace, was gently and reverently borne to his last rest through the open parks which once were closed domains, every tree seemed to wave a last greeting, and echo in the rustle of its leaves the long-drawn, sorrowful sigh from the soul of the mighty nation that had loved him in life and now cherished his memory in death.

Through the Hedge of Steel

With slow and measured steps the mourners travelled on between the hedge of steel which marked their way. So long was the funeral procession that its head reached

almost to Piccadilly before the last of it had left Westminster. Of all the densely packed crowds waiting to see its passage, that which had assembled in Hyde Park and along the Edgware Road was in many respects the most remarkable. It was by far the largest of the multitudes, stretching away in the distance like a dark sea, and growing faint and indistinct at the far edges.

For the most part it was composed of the very poorest of the late King's subjects. A broad stream of humanity had flowed from early dawn from the East End, and gathered in an immense lake around Marble Arch. Its conduct was admirable. In the long wait under a

London's Last Farewell

burning sun in a dense and swaying crowd there were many occasions for little acts of kindness and self-sacrifice, and these occasions were never neglected. Men, rough in looks and in manners, gave up their positions in the front to attend to women overcome by the heat and the pressure; and when the procession arrived a host of children were suddenly lifted shoulder-high, and given a full view of the bright and iridescent pageantry. Many of the older people thus saw the wonderful spectacle merely through the eyes of their offspring. It was only in hurried whispers that they learned that the Peacemaker was passing by with his train of kings; yet that was sufficient to send through the visionless crowd a wave of loyal emotion which lifted them for a moment above the cares and needs of a workaday world.

There is no class in the state that hungers for the warm, living touch of exalted personality as much as the very poor, and there is none so responsively emotional. It is the London poor that give the thunder note which makes the cheering of a London crowd so moving and so wonderful. And now, at Marble Arch, it was their strange, solemn, and silent spirit of reverence which gave an almost unearthly impressiveness to the funeral of King Edward.

It was a tragic spectacle, this burial of the Peacemaker. The gorgeousness of its setting—the broad, blue sky, the radiant sun, the lovely pomp of an early summer day, the majestic splendour of the assembled kings and princes and great men of the whole world—all this only made the tragedy more poignant. All that could be done, after the first numbing sense of grief had passed, was to receive this mysterious act of God in a quiet, humble, and reverent spirit. And this is what the people that day did. With bowed heads and troubled eyes, they stood motionless and silent, while the coffin that many of them could not see passed by Marble Arch, and crossed Edgware Road and turned towards Paddington Station; and then they sadly and reverently thronged into the churches of London where memorial services were held.

Thus the people of London took their last farewell of their dead King, and the gun-carriage, with its precious burden and its incomparable escort of Royal mourners, was slowly drawn out of the shining, laurel-hung streets into the wide, dim, sombre space of Paddington Station. No attempt had been made to adorn the finely planned, magnificent terminus; and this was well. For the solid lines of the great grey pillars which uphold the vast vault formed in their simple, massive dignity an admirable frame to the gorgeous

pageant which appeared for a minute and then faded away beneath their arching arms. It was eleven o'clock when the outposts of the procession arrived. For nearly an hour the station rang to the sound of the measured tramp of the infantry, the clatter of the cavalry, and the ring of steel. Then the sons of the sea appeared, and as the sound of the distant funeral march came upon the ear the officers from the foreign armies and navies entered and transformed the scene into a riot of colours.

Last, the gun-carriage, with its kingly freight, was slowly drawn in to the music of the Dead March. The heavy, heart-throbbing cadences of the great dirge of Handel were the only sounds heard in the huge vaulted place as the retinue of sorrowing kings and princes rode past the coffin and dismounted. The State coaches then arrived, and King George pressed forward to receive the Queen Mother. The Empress of Russia, Queen Alexandra, Queen Mary, and Queen Maud of Norway, and the Princesses assembled down the path by which the coffin was to be borne. The German Emperor and his regal companions ranged themselves on the other side. As the bearer party lifted the corpse of the Peacemaker from the gun-carriage and carried it on their shoulders to the train, the kings and princes saluted it, and the Royal ladies bowed their heads as it passed.

Gently and carefully the soldiers lowered King Edward into the mortuary coach in which, nine years before, the body of Queen Victoria had been borne to its resting-place. The walls were draped in white and purple, and all light was excluded from the windows by heavy purple hangings. In the centre was a bier on which the coffin was placed, and at each of the four corners an officer kept watch over the coffin. Immediately after the mortuary coach came the King's saloon, and in this King George, the Queen Mother, Queen Mary, the German Emperor, and the other crowned heads entered. Just before noon the signal was given to start. The engine, adorned with a shield of purple cloth on which the Royal arms were brilliantly emblazoned, slowly moved on

Guarded from London to Windsor to Windsor. The last salute was given to the dead King, and the air was still charged with the reverberation of drums and the low-toned strains of the funeral march as the train rounded the curve and disappeared. Then a strange sense of emptiness and desertion pervaded the great terminus. King Edward was forever gone.

But the people of England still watched over him. At every point along the line where a glimpse could be caught of the Royal train, multitudes of humble mourners were collected. At some places the people stood twelve and fifteen deep along the embankments. Thongs waited

at every hedge, at every rise, on every roadway, anxious to testify by their presence their loving esteem for Edward the Peacemaker. Everybody wore some kind of mourning, and as soon as the train appeared in the distance all men bared their heads and, like the women, bowed their faces as the unseen coffin, bearing the burden of the sorrow of the nation, passed swiftly by. There was no danger of any harm befalling our Royal guests on that railway journey. The people of England guarded almost every foot of the way.



THE ROYAL TRAIN CONVEYING THE BODY OF KING EDWARD AND THE ROYAL MOURNERS ON ITS WAY TO WINDSOR

All along the route crowds of people gathered to greet the funeral train as it passed. The illustration, showing the train passing through Ealing, is from a photograph by the Sport and General Illustrations Co.



CHAPTER LXXXVI

FUNERAL OF THE KING: II. LAST HOME-COMING

Describing the Sorrowful Pageantry with which King Edward was carried to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and his Entombment in the Burial-place of British Princes



EVERY country has its hallowed places, which cannot be entered without a thrill—sacred spots where history has been made and great deeds done and heroes buried, and where events have taken place that have stirred to its depths the great heart of the nation. St. George's Chapel at Windsor is one of the holy places of England. The Castle in which it stands is a monument to the stability of the English Throne, as Westminster Hall is a monument of the growth of the English nation. It was a Royal palace in Saxon days; the present Castle was founded by William the Conqueror, and in the reign of Henry I. it became a place of Royal residence. In 1344 the third Edward founded the Chapel, which he dedicated to St. George, the patron saint of England.

The fourth Edward, who rebuilt the Chapel, was the first of our Kings to be interred there, and there Henry VIII. and Charles I. were buried. For more than a century the Chapel has been the burial-place of our Kings and Queens and Princes; and the ancient and exquisite shrine has become dearer than ever to the English people through its connection with many events in the career of the Peacemaker. Here, sixty-eight years ago, he was christened; here, forty-seven years since, he had taken to wife "the Sea-king's daughter from over the sea." And here she was now coming, a broken-hearted widow, to see her late husband laid in the Royal vault which George III. had built for himself and his successors.

On the day of the funeral the scenes in the streets of Windsor resembled those in the streets of London. All the night knots of mourners drawn from the people kept vigil beneath the grey walls of the Castle in the storming rain and the rolling thunder. Many of them came from the countryside, and at dawn all manner of vehicles, filled with sorrowing rustic

folk, arrived in the borough, and put up their horses and filed into the narrow streets stretching for half a mile from the station to the Castle gate. Patiently they endured the long hours of waiting, in the pressure and the heat, in order to render a last salute to their beloved King. In two long columns of black humanity, each tightly wedged behind the scarlet lines of soldiers, they stood in hushed expectation as the sound of cannon rent the air.

The guns in the Long Walk were telling the number of years of King Edward's life, and proclaiming to the people that their dead Sovereign was come home. With the thunder of the guns mingled the tolling of muffled bells as the Royal train, with its sad burden, glided into the station at half-past twelve. The King and the German Emperor were the first to alight, and they stood at salute with the other monarchs as the bearer party slowly carried the coffin, still covered by the beautiful pall of purple velvet, to the gun-carriage. A hundred bluejackets were standing at attention, with bared heads, round the simple, warlike vehicle on which the rulers of the British Empire are carried to their grave. The sergeants of the Grenadier Guards placed the dead King on the gun-carriage, while King George and his

widowed mother and the Empress of Russia looked sadly on. A strange, wailing whistle, like the sighing of the wind at sea, then came from the sailors. They were sounding the "Last Pipe" over the body of their dead King. It ceased, and with a low, rolling drum-beat, the funeral march began, and to its mournful rhythm the procession formed, swaying as it marked time while waiting to move forward.

The funeral pageant in Royal Windsor was different from that which had taken place in London. In the enormous metropolis the gathering of the populace had been the most remarkable feature; it was merely in order to dignify the mourning of a mighty nation that the monarchs



THE ROYAL MOURNERS PASSING QUEEN VICTORIA'S STATUE ON CASTLE HILL, WINDSOR

From a photograph by the Central News Agency

of the world had taken part in the procession through the capital city. In Windsor, on the other hand, the people only had a humble part in the funeral rites. In the main, the ceremony was a gorgeous State pageant of a martial kind, set out in glowing colours, and invested with all the magnificence which a Court with the traditions of a thousand years of pomp and ceremonial can alone put on. When, to the sudden crash of cymbals, the splendid procession started with slow, solemn steps

**The Last
State Pageant**

upon its way, there was unrolled a scene of unparalleled splendour. First came a dismounted escort of the Household Cavalry, with their brass and steel shining like fire in the sun-blaze. Behind them were the pursuivants of arms, in picturesque mediæval costume; then, also on foot, came the glittering array of aides-de-camp to the dead King—Admiral Fisher, the Duke of Bedford, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Earl of Albemarle, Lord Lovat, the Marquis of Breadalbane, Earl Fortescue, and many other great noblemen.

They were followed by the officers of foreign armies and foreign navies—a glowing mass of superb men in uniforms of blue and green and gold, silver and scarlet, and cream, lilac and black, moving with a stately rhythm which made its wild, barbaric harmony of colours a thing that dazzled the eye. At the same time as the imagination was stirred through the sense of vision, it was still more profoundly moved by the solemn and majestic strains poured forth by the massed bands that marched immediately behind the foreign officers. Bandsmen in scarlet, bandsmen in gold, pipers in kilts passed by. The Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor of Windsor Castle followed. Four heralds and the Norroy King of Arms, the Ulster King of Arms, the Lyon King of Arms, the Usher of the Black Rod, and the Garter King of Arms preceded the Earl Marshal. After these figures from the Middle Ages came the great Court

dignitaries and the equerries of King Edward, now rendering their last sad service to their Royal master by walking in front of his coffin.

The high and honourable position which the bluejackets unexpectedly won at the funeral of Queen Victoria, when they came to the assistance of the artillerymen, and cut the traces of the restive horses and dragged the gun-carriage to the Chapel, was given to them again at the burial of the Peacemaker. Some hundred men from H.M.S. Excellent took charge of the gun-carriage bearing the coffin, and it was wonderful to see what a fine, moving spectacle they made. Dressed in quiet suits of blue, with white straw hats and brown leggings, they struck the imagination more powerfully than any other group in the procession. The orderly, machine-like movement of the Life Guards was impressive and solemn; but the bluejackets did not seem to form a machine, but a great living creature, as, with bent heads and locked hands, they slowly brought their great King to his last home. Nothing, one felt, could be more beautiful, nothing more appropriate at the funeral pageant of the Over-Lord of the Seas than this cortège of sailors. It gave the mind a sense of the tremendous power which had rested in the hands of the Peacemaker; the tremendous power embodied in these simply attired men and in the vast sea castles from which they dominated

**The Cortège of the
Lord of the Seas** the world. All this power had been used by him in the cause of peace, and now the insignia lying on his coffin showed that this power was resigned to another.

After this sight nothing else seemed significant. The Kings and Princes fell into their places as mourners, each great in his own country, but all at present only mourners. As they passed on foot up the long slope to the gateway of the Castle, the bier, shining white and purple and gold in the sunlight, stood out above all the brilliance of the uniforms of Europe. Nearest of all the mourners to the



THE ROYAL MOURNERS FOLLOWING THE REMAINS OF KING EDWARD THROUGH THE STREETS OF WINDSOR

The group immediately following the standard-bearer consists of the Duke of Connaught, King George, the German Emperor, and the two young Princes
From a photograph by the Record Press



THE LAST HOME-COMING: KING EDWARD'S HEARSE BEING DRAWN INTO THE CASTLE GROUNDS AT WINDSOR

From a photograph by Horace W. Nicholls

hearts of the people was the Queen-Mother, who, in spite of the fatigue of the long procession in London, followed the whole of the funeral route in Windsor, instead of driving straight to the Chapel. Though seated in a closed carriage, Queen Alexandra bent forward so that all could see her; and as she passed the little Boy Scouts, standing rigid in awe-struck attention, she gave them a bow and a sad smile. Behind her, the assemblage of foreign representatives made a stately and picturesque retinue. Several times on the way to the Castle the procession was brought to a standstill, and it was long before the brilliant yellow and gold of the Yeomen of the Guard passed slowly out of sight, as the minute guns thundered out their sad message, and the great bell, which tolls only when Sovereigns die, echoed their funereal detonations.

The scene in St. George's Chapel was one of a marvellous beauty and grandeur. Outside, the air was strangely sweet with the scent of flowers. All round the south and north sides of the historic fane were spread innumerable wreaths;

they covered the cloisters and filled the courts and hid the grass; the place was banked with garlands. There were wreaths from kings, and wreaths from costermongers; costly offerings of finely wrought silver from the Emperor of China, and humble tributes of violets from peasants.

Inside, in the shrine of chivalry, was a feast of colour for the eye and a wealth of symbolism for the imagination to brood on. Through the great windows, filled with pictures of saints and heroes, the sunlight of spring pierced its way, and fell in lovely hues on the paved floor. Over the old dark stalls, with their lace-like canopies, hung the banners of the Knights of the Garter. The devices showed that the mightiest rulers of the world were proud to receive that supreme honour of chivalry which only the Kings of England may give. The Lions of England, the Lilies of France, the Black Eagle of Germany, the Castles of Spain gleamed in the avenues of gorgeously painted banners, beside the dragons and boars and griffins of English noblemen. Above them were the golden helmets of the knights, with their

crowns and coronets and ailerons of cloth of gold. All the old ideals of true knightliness, founded upon faith and love and loyalty and duty, spoke through these glowing symbols; and one felt, as the Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter was borne into his chapel to be buried, that the very spirit of chivalry had arisen out of dust and shadows of the past, and breathed new life into the old ideals. Here, in the kingly Peacemaker,

**In the Shrine
of Chivalry**

whose banner drooped near the altar, was the modern incarnation of the ancient knights errant who had gone forth to redress wrongs and champion the weak. Like them, he had been the strong man armed, whose strength was devoted to succouring the feeble and the ailing, and to turning this wild and blood-stained earth into a quiet and fruitful garden of peace.

At half-past eleven the statesmen of the Empire who had helped King Edward in his chivalrous work of pacification and social progress began to gather in the stalls of the choir. Mr. Asquith, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Lyttelton came in the uniform of Masters of Trinity, with gold epaulettes on their naval dress. Other Ministers—such as Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Morley, Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Haldane—wore the black and gold attire of Privy Councillors. Lord Lansdowne and Lord Crewe were Garter Knights, and they took their seats beneath their banners, by the side of Lord Derby, Lord Elgin, Lord Durham, and other noblemen arrayed in scarlet and gold, or gold and black, with blue sashes across their breasts. Japanese and Chinese Ambassadors sat in the choir, with

impassive, inscrutable faces, among the chief men of England. The nave was thronged with a silent multitude of dark-raimented women in Tudor head-dresses, with officers of the Household in scarlet, gentlemen of the Court in black velvet and silver braid, and the old Military Knights of Windsor.

On the south side was a dazzling display of uniforms. There sat the great soldiers and sailors and judges, and the men who administered the wide territories of the dead King. Picturesque and memorable were the figures of the brave old Yeomen of the Guard in their exquisite mediæval dress. Like the proud Knights of the Garter, they were a connecting link between the world-wide British Empire of the twentieth century and the England of the Middle Ages, with a population less than half that of modern London. Their partisans rested point downward in front of them; their heads were bowed and their eyes fixed on the ground; thus they stood until the whole

**A Link with
the Middle Ages**

ceremony was over, in statuesque, and sorrowful immobility. The Gentlemen-at-Arms, entering with their tall, white plumes waving in the fragrant breeze which came through the western porch, took their station just inside the Chapel, waiting to honour and guard the corpse of the King. Six more of them stood, with halberds reversed, in the choir, where there was an empty bier covered with purple. As he who was to lie on it was being carried through the Castle to the dull reverberations of the minute guns and the plangent tolling of the great bell, the clergy came through the cloisters to meet him



THE ARRIVAL OF THE CORTÈGE AT ST. GEORGE'S, WINDSOR: THE BEARERS TAKING UP THE COFFIN

From a photograph by Horace W. Nicholls

At the head of the procession were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York, each preceded by his cross—the former of gold, the latter of silver—and followed by two train-bearers. Next came the Bishop of Winchester, in his office of Prelate of the Garter; and the Bishop of Oxford, in his function of Chancellor of the

The King Comes Home

Order. Both of them wore the black, flowing robes of office. Close to them was the Registrar of the Garter, the Dean of Windsor, behind whom paced the canons of the foundation in their rich crimson raiment, and the minor canons, and the laymen and choristers in red cassocks and white surplices.

The Archbishops stayed at the head of the steps leading down from the western porch, and the clergy and the choir divided into two lines, which stretched up the centre of the aisle. Then, loud and clear and strong above the curfew knell, was heard the stately melody of Beethoven's Funeral March. The King was coming home! The Guards swept round the lower ward of the Castle, and the waves of sound from the massed bands rolled through the open door and filled the Chapel with mighty harmonies. Four heralds entered. They were followed by other heralds and pursuivants, with Lyon, Ulster, and Garter Kings of Arms behind them—magnificent figures of pageantry, giving the first decisive note of the incomparable scene which was to come.

None of our rulers since Queen Elizabeth had so much feeling as King Edward for the import and beauty and symbolism of a great historic spectacle. It was, therefore, a fitting conclusion to all the high and enduring work which he had carried out that more of the pomp and majesty of all the civilised world should be concentrated round his grave for one brief hour than had ever been collected together within the memory of man. He had himself shown at the burial of his glorious mother what he desired at the obsequies of the ruler of the British Empire, who was also the heritor of centuries of greatness and the Sovereign of the highest order of chivalry on earth. So his son was in turn now burying him in all the splendour that ancient tradition and modern power and influence could command.

A weird, uncanny, ghostly wail, like the moaning of a soul passing from the earth, came upon the bright and flower-scented air. It was a shrill, whistling, mournful sound, strangely unexpected and strangely piercing. No one who heard it will ever forget it. It was the boatswain's last pipe saluting the spirit of the great admiral who had gone off duty. It was given by the bluejackets who had drawn the gun-carriage from the station to the Chapel. They now resigned the body of the Peacemaker to the King's Company of Grenadiers. Covered with its white pall, and folded in the Flag of England, the corpse was slowly and reverently carried into the Chapel amid a

deep and solemn silence. The sunlight flashed for an instant on the jewelled crown and the crystal orb and on the emblems of sovereignty and chivalry which were borne behind the oaken casket. Preceded by the Earl Marshal, the Lord Steward, and the Lord Chamberlain, the soldiers went up the nave and laid their pathetic burden on the purple catafalque in the centre of the choir. The choristers sang the dead King upon his way to his grave. "I am the Resurrection and the Life," they chanted; and their voices, with their message of immortality, were as sweet and lovely as the voices of angels.

Tears came into the eyes of spectators, but their imagination was caught and stirred by the wonderful procession which wound along in honour of the Preserver of the Peace of the World. Into St. George's Chapel there streamed, as though endlessly, a concourse of people belonging to all nations and all races, and attired in the varied

splendour of the Courts and kingdoms of the earth. Scarlet, blue, gold and white, rose-crimson, violet and emerald—colour upon colour glowed in the throng of robes and uniforms which massed into a picture that amazed the eyes. But while the senses feasted upon this scene of unforgettable glory, the thoughts of the many men who looked at it were busy with the human drama of the strange harmony of wild hues, and with the personalities crowding into it.

King George walked behind the coffin. He looked his father's son, and bore with kingly dignity the sorrow revealed in his worn, tense face. In his right hand he held the hand of the Queen-Mother. Her features were scarcely distinguishable under the deep veil of crape; she moved slowly forward, a black-robed, stricken figure, with one hand leaning on a stick and the other clasped in the hand of her son, and a wave of poignant compassion swept through the great



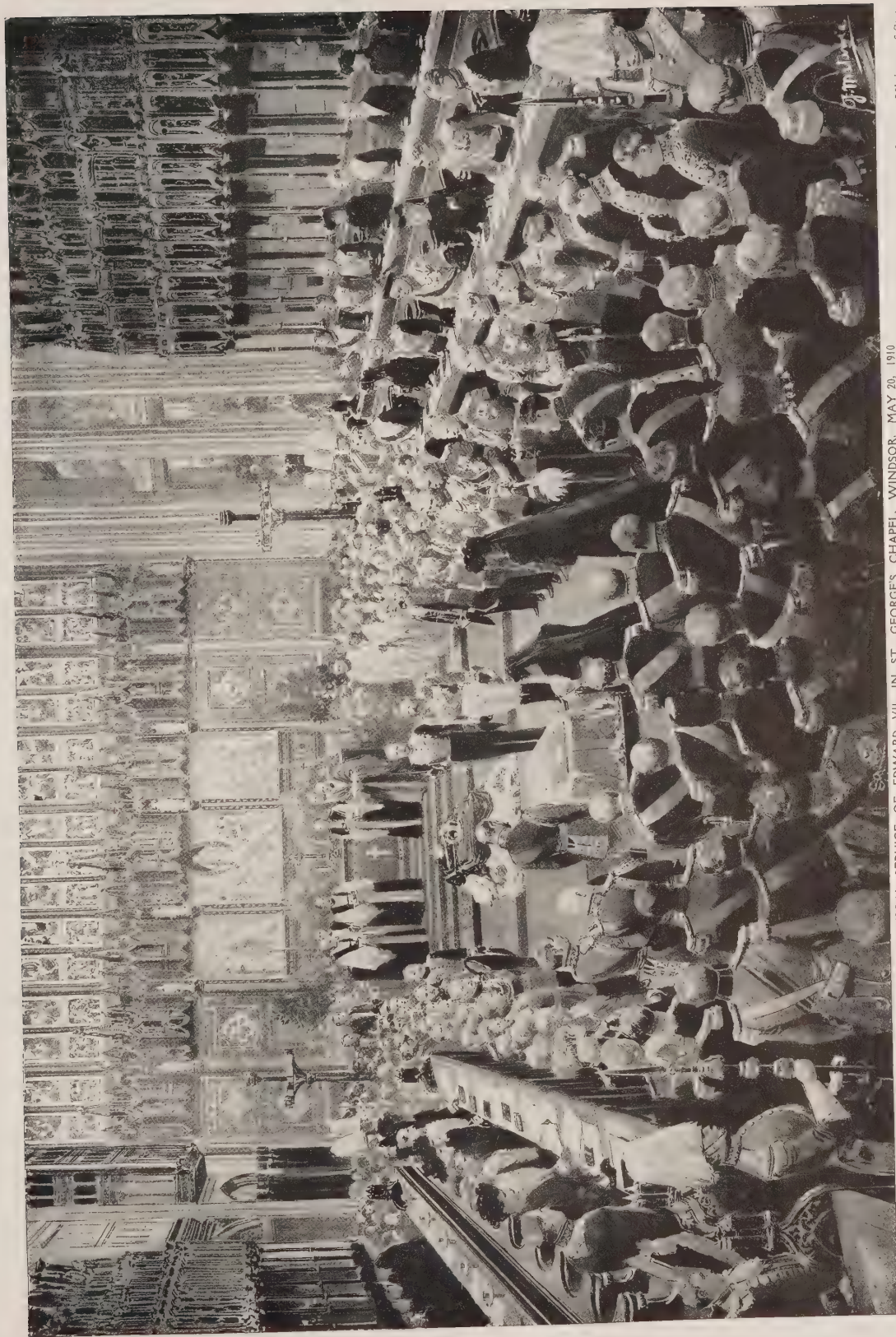
CARRYING THE COFFIN OF KING EDWARD INTO ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR

From a photograph by Horace W. Nicholls

assembly. Heads were bowed and knees were bent in heartfelt sympathy as the queenly widow sadly retraced the path she had joyfully taken when a bride, and at last sank in sorrowful prayer on a faldstool beside the body of the great King who had wedded her there at the altar amid the rejoicing of an Empire, forty-seven years ago. "A sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things," says a great poet, and every object round Queen Alexandra brought back to her mind the glorious felicity of her bridal day.

Sorrow's Crown of Sorrow

Behind King George and the Queen Mother was the German Emperor, with Queen Mary on his arm. And then appeared the other monarchs, rulers of the great States of Europe and potentates of the smaller nations; the Kings of Norway and Greece; young Alfonso of Spain and young Manoel of Portugal, two boy-kings with hard tasks before them; the Kings of Bulgaria and Denmark; and, tallest of all the monarchs of Christendom, Albert of Belgium, whose fair



THE FUNERAL SERVICE OF EDWARD VII IN ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR, MAY 20, 1910

The scene in St. George's, where English kings have been buried since the time of Edward IV, was one of the most magnificent and sublime. Thronging the choir-stalls, under the banners of the Knights of the Garter, were the great Ministers of State, foreign Ambassadors, and the naval, military, and law lords. In the chancel were King and Queen Mary, with the other monarchs behind them, and, stretching down the body of the chapel, a brilliant throng of princes and potentates of Europe and the East and their suites. In the midst of all there knelt at the head of the coffin the black-veiled figure of the sorrowing Queen Alexandra.

Drawn by F. Malouin

head of hair showed above all other heads. The Duke of Connaught walked between his two great-nephews, the Duke of Cornwall and Prince Albert of Wales. Princes and Grand Dukes and Dukes filed in—a glittering, golden, gorgeous throng, and after them came their suites representing the armies and fleets of the world. One figure was prominent in this resplendent pageant of rank and power—a sunburnt, virile figure, with no uniform or mark of distinction. It was Mr. Roosevelt, newly come from Central Africa, where he had learned to admire, and had resolved to uphold and commend, the work of peaceful civilisation carried out by the servants of the English Crown.

**Mourners of all
Races and Climes**

An Archimandrite of the Greek Church was there in his square black cap and long black robes. There also were Persians in high head-dresses, and Turks in scarlet fezzes, Chinamen in big blue hats, and Hindus in turbans, which, in accordance with their customs, they kept on their heads in this place of prayer. The choristers had finished chanting the funeral psalm, and the clergy had ranged themselves at the altar before the last member of the wonderful procession entered the Chapel. Yet each had his place; there was no confusion; and when everyone was in his station the spectacle was of an indescribable magnificence. It was as though the cathedral-like fane had been filled by the glories of broken rainbows. It was a tumbled mosaic of colours such as has never celebrated the world's greatest triumphs, and the variety of hues was not more wonderful than the variety of faces which spoke of all races and all climes.

In the centre of this unparalleled splendour there knelt the figure of a woman, black from head to foot and heavily veiled. It knelt before a coffin heaped with flags and violet pall and the shining insignia, and shook with sobs. King George bent down and spoke some words of comfort to his mother. The King of Spain and the King of Portugal wept, and the German Emperor stood rigid, his face set in stern control. All the spectators were deeply moved, and one of them, Mr. Hall Jones, the Agent-General for New Zealand, fainted. The prayers of the Primate rose up in the solemn and impressive silence. The pall was lifted from the coffin, and all the symbols of the earthly power of King Edward were placed upon the steps of the altar—the Crown, the Orb, and the Sceptre—until the oaken casket was bare of all except the Flag of England. Then, as the Archbishop came down to commit the body to the grave, King George, his eyes streaming with tears, stepped up and laid a little flag over his father's corpse, to be buried with him. He smoothed it out lingeringly, and bowed over it. It was an act of farewell. His mother knelt with her forehead almost touching the coffin.

"His body is buried in peace," sang the choristers, "but his name liveth for evermore." And to the music of Handel's beautiful anthem, all that was mortal of the Peacemaker passed out of the sight of the glorious assembly which had gathered in his honour. Moved by some secret agency, the bier began to sink below the floor of the chapel. Lower and ever lower it fell; the bright colours of the flag faded; and in a few moments the body of King Edward VII. had

vanished from that public view into which it will never again emerge.

"Earth to earth, ashes to ashes," said the Archbishop. Three handfuls of earth were cast on the dead man, and then Queen Alexandra's favourite hymn was sung to console her as she sobbed by her husband's open grave:

My God, my Father, while I stray,
Far from my home, on life's rough way,
Oh, teach me from my heart to say:
"Thy will be done."

What though in lonely grief I sigh
For friends beloved no longer nigh,
Submissive would I still reply:
"Thy will be done."

If Thou shouldst call me to resign
What most I prize—it ne'er was mine:
I only yield Thee what was Thine;
"Thy will be done."

Renew my will from day to day:
Blend it with Thine, and take away
All that now makes it hard to say:
"Thy will be done."

What intensity of meaning must have lain in those last two lines for the heartbroken queenly widow in that place of memories, in that hour of unforgettable sorrow! She still knelt in the anguish of the last farewell as Sir Alfred Scott Gatty, Garter Principal King of Arms, concluded the ceremonies of chivalry over the hidden coffin by pronouncing the styles of his late Most Sacred Majesty of Blessed Memory. Facing the brilliant congregation—a figure of pageantry, gorgeous in mediæval dress—he proclaimed:

**The Last
Farewell**

"Thus it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life unto His Divine Mercy the late Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Monarch, Edward VII., by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, and Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

"Let us humbly beseech Almighty God to bless with long life, health, and honour, and all worldly happiness

the Most High, the Most Mighty, and the Most Excellent Monarch, Our Sovereign Lord, George, now, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, and Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter."

And, raising his voice, Garter King of Arms cried in loud, ringing tones: "God save the King!" The pomp of the occasion reached its height in this proclamation, which summed up



THE CRYPT UNDER THE CHANCEL OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WHERE THE BODY OF KING EDWARD LIES

all the earthly significance of the august and awful ceremony, and passed on the greatness and splendour of the dead ruler to the shoulders of the living King, together with the burdens inseparable from so much grandeur. But the new monarch wept as his titles to dominion and worship were recited by the proud and picturesque officer of heraldry. It was not of his own glory that George V.

was thinking, but of the wise, good father whom he had lost. When the Archbishop had pronounced the Benediction, the King took his mother's hand, and they gazed together at the sunken coffin and silently walked out of the Chapel. Then, in a long, slow, sad procession, the brilliant company of kings and princes, leaders and notables, passed before the open grave of the Peacemaker with bent heads—Christians and Mohammedans, Hindus, Persians, and Confucians, men of all creeds and faiths, doing homage to Death, the master of all of them, and to the spirit of the English King which had vanished beyond the veils of space and time,

Never, surely, was the essential unity of the human race so generally displayed as on the day when the Peacemaker was buried in peace. In practically every capital town throughout the world services in commemoration of him were held while his body was being lowered into the grave. His own subjects in the great democracies and scattered communities oversea ceased from their occupations and stood in solemn silence as an outward and visible sign of their loving veneration and profound regret for the dead father of the Empire. Trains slowed down in deserts and prairies, green wheat-lands and wildernesses of scrub, in the ends of the earth.

Vast congregations assembled in the open air in the towns of the Peacemaker's dominions. At Sydney over 120,000 persons gathered in the park; similar services were held outside Parliament House at Melbourne, by the Old Parliament Buildings at Wellington, and on Parliament Hill at Ottawa. There were scenes of deep sorrow in South Africa, where the pacific influence of King Edward had been specially felt, and many touching evidences of the grief and loyalty of the Boers were given in the small towns in which the Dutch tongue obtains. At Calcutta

300,000 Hindus marched, barefooted and clad in white robes, from the Sangita Samaj to the Maidan, a distance of two miles. Singing funeral dirges, the Bengalese carried a life-sized portrait of their dead King-Empor, covered with wreaths of white lotus flowers and surmounted by an embroidered umbrella, the emblem of Indian royalty. At the palaces of all the native princes of India the day was observed with mourning ceremonial, and the gateways were draped in purple, while in humble jungle villages the people gathered in some open space to lament the passing of their English father.

And while the four hundred and fifty million human beings that constitute the living power of the British Empire were thus brought into a strangely close spiritual communion as they thought of the beloved figure over which the darkness of the tomb was falling, the rest of mankind were drawn to them by admiration and condolence for the ruler who had employed his marvellous authority for kindly purposes and noble ends. So the mightiest of



"DUST TO DUST": KING EDWARD'S COFFIN SINKING INTO THE CRYPT OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, AFTER THE FUNERAL SERVICE

autocrats and the magistrates of the most powerful and renowned of republics joined together in honouring his obsequies. Throughout Europe and America and Asia, emperor and king, prince and president, statesmen and diplomat, parliamentary, military, and naval representatives went in state to memorial services in their several capitals.

All the cathedrals and churches and chapels of the Motherland were filled with dark and silent congregations. As the people turned home from the services there was in their hearts a wonderful feeling of strength and confidence. They felt that the King they mourned for had won for them the time and the peace required for laying the foundations of an era brighter and more magnificent than the long Victorian age of transition. He had bequeathed to them a renewed hope and a renewed faith in the future of humanity. Thus, the funeral of the Peacemaker did

not mark the end of an age, but the beginning thereof. It uplifted each man for a while above his narrow round of homely cares and homely joys, and gave him a wide prospect over a new course of Christian civilisation. From the prospect each man derived that wonderful feeling of strength and confidence which, when the twentieth century comes to a close, will be seen to have been the grand source of energy of the most marvellous period of reconstruction in the history of the British Empire,

**The Beginning of
a Brighter Era**



THE MASTER-FIGURE OF THE EDWARDIAN ERA WITH QUEEN ALEXANDRA
From a photograph by Lafayette, Limited, Dublin



CHAPTER LXXXVII

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE EDWARDIAN ERA

A Review of the Political and Social Developments of King Edward's
Reign, Including an Examination of the Constitutional Crisis of 1910

THE Empire which King Edward VII. received from his great predecessor he handed on unimpaired to the son who succeeded him. Within its boundaries only one positive change had taken place. The one-time republics of South Africa, still in arms against the British Crown at the time of his accession, had accepted facts, submitted to unqualified annexation, and now, as members of the Federated State of South Africa, formed an integral part of the British Empire. Even this was a territorial change only so far as the British suzerainty had previously been in dispute. Nor had any other conspicuous change actually taken place within the Empire during the reign. Superficially things stood in 1910 very much as they had stood in 1901.

Nevertheless, a situation in many respects very different had come into being. Changes were in the air. Of the two great political parties, one was committed to a constitutional doctrine as to the powers of the House of Lords which in the eyes of the other was in effect a reactionary revolution. The other party was committed to a counter-revolution which would, at the least, deprive that House of powers which it had habitually exercised as well as of others which it had very recently resuscitated out of a remote past. One party was committed to a reversal of the trade policy which had been followed for half a century. The other party had inaugurated a financial policy which they themselves described as a readjustment of burdens, while 't was stigmatised by their opponents as spoliation.

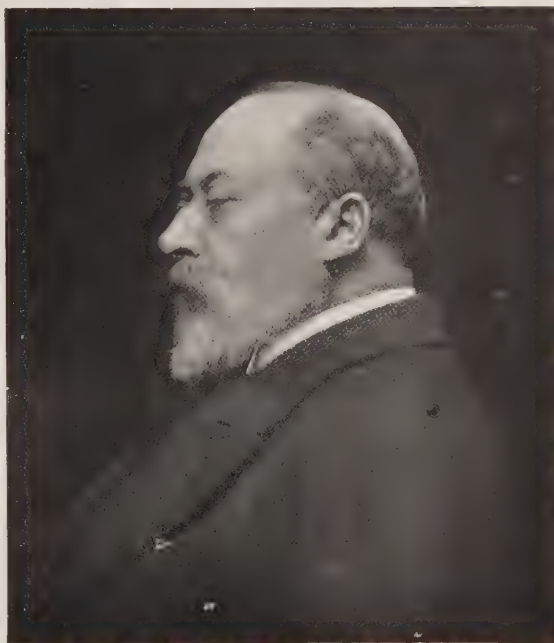
The future historian, then, will point to the year 1910 as one in which a constitutional crisis of the first magnitude was impending; and some examination of the nature of that crisis is essential to a survey of the Empire at that epoch.

In the legal theory of the Constitution, the Crown, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons are co-ordinate legislative powers; no legislation is valid without the assent of all three—an assent which any of the three may withhold if it thinks fit. But for more than two centuries the Crown has not exercised the power of veto on a single occasion, although a hundred years ago King George III. was prepared to exercise it against Catholic Emancipation. The House of Lords, on the other hand, has habitually exercised the power, though with a general acceptance of the principle that it would withdraw the veto in face of a quite unmistakable expression of the popular will.

But in one particular branch of legislation it did not for centuries actually exercise its power save on one occasion. In effect, its right to reject a Finance Bill in its entirety was neither exercised nor challenged until the affair of the Paper Duties in 1860. In that year it rejected a separate Finance Bill dealing with that specific subject.

Until 1909 that was the only Finance Bill to which it had applied the veto. It had, however, sought in the past to amend Finance Bills. Resolutions in the Commons had thereupon pronounced the emendation of Finance Bills by the House of Lords to be unconstitutional. The Lords had not traversed those resolutions, which had become part and parcel of the custom of the Constitution.

But in 1909 the Lords reaffirmed the principle that they had the power under the Constitution of rejecting a Finance Bill in its entirety, and they applied that principle to the Budget of the year. The fact was clear that no Finance Bill lacking the assent of either the Peers or the Crown could become law. A practical constitutional issue was thus raised which had hitherto been



KING EDWARD IN THE LAST YEAR OF HIS LIFE
From a photograph by E. H. Mills

regarded as purely academic. The political power of the House of Commons lies in the completeness of its control over the purse. The exercise of control over finance by the House of Lords, whether technically permissible or not, was manifestly a revolution in constitutional practice. Here, then, is the first issue. Is the position taken up by the House of Lords in 1909 to be endorsed? Are its powers to be limited by law as they have been hitherto limited in practice?

Constitutional Issue of 1909

Is the power one which properly exists, though only to be exercised on an emergency when financial proposals cover measures that are very much more than financial in their effective scope? Is the House of Lords to be allowed to exercise the power which would actually enable it at any time to paralyse any Administration to whose general policy it was adverse?

But the constitutional issue goes further. The constitutional theory of government by two

Chambers rests on the principle that government by a single elective Chamber would give to a merely temporary majority an uncontrolled power of passing partisan legislation which the subsequently repentant electorate would be powerless to remedy. A single Chamber, that is, does not necessarily express the considered will of the nation. A Second Chamber is required, not liable to the violent fluctuations of popular passion or sentiment, which shall provide security against hasty and ill-considered legislation by a Single Chamber. This is the function which the House of Lords is designed to exercise. This function is fulfilled admirably in the eyes of all those who, like the majority of the Peers themselves, regard hasty and ill-considered legislation as being peculiarly characteristic of one political party. On the other hand, their political opponents consider that the practical effect is to give the House of Lords the aspect of a partisan body, and explain its partisanship as the inevitable result of its composition. One party finds its hasty and ill-considered measures rejected or altered past recognition, while those of the other meet with no such drastic treatment. Moreover, the revising Chamber deals with these measures on their own merits, irrespective of the majority which may have sanctioned them in the House of Commons.

Some change, then, is being demanded. On one side it is urged that only the composition of the Second Chamber requires modification. On the other side the immediate claim is, not for a modification of its composition, but for a restriction of its powers; which is opposed as virtually making a nullity of the Second Chamber altogether, while it is supported on the ground that anything short of it leaves one political party in a state of permanent paralysis.

In short, the dual system has hitherto worked on the basis of judicious compromises between the wills of the two Houses when they have been in antagonism. A point appears to have been reached when judicious compromises fail, and it has become necessary to ensure that one House or the other must exercise a decisive control whatever political party may be in power. This was the constitutional conflict still impending at the moment when the nation was deprived of King Edward's profound political sagacity and ripe experience.

The nature of this crisis illustrates the change which had taken place since the last great constitutional crisis seventy-eight years before, almost ten years prior to King Edward's birth. In 1832 the theory of the Constitution was the same as in 1910. The powers of the Crown, of the House of Lords, and of the House of Commons were legally the

same in 1832 and in 1910. Nevertheless, essential alterations had taken place.

As concerns the Crown, King William IV. did in fact exercise on one occasion a power which no king is likely again to assume. In 1834 he dismissed a Ministry in the expectation that the country at a General Election would endorse his action. That action was within his constitutional powers. But the event showed that he had misjudged popular feeling. The Ministry had indeed lost ground with the country, but were still supported by the majority of the electorate. Fifty years before, George III. had done something of the kind, but in that case the electors had endorsed his action. King William's dismissal of the Melbourne Ministry in 1834 was felt to have been an error. The Crown has never since then asserted the right to dismiss a Ministry. The responsibility has remained with the Ministers of deciding when it is proper for them to resign or to recommend a dissolution.

It is observable, then,

on this head that the House of Lords in 1909 claimed to assert the power formerly exercised by the Crown, though only on rare occasions, of compelling a Ministry to resign or dissolve. It is, therefore, only for seventy-five years that the exclusive right of Ministers to decide whether they shall resign, or when Parliament shall be dissolved within the period of its statutory duration, has been unchanged in practice,

The Claim of 1834 Revived

a period almost exactly coinciding with the lifetime of King Edward VII. An old claim has been revived, but on behalf of the Peers in place of the Crown.

But there was no crisis in 1834. The right of the Crown was not challenged; but the circumstances under which it was asserted led to the conclusion that its exercise was injudicious, so that the experiment was not repeated. The constitutional crisis which calls for comparison with



KING EDWARD LAYING THE FIRST PLATE OF THE BATTLESHIP
EDWARD VII. AT DEVONPORT, MARCH 8, 1902



H.M.S. ALBEMARLE (1901)



H.M.S. QUEEN (1902)



FIRST-CLASS BATTLESHIPS, 1905-6: LORD NELSON (1905), DREADNOUGHT (1906), BELLEROPHON (1905), HINDUSTAN (CRUISER, 1906)



H.M.S. KING EDWARD VII (1904)



H.M.S. INVINCIBLE (1908)

TYPES OF THE BATTLESHIPS OF THE EDWARDIAN ERA

that of 1910 arose over the Parliamentary Reform struggle of 1832. The battle then took place over the specific question whether the House of Lords should have power to reject a specific measure of which the House of Commons and the country at large had directly expressed unmistakable approval. The House of Lords was obliged to surrender, because the creation of some three-score Peers would have sufficed to destroy its majority and materially to modify its aristocratic character. But

The Crisis of 1832

in the crisis of 1910 its resistance could be overcome only by the threat of a very much more sweeping change; of the creation of new Peers, not by the score, but by the hundred. The measure to which it would be, by this process, compelled to assent would be one, not for a reform of representation in the House of Commons, but for a curtailment of the existing powers of the House of Lords itself; and the creation of Peers on the necessary scale would not merely qualify the hereditary principle, but would turn it into a farce.

Nevertheless, the crisis of 1910 is the actual corollary of the crisis of 1832. For in 1832 the real question was, at the bottom, that of the power of the Peers to exercise a general control over legislation. What was then at stake was not their right to reject the specific measure passed by the House of Commons, but their power to dominate the will of the electorate. Their power in 1910 can only be exercised by the rejection of measures passed by the House of Commons. In the early part of the century their power was exercised by controlling votes in the House of Commons itself. The old electoral system enabled the Peerage to return to the House of Commons so many members elected for pocket boroughs that violent collisions between the will of the House of Commons and the will of the House of Lords did not readily occur. The Peers fought in 1832 to retain that power. They lost it, and had to fall back on the power of the Second Chamber to modify or reject the Bills sent up to them by the House of Commons. It was inevitable that in the course of time that power also should in its turn be challenged.

The last crisis, then, at the close of King Edward's reign is the actual outcome of the change consequent on the crisis which took place ten years before he was born. We have said consequent upon that crisis because the immediate change which deprived the Peerage of the control of pocket boroughs was not the only one which we have to observe. It did not in itself create an antagonism between the two Chambers; it merely removed an obstacle to antagonism. A House of Commons elected by the middle classes did not tend so much to hostility as to the expansion of the middle class element in the House of Lords itself. A middle class vote in the House of Lords assuming larger dimensions tended to harmonise the two Houses, as the pocket

borough vote had done before the Reform Act. But during the reign of Queen Victoria the House of Commons itself became democratised. The balance of political power in the electorate passed from the middle classes. Under the guidance of Lord Salisbury the House of Lords then more and more learnt to feel that it was its main function to act as a counterpoise to an unbridled democracy; and in pursuit of this function it identified itself with one political party. Hence, whenever the other political party secured a majority in the House of Commons, the two Houses were in perpetual antagonism, culminating in the crisis of 1910.

The decision was postponed by the King's death. At the time when these words were being written it was still impending; at the time of publication it may be that a definite stage in the conflict between the Houses will have been reached; but that in any case is outside the scope of this chapter and this work, which are concerned with events and situations down to the month of May, 1910.

The constitutional situation, then, arrived at in the summer of 1910 may be summed up as follows. A revision of the powers or of the composition of the House of Lords or both had become inevitable. The immediate demand

of the King's Ministers was for a restriction of powers with demands for reconstruction behind. The indications pointed not to proposals for abolition, but to a reconstruction

in which the hereditary element should be reduced to a minimum or disappear altogether, and an elective element should at least be prominent. They pointed also to a probability, though not to a certainty, that the veto might again be referred to the electorate, when a reply adverse to Ministers might lead merely to a reconstruction, leaving the House with undiminished powers and of a composition calculated to increase its prestige intellectually. The

possibilities of variation between the extreme limits were almost infinite. There were perhaps only two points which could be presented as quite certain of realisation: the retention of a Second Chamber and the ultimate reduction of the hereditary element therein.

Great Britain, then, stood at a parting of the ways in respect of the Constitution. It was proclaimed also that she stood at a parting of the ways on the great question of Socialism. Socialism is, unfortunately, a term which has quite a variety of different meanings. In one sense it is merely the antithesis of Individualism, and all control of the individual by the State is Socialism; where there is no degree of Socialism there must be Anarchy. On the other hand, when the State control over the individual is carried to its utmost limits, the individual ceases to have any rights whatever as against the community or any body to which the community has committed the control



KING EDWARD AS COLONEL-IN-CHIEF OF HIS OWN REGIMENT,
THE 10TH HUSSARS

From a photograph by F. G. O. Stuart



THE MOST SUCCESSFUL PORTRAIT OF KING EDWARD: A PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDY
BY BARON DE MEYER

K. & A. Meyer, London & Paris

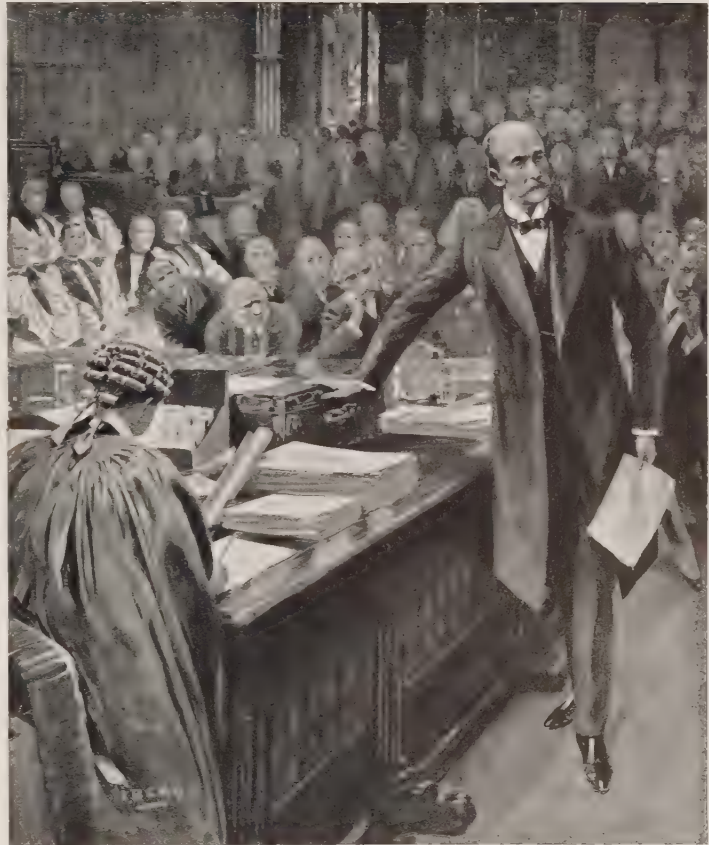
voluntarily or otherwise. Socialism in its extreme expression is the complete slavery of the individual. The everlasting problem of government of any sort is to keep the precise line where the maximum of good and the minimum of harm arises from the interference of the State with the individual. To say that legislation is socialistic ought to mean merely that it tends to increase rather than to diminish the extent to which government interferes with the individual: the most arbitrary absolutism may be infinitely more socialistic than the most unaltered democracy. Artificial restrictions, for instance, on the action of labour in its relations with capital are exactly as socialistic as artificial restrictions on capital in its relations to labour.

But in this strict sense the term Socialism is hardly used except by philosophers. In ordinary parlance it is, at any rate, restricted to democratic socialism. In this sense a certain school of democratic politicians have appropriated, or have had appropriated to them, the name of Socialists. Their fundamental doctrine is that the control of the means of production and the distribution of wealth ought to be in the hands of the State: which ought to be democratic in its government. Clearly, any appropriation or redistribution of private property by the State is compatible with this doctrine. All taxation whatever is a recognition of the right of the State to appropriate and redistribute private property for public purposes. All factory legislation, such as the imposition by the State of regulations limiting child labour, rests on the principle that the State has the right to control the methods of production for public ends. The question, in fact, remains one of the degree to which universally recognised principles can be applied with benefit to the public. The State may take the control of an entire industry completely into its own hands, as with the postal and telegraph services. It may impose general taxes, such as the income tax or taxes on tea, corn, or other articles of general consumption. It may tax articles which are not of universal consumption, such as spirits and motor-cars, appropriating the proceeds for the benefit of the community at large in the form of national defence, and so on. It may even appropriate public funds—that is to say, private property on which it has laid hands—for the benefit of a section of the community, as in the case of a poor rate, or for the rewarding of individual services, as in the case of pensions bestowed on those who have “deserved well of the Republic.”

It may do all these things without incurring the reproach of Socialism. But it would seem that if the State carries its appropriations further in certain particular directions, and applies them for the benefit specifically of particular

The Trend of Modern Legislation

classes, then its action must be termed socialistic. An increase of the public burdens is not socialistic, but a readjustment of their incidence is socialistic; and socialistic also is their appropriation for the benefit of particular sections of the community in the course of re-adjustment. Such re-adjustments and appropriations may be just or unjust, wise or unwise; but why they should be called socialistic is not immediately apparent. But, perhaps, some light may be thrown on this terminological freak by observing that they appear to be called socialistic when they happen, so far as they go, to meet with the approval



THE GREAT CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS OF KING EDWARD'S REIGN: LORD LANSDOWNE MOVING THE REJECTION OF THE FINANCE BILL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, NOVEMBER, 1909

of self-styled Socialists, but not otherwise. That approval seems to turn, not on the question of their being more or less socialistic, but on the class of persons who suffer or benefit by them.

Now, if we drop this term Socialism, which, in fact, considerably obscures the real question at issue, we may discover the actual issue, the fundamental distinction between the paths which the great political parties seem disposed respectively to follow. The one is disposed to lay increased burdens on certain sections of the community, applying the proceeds to the benefit of other sections of the community. The other opposes any tangible or ostensible redistribution of burdens or alleviations. The questions between them can be argued on the grounds both of expediency and of justice. The one side has made up its mind that accumulated wealth and land, and we may add alcohol, ought to contribute in a larger proportion than they have hitherto done to the public revenue, and that a larger proportion of the public funds thus acquired can, and should, be appropriated to what they call social amelioration; that is to say, to a direct expenditure intended to benefit the impecunious classes of the community. Obviously, so far as it goes, that policy commands the approval of the Socialist, whose ideal it is to get rid of private property and distribute wealth as equally as possible.

It appears clear that the alternative policy is that known as Tariff Reform, which does not profess to redistribute burdens at all, but claims that it will relieve certain burdens

at the expense of the foreigner. Its opponents, on the other hand, argue that the relief will be given, not at the expense of the foreigner, but at that of the community in general, and more particularly of special classes of the community. If the economic arguments of this party be sound, Tariff Reform, after all, will turn out to mean

**The Arguments
of Tariff Reform**

merely a redistribution of burdens on different lines. Those lines would not be pleasing to the avowed Socialist; because, always assuming the economic argument to be sound, they would, in his view, tend to increase rather than to diminish existing inequalities in the distribution of wealth. Hence, the one tendency is called socialistic and the other is not, though the term is equally applicable or inapplicable to both.

It would not be scientific, but it would be convenient if we could recognise that what is popularly meant by Socialism is the deliberate effort of the State to counteract the tendency of wealth to accumulate in the hands of a few. Self-interest being a motive by which we are all insidiously influenced, every class of the community is disposed to recognise pure justice in measures by which it benefits at the expense of its neighbours, and pure injustice in measures by which it is compelled to contribute to the advantage of its neighbours without any corresponding benefit to itself. The masses, having acquired political power, are displaying the natural inclination to insist on a redistribution of burdens by which they expect to benefit; whereas they are being emphatically warned that in the long run the course they are endeavouring to pursue will only lead to their own impoverishment.

Here, again, the position may well be contrasted with that of seventy years ago. When King Edward was born, the working classes were without political power or parliamentary representation. The old Corn Laws were in force, and most foreign imports were taxed more or less heavily. Manufacturers were resisting restrictions on child labour, and free education was undreamed of. Republicanism was more or less in the air, and Chartism was a popular panacea. Chartism perished ignominiously; but half its points were gradually conceded, and the working classes won a preponderance of political power. Free education was bestowed upon them by a Conservative administration. Free Trade replaced the old system of Protection. The State learnt to intervene between employers and employed in the interests of the latter, and to cancel its earlier interventions, which had been made in the interests of the former. Counsels of violent revolution are no longer heard, because the more reasonable demands of the revolutionaries were gradually met by free concessions.

On the whole, it may be doubted whether the future historian will admit that in 1910 England stood at a parting of the ways at all. He will probably say that parties

were divided only on the question of the precise speed at which they should move along the line which the country had been following for three-quarters of a century. But whether he will say, with its advocates, that Tariff Reform was a development of trade policy, or, with its opponents, that it was a reactionary movement, we will not venture to prophesy.

A discussion of the commercial situation of Great Britain at this point of time is necessarily somewhat thorny. It is a plain and palpable fact that the volume of our import and our export trade is very much greater than that of any other State, and that a still larger proportion of the carrying trade is in our hands. It is also undeniable that the extent of our lead over other nations has diminished during the last forty years. It is equally undeniable that, in proportion to the population of these islands, the actual volume of trade continues to increase more rapidly than the cost of living. It scarcely seems reasonable to gauge our own prosperity merely by the prosperity of our neighbours, and to deny that we are prospering because two or three of them are progressing more rapidly from lower standards, are gradually approximating to ours, and one is practically certain in course of time to overtake and outstrip us.

Arguing on that basis, it would manifestly be impossible

for more than one State in the world to be prosperous, since only that State could be called prosperous which was advancing more rapidly than any of its neighbours. It may very reasonably be asserted that any nation is prosperous where the income per head of the population is increasing more rapidly than their expenditure, an equal standard of comfort being maintained. If that be prosperity, Great Britain is prosperous. Nevertheless, it does not in the least follow that such prosperity should be satisfying. It would seem that the first question which ought to be asked is, Do the indications point to a continuation of this prosperity? Is the rate of increase of income advancing more rapidly than the rate of increase of necessary expenditure? If not, the national prosperity is waning. The time is

coming when what we now count as necessary expenditure will overtake income, and the standard of comfort will have to be lowered. Answers to this question are apt to depend on the particular series of years selected for comparison; but, on the whole, those who anticipate a continued prosperity as above defined seem to have the best of the argument. But there

**Trade Prosperity
Under Edward VII.**

is another point which demands recognition. It can very fairly be argued that the welfare of the British nation has depended in the past precisely on the fact, not only that she was wealthy, but that she was wealthier than her neighbours. Whenever she has been engaged in contests with her Continental neighbours, British gold has played a very large part, because her neighbours have been comparatively necessitous.



THE BRITISH MILITARY AIRSHIP ROUNDING ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL IN
OCTOBER, 1907
From a photograph by Park

On European battlefields she has paid her neighbours to do most of the fighting she wanted done—fighting which they could not afford to undertake, even when they wished to do so, without her assistance. One war after another illustrates the truth that Great Britain found allies only because they needed her subsidies, and were ready to fight on the side from which subsidies came. If Great Britain falls from her position as the wealthiest of States, she will have to fight her own battles; and if she wishes to escape that necessity, she must maintain her actual lead. And whether she will be able to do so is at least doubtful.

The question, then, may be summarised to this effect. Great Britain's commercial prosperity continues to advance, but her present rate of progress is not so great as that of the United States or of Germany. It is a matter of debate whether this difference is due to the adoption of a system of high tariffs by these two countries or is due to other causes. The Free Trader is apt to point to the vast, still undeveloped resources of the North American Continent, and to the more strenuous devotion to business of the population of the United States, as affording more than adequate explanation of the rapid advance of our trans-Atlantic cousins, and to believe that their tariff walls are a serious check on the speed of their advance. German progress is attributed, in the same quarter, partly to the scientific character of German education, and partly to the fact that German progress had been so long retarded by adverse political conditions that she was able to recover lost ground with great rapidity when those conditions disappeared.

The Tariff Reformer, on the other hand, observes the fact of rapid progress coupled with the fact of protective duties, and draws the inference that the latter is the cause of the former, very much as the extraordinary advance of Great Britain in the middle of Queen Victoria's reign was attributed exclusively to the Free Trade system which had just reached or was just reaching its full development. It did not appear in 1910 that the manufacturing districts of England were disposed to change the system under which they had themselves attained their greatest prosperity because Germany and the United States find prosperity compatible with a different system. Whether that verdict will be consistently and unfailingly repeated in the future is one of the questions whose solution lies on the knees of the gods.

At the close of King Edward's reign there was no Power with which Great Britain was not officially on friendly terms. With France and with Russia, indeed, her relations were those of an unprecedented cordiality. Long outstanding differences with the former of those two great nations had at length been adjusted satisfactorily, nor did it at present seem easy to discover any region where British and French interests were likely to come into collision. It is possible that the *entente* with Russia may be of a less durable character. Down to the very last years of

British Relations with Russia King Edward's life Russia was the one Power which was at all times the object of British suspicion—a suspicion which was always mutual. The suspicion on our part was constantly intensified by a belief in Russia's enormous military power, a not very intelligible conviction that her armies were not only vast but highly trained, her officers consummate strategists and tacticians, her organisation complete. Russia advanced



THE RISE OF THE AEROPLANE: FIVE MACHINES RACING AT THE BELMONT PARK MEETING, NEW YORK, IN OCTOBER, 1909

One of the most remarkable features of the Edwardian era was the development of the aeroplane from a toy of visionaries to a practical and almost utilitarian machine. This photograph was taken by Underwood & Underwood.

step by step in Central Asia; we believed India to be her objective, and we lived in constant dread of her developing a sea-power which could strike at our Indian communications. Now, the fears of the Russian aggression were very much mitigated by the war between Japan and Russia. That huge conflict was an object lesson in the futility of the Russian fleet and the actual inadequacy of her military organisation. It was felt that a long time must pass before she could again assume a dangerously aggressive attitude; and it became comparatively easy for both Powers to assume a conciliatory tone in their mutual relations. In fact, so long as Russia abstains from movements readily interpreted as having India or Constantinople for their ultimate objective, there is no external reason for anticipating friction.

With the new Power of Japan, also, Great Britain had entered into more intimate relations than any other European State. These relations are generally recognised as tending towards the preservation of peace in the Far East. How far they will serve as a make-weight in encouraging Russia to preserve the *entente* with Great Britain, should she ever feel tempted to break it, may be matter of doubt; but at any rate the indications in 1910 warranted the expectation that Asiatic problems will not for some time to come be a source of dangerous friction between Great Britain and other Powers.

more advanced in their democracy than any nations outside the British Empire. The experiment of forming federations between contiguous groups began with the Dominion of Canada; it was repeated some thirty years later, in the last year of Queen Victoria's reign, with the Australian Commonwealth; in the last year of King Edward it was most strikingly exemplified in the federation of South Africa. Each of these groups had recognised common interests forming a bond of closer union among themselves. But beyond this, the closing period of our era has been marked by a disposition to emphasise the common interests of the whole Empire, and to draw the bonds of union closer therein as they have been drawn closer between the particular groups. The desire increased that the great members of the Empire should know more and understand more of each; and with the increasing knowledge comes an increasing sentiment of kinship, an increasing perception of common interests, and of a common need for safe-guarding them. It would be hasty to draw conclusions as to the

Drawing Colonial Bonds Closer

thus have in the balance precisely the opposite effect to that desired.

This view rests on the fact that the colonial exports to Great Britain are, on any large scale, confined to food-stuffs and raw materials, which are at present untaxed, from whatever source they may come. Preferential schemes are undoubtedly favoured in the Colonies, which can for their own part give them effect by either a slight abatement of existing duties in favour of the Empire or a slight increase of existing duties as against the foreigner; and a preference of this kind has already been created, notably in Canada. A reciprocity in preference will be manifestly agreeable. The Colonies, however, are sufficiently magnanimous to repudiate the doctrine that their loyalty to the Empire depends on the readiness of the United Kingdom to tax food-stuffs and raw materials. Still, their doing so does not cancel the argument that their loyalty would be still more strengthened, whatever the effect within the United Kingdom might be, by the adoption of a preferential system, which, in the summer of 1910, was still an essential



KING EDWARD'S INTEREST IN THE MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS OF HIS REIGN: HIS MAJESTY WATCHING THE MANŒUVRES AT ALDERSHOT MAY, 1908

From a drawing by S. Begg

future development of this new spirit; certainly it would be hasty to assume that it will take the form of a more rigidly obligatory political association, but this is clearly to be numbered among the possibilities of the future which are no longer dreamed of only by visionaries. Imperial Federation may come or it may not, but the process of Dominion Federation, the institution of Imperial or Colonial Conferences, and such developments as that of the Imperial Press Conference, held in 1909, have undoubtedly brought it more definitely within the range of practical possibility.

Once again we are on delicate ground when we refer, as we cannot avoid doing, to the influence of fiscal problems on imperial unity. There is one school of observers who believe that the trans-oceanic Dominions will find their most effective bond of union with the United Kingdom in a preferential treatment of their imports to this country. Another school argues that such preferential treatment as would produce the desired effect in the Dominions would involve the imposition for their benefit of taxes which would be felt as burdensome in these islands, and would

feature in the programme of one of the two great political parties at home.

In any case, the Colonies had conspicuously manifested their consciousness of imperial unity both through the reign of King Edward and in the years immediately preceding. Their volunteer contingents had done admirable service in the South African War. Latterly, moreover, they had begun to take a conspicuous interest in concerted plans of defence, even to the extent of contributing battleships without qualification as to the control of their disposition in warfare. There was an awakening

The Unity of the Empire

to the importance of the fact that, in the existing relations of the Mother Country to her Colonies, practically the whole burden of defence rests on the Old Country, and a growing recognition that the Colonies might well themselves assume a share in a responsibility of which, nevertheless, the Mother Country does not ask them to relieve her.

In India, the situation is always, from one point of view, to be considered in relation to three separate factors;



HORSES OF THE FIRST LONDON TERRITORIAL DIVISION UNDER COVER DURING THE AUTUMN MANŒUVRES OF 1910

dangers beyond the border, dangers in connection with the native States, and dangers within the area of direct British control. As to dangers beyond the border, these had undoubtedly become less than they had been, perhaps, at any time during the Victorian era. The reason of this has already been pointed out in the discussion of British relations with Russia in an earlier part of this chapter.

After the Japanese War, Russia ceased, for the time being at least, to have either the will or the power to pursue an aggressive policy. The time, too, had passed when it was a common belief that the conduct of foreign affairs under a Liberal Administration meant a reversal of policy under a Conservative Administration, with the result that there is far less of that spirit of anxiety and uneasiness which was apt, rightly or wrongly, to pervade British, and especially military, society in India when a Liberal Government was in office at Westminster; a spirit of anxiety which, in itself, necessarily constituted a danger. It was long, too, since Afghanistan, had threatened serious trouble. Abdur Rahman, in the twenty years of his powerful rule, had reduced the anarchical elements in his turbulent dominions to a minimum, but the correctness of his attitude towards the British Government had never removed the sense of a latent hostility. The accession of Habibullah, in 1901, had been recognised as placing on the throne a more really friendly monarch, and the doubts as to his capacity for preserving his grip on the reins of government had practically disappeared during the years over which his rule had already extended.

Finally, the organisation of the military defences of the frontier, and of the forces

behind the frontier, had been carried out on lines satisfactory to the best military opinion—if such a statement can be made when there are always rival schools of military opinion of which, if one is satisfied, the other is not. The last dangerous element disposed of had been the friction, at one time so serious, between the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, which had been successfully terminated by the arrangements finally approved by Lord Minto and Mr. Morley, and accepted by Lord Kitchener.

As our second head we named the relations between the supreme Government and the native princes. Here, again, it would seem that there has been no period at which the native rulers, Hindu or Mussulman, have been better disposed towards the British Raj. It had been said by critics adverse to Lord Curzon that there were aspects of his Viceroyalty which had tended to arouse uneasiness at the native courts. If the statement was true, that uneasiness was allayed during the rule of his successor, and the general goodwill was certainly advanced by the Royal tour in 1905-6. The princes are very fully alive to the fact that any failure of the British rule would turn the whole peninsula into a weltering chaos of warring dynasties, creeds, and races, which the ablest among them would be powerless to control.

Concerning the third factor, it is not easy to speak with confidence. English administrators have learnt to appreciate



ARTILLERY PASSING THROUGH A HAMPSHIRE VILLAGE. BELOW ARE SEEN CAVALRY IN THE SHELTER OF A WOOD



SCENES IN THE MANŒUVRES OF THE TERRITORIAL FORCES IN THE AUTUMN OF 1910

The military feature of King Edward's reign was the reorganisation of the Volunteer army as Territorials

the impenetrability of the mask which the East shows to the West. They do not suffer from the innocent illusion that six weeks in India provide an experience which warrants the globe-trotter in believing that he has the Indian problem at his fingers' ends. They know that half a lifetime of ceaseless study and endeavour leaves them acutely conscious of the native mind. They are infinitely more likely than the random investigator to arrive at sound conclusions; but they differ from the random investigator in knowing that, after all, there are data hidden from them which may entirely vitiate their reasoning.

The Problem of India

The moment when the eternal unrest seems to have been most completely quieted may be, as in 1857, the moment at which it is actually most acute.

Thus, with every reservation, we can only speak of indications, not of facts. There were signs during King Edward's reign of a great ferment actually at work among the natives of India. At the beginning of 1910, the symptoms had quieted down. Nevertheless, it is possible, first, that the agitation was much more superficial than it seemed; and, secondly, that it had only apparently been allayed. The Indian Government, wildly assailed by extremists of every kind, kept its head, refused to be hurried into panic legislation or to be terrorised, and, while it tightened its grip on sedition, proffered to the natives of India a measure of conciliation, a larger participation in the management of public affairs. Precedent encourages the belief that this action was wise. The ostensible effect on the situation was satisfactory; nevertheless, it is undeniable that a large and experienced section of the British community in India regards the Indian Councils Bill as a serious error fraught with danger in the future. To put it shortly, the last act of the Indian Government during King Edward's reign was to initiate an experiment. Whether that experiment will prove successful or not, time alone can show. As yet, it can only be said that the indications are favourable.

We may turn to close our survey with a review of certain social aspects of life in the United Kingdom.

In one respect the most remarkable development between the beginning and the end of the Victorian Era was the complete change in the methods of communication and

locomotion. The railway has now been supplemented by a speedy means of private transit along the highways which has gone far towards driving horse traffic off the road. The development of the motor has brought with it an increased tendency on the part of the wealthier portion of the community to remove itself in part, at least, to greater distance from the centres of business and industry.

It is interesting to note that King Edward was among the first to encourage the youthful industry in this country by purchasing one of the earliest types of cars. His patronage of the industry was sustained to the end of his life. There is another method of transit that has recently come into being which may conceivably produce a revolution even more startling than the railway. The possibility of conveyance through the air has been demonstrated. But more than this could not as yet be said of the attempts at what is popularly known as aviation. At present, passenger aviation is only possible with immense risk to the machine and the passengers, and it is difficult to perceive how the enormous difficulties of aerial flight are ever to be so conquered that flying machines can be multiplied and large numbers of persons carried from place to place except under conditions when mere danger to life and limb cease to be taken in account. Still, the beginning has been made, and the achievement would perhaps not be more astonishing than others which we now look upon as matters of course.

In other respects, nothing striking in the way of material progress has arrived during the first decade of the twentieth century. Nor can it be said that any conspicuous literary or spiritual movement marks the epoch. Among many poets, dramatists, and novelists, none has arisen—none, at any rate, has been discovered—for whom a place is likely to be claimed beside the great poets or novelists of the Victorian Era.

Our most brilliant essayists are devotees of the epigram and paradox; perhaps the pursuit of epigram and paradox is the most marked literary feature of the time. Our literary history is rich in humour, but is not conspicuous for wit; it is possible that wit may present itself as the note of the immediate future. But the voice of the prophet is conspicuously absent, and the reign of King Edward will be associated with no mighty name in the literary annals of Great Britain.

Birth of the Flying Machine



THE BRITISH FLOTILLA OF SUBMARINES AT PORTSMOUTH IN 1909

This photograph (by Stephen Cribb) shows the remarkable development of the submarine arm of our naval forces during King Edward's reign. Only two of the vessels seen here were completed when his Majesty came to the throne.



CHAPTER LXXXVIII

LETTERS AND SPEECHES ON HOME AFFAIRS

Being a Series of Selections from the Correspondence and Public Addresses of
King Edward on Many Matters Touching the Varied Phases of National Life



It is by his speeches and acts that the King must for long to come remain known. His manifold duties, which made him the busiest man in the Empire, left him small leisure for letters written by his own hand.

Queen Victoria was a voluminous and untiring letter-writer, but the King was ever a man of action, and it fell to Lord Knollys very largely to relieve him of correspondence, which, personally undertaken, would have hampered his Majesty intolerably and made life a burden. His own post-bag was for many years a formidable one. Statesmen and others notable in public life addressed him with a freedom and directness which did not invariably characterise communications to Queen Victoria. Thus, when the Prince of Wales, as he was at the time, was about to visit St. Petersburg in 1885, Lord Granville wrote to him plainly: "There can be no question that a good understanding and friendly relations between this country and Russia may be of immense advantage to both, while the hostility which is recommended by many good friends abroad can only be the cause of great evil. The best course appears to be, to be perfectly frank, not to make undue concessions, but to avoid unnecessary complaints and petty acts of ill-will."

With Gladstone the King exchanged letters of great cordiality. The King, who had a profound veneration for the moral character of this statesman, apart, of course, from political considerations, wrote him one letter which was dear to the veteran's heart. It was on the occasion of the Phoenix Park murders, and the then Heir-Apparent described in his letter the horror which the crime had aroused in his heart, and his sympathy with Gladstone personally "in the loss of one who was not only a colleague of many merits, but a near connection and devoted friend." Again, on Gladstone's retirement, the Prince wrote in his own hand expressing his deep regret, and declaring how greatly, for a long number of years, he and the Princess had valued his friendship and that of Mrs. Gladstone.

Wellington College preserves, presumably, one reminder of his Majesty's zeal for education at the cost of extra holidays. When the late Prince Christian Victor, son of Prince and Princess Christian, was passing out of the college to Oxford, the headmaster wrote to the Prince of Wales, who was chairman of the governors, asking if he would be pleased to command that an extra week's holiday should be given to the school to mark the occasion. The young Prince himself backed this up in a note, in which he naively declared: "I fancy it would suit every-

body very well if they have an extra week after Christmas, for then the new dormitories could be finished." One can almost picture the smile with which his Majesty replied, through Lord Knollys, expressing "very great satisfaction that his nephew had done so admirably at Wellington College," but declaring himself "averse to holidays being granted except under very special circumstances, under which category, he was afraid, the present case hardly came."

The King and Dean Stanley
Dean Stanley, when asked to accompany the King to the Holy Land, doubted the wisdom of the association, for he urged: "It is of the utmost importance that the Prince should grow up not under the influence of any special theological school." That aim, as we know, was accomplished, but Dean Stanley and Archbishop Benson were among the men who greatly influenced him. After the journey to the Holy Land, the then Prince wrote in his own hand to Dean Stanley begging him to go down to Sandringham to administer the Sacrament to him and the Princess. "It would be especially agreeable to me," he wrote, "as last Easter Sunday we [himself and the Dean] took the Holy Sacrament together at the Lake of Tiberias."

Two of the most serious letters he ever wrote were addressed by the King to the Archbishop. Both are self-explanatory. The first is specially interesting and important, as showing the King's outlook on the sports and recreations to which he turned as a relief from the tedium of State and social functions. It was written after the conclusion of the "Tranby Croft" case, and was penned on board the Royal yacht Osborne, which lay at Cowes.

"August 13, 1891.

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—Your kind letter of the 10th inst. has touched me very much, as I know the kind feelings which prompted you to write me on a subject which we have discussed together, and which you are aware has caused me deep pain and annoyance.

"A recent trial, which no one deplores more than I do—and which I was powerless to prevent—gave occasion for the Press to make a most bitter and unjust attack upon me—knowing that I was defenceless; and I am not sure that politics were not mixed up in it! The whole matter has now died out—and I think, therefore, it would be inopportune for me in any public manner to allude again to the painful subject which brought such a torrent of abuse upon me, not only by the Press—but by the Low Church, and especially the Nonconformists.

Letters of
King Edward

"They have a perfect right, I am well aware, in a free country like our own to express their opinions—but I do not consider that they have a just right to jump at conclusions regarding myself without knowing the facts.

"I have a horror of gambling, and should always do my utmost to discourage others who have an inclination for it, as I consider that gambling, like intemperance, is one of the greatest curses which a country could be afflicted with.

"Horse-racing may produce gambling, or it may not—but I have always looked upon it as a manly sport which is popular with Englishmen of all classes—and there is no reason why it should be looked upon as a gambling transaction. Alas! those who gamble will gamble at anything. I have written quite openly to you, my dear Archbishop, whom I have had the advantage of knowing for so many years.

"Thanking you again for your kind letter, and trusting that you will benefit by your holiday,

"Believe me, sincerely
yours,
"ALBERT EDWARD."

Barely five months had elapsed when the King, bowed down now with a heavy sorrow, wrote again to the same consoler, who was at this time on the Continent, in relation to the death of his eldest son, the Duke of Clarence.

"Sandringham, Norfolk.

"January 27, 1892.

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—
Only a short time ago I received such a kind letter from you, in which you agreed to perform the marriage ceremony at St. George's for our eldest son. Since then I have received another letter from you containing such kind and sympathetic words, in which you expressed a desire to return home to take part in his funeral service.

"It was like yourself, kind and thoughtful as you always are—but I could not allow you to undertake that long journey and return to our cold climate, and to an atmosphere still impregnated with that dire disease—when your absence abroad in a warmer climate is so essential for your health and strength.

"It has pleased God to inflict a crushing blow upon us—and we can hardly realise the terrible loss we have sustained. We have had the good fortune of receiving you here in our country home on more than one occasion—and you know what a happy family party we have always been—so that the wrenching away of our first-born son under such peculiarly sad circumstances is a sorrow—the shadow of which can never leave us during the rest of our lives.

"He was just twenty-eight—on this day month he was to have married a charming and gifted young lady—so that the prospect of a life of happiness and usefulness lay before him. Alas! that is all over. His bride has become his widow without ever having been his wife.

"The ways of the Almighty are inscrutable, and it is not for us to murmur, as He does all for the best—and

our beloved son is far happier now than if he were exposed to the miseries and temptations of this world. We have also a consolation in the sympathy, not only of our kind friends, but of all classes.

"God's will be done!

"Again thanking you, my dear and kind Archbishop, for your soothing letter, which has been such a solace to us in our grief,

"I remain, yours very sincerely,

"ALBERT EDWARD."

This was the most poignant letter that the King ever wrote, and the most effective. Through it shines the soul which has been tried in the fire and come forth radiant with tender sympathy and affection. His former letter is, however, of all that have come to light, the most intensely interesting human document. It is the swift, unpremeditated production of a man smarting keenly under a sense of injustice, and in his own discomfort the King, with

very human haste, commits himself to opinions which, from his later cordiality and sympathy towards the people whom he here chiefly censures, we have good evidence that he renounced as incorrect.

The bulk of his Majesty's letters are enshrined in private collections, and will not see the light of publicity for some time to come. Many letters on State matters are in the form of proclamations, and some of these may be more fittingly considered in the speeches.

One little proclamation of a purely personal interest may be included here, for it shows that the King carried out in his own home the commonsense, practical methods which made him so pre-eminently successful a diplomatist.

Forty-five years ago there was a general movement in society for the suppression of the dishonest practice of tradesmen bribing servants. An Act of Parliament has, within the last few years, been passed in the attempt to give effect to the same laudable scheme. The

movement a successful then Prince of Wales gave lead with a little manifesto, which sought to check the insidious system in his own household.

"Concluding," he wrote, "that every tradesman would lend his co-operation in putting down such a practice—dishonest in itself and equally prejudicial to the interests of his employer and himself—he has directed to discharge from his service every servant who may receive, and to cease employing every tradesman who may pay, such a percentage, or who may make a present of any kind in consideration of his Royal

Highness's custom."

Putting Down Domestic Bribery Every letter-writer has his or her peculiarities. Queen Victoria had a passion for underlining her words to give them extra emphasis. Lord Palmerston had a weakness for capitals. King Edward betrayed an unusual inclination for the use of dashes.



KING EDWARD, WHEN PRINCE OF WALES, SPEAKING AT THE
OPENING OF THE ROYAL DRAMATIC COLLEGE, JUNE, 1865

From a contemporary drawing



KING EDWARD AS A PATRON OF THE ARTS: IN THE ROBES OF THE CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WALES IN 1896
From a photograph by W. & D. Downey

King Edward, when Prince of Wales, once asked Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton) who, in his opinion, was the best after-dinner speaker in England.

"It rests with you and myself, sir," was the courtly answer of the man who was regarded at that time as supreme in the art of post-prandial oratory. That Lord Houghton had a very high estimate of the abilities of the King as an orator we know from a letter to his son, the present Lord Crewe. Writing to the latter, the poet,

King Edward as an Orator

describing a performance by the Prince, said: "He spoke excellently. In fact, after your relative, he is the best after-dinner speaker in the country." There were no two opinions in the country as to the ability of the King as a speaker. He had a fine voice and a charming manner. In the House of Lords, which is notorious for its poor acoustic properties, he was one of the few men who could make his words heard in every part of the chamber. He had no difficulty in making the most distant of his audience hear. Again and again, in reviewing his old-time speeches, one is met with the comments upon the resounding tone, the heartiness and spirit with which his Majesty delivered his speeches. Public speaking did not come easily to him; it was acquired by diligent study and practice. He was, like the rest of us, sometimes the victim of nerves, and at the Royal Academy banquet in 1863 he hesitated in the middle of his speech, so that all the company thought he would be compelled to sit down with his address unfinished. By a rare effort of will, however, he worked over the subject in his mind until he had recovered the lost thread, then went on to a successful conclusion.

"How very provoking!" he said to Sir Charles Eastlake, as he sat down. "I knew it quite by heart in the morning."

A Royal relative sitting near chaffed him severely, and insisted that he must atone by singing a song, a jest which the Prince bore with extreme good humour.

His career as a public speaker extended over half a century, and the variety of the subjects with which he had to deal was, of course, infinite. But, whatever his theme, he was always fearful of taxing the patience of his audience. "I must not weary you further," he would say, or he would apologise for "occupying so much time," when he had spoken briefly. His sense of modesty, too, impelled him to plead for forgiveness for "imperfections" of delivery and choice of matter.

There was no phase of our national life left untouched by his speeches. A comprehensive history of the progress of the kingdom for the last half-century might be compiled from the King's addresses alone. In them we trace the developments of charitable and philanthropic work, and the needs and causes which have called them into being. We realise from them the progress which popular education has made, and see how great an impulse this has gained from the encouragement which King Edward extended and the suggestions that he made. We find him drawing on his experience

as a model landlord to suggest conditions for the amelioration of the poor in mean streets, not only of London, but of Ireland. His sympathies extended to art and science and learning, to the highest interests of our national commerce.

We are led to view the expansion of the Empire from his speeches delivered in cities beyond the sea, and in the presence of rulers and leaders from far lands whom he helped to welcome to the Empire's capital.

Beyond that we see how his frank and amiable speeches helped to lay the foundation stone of that peace of Europe of which he was destined to become the patron saint. We see the great pageant of distinguished warriors of his era pass again before our mental vision as we read the words with which the King gladdened their war-tried hearts as they came home victorious from our wars or departed to strike yet another blow for the flag. We see the shackles fall again from the slave as the King re-tells the wonderful story of emancipation; and we feel the blush of shame return to our cheeks when the King, with a touch of indignation, which seldom coloured his speeches, recounts the sorry sight he has seen where our dead "lay in unhonoured graves in the Crimea." As a Freemason and as patron of great thrift and sick benefit societies, as our greatest Imperialist, as farmer, as sportsman, as the friend of all worthy public movements which kept clear of political creed or sectarianism, he played a thousand parts, and played them well.

Only those who belong to the generation in which the King was launched upon his public career realise how greatly the young man was influenced by the example and precept of his illustrious father. There was a very striking sentence in the speech which he delivered before the Privy Council on his accession. Explaining his reason for choosing to be known by the name of Edward, he said, "In doing so I do not undervalue the name of Albert, which I inherit from my ever-to-be-lamented, great, and wise father, who, by universal consent is, I think deservedly, known by the name of Albert the Good, and

Reverence for I desire that his name should stand alone."
Prince Albert To live up to the ideals of his father was the end which the King ever sought to attain.

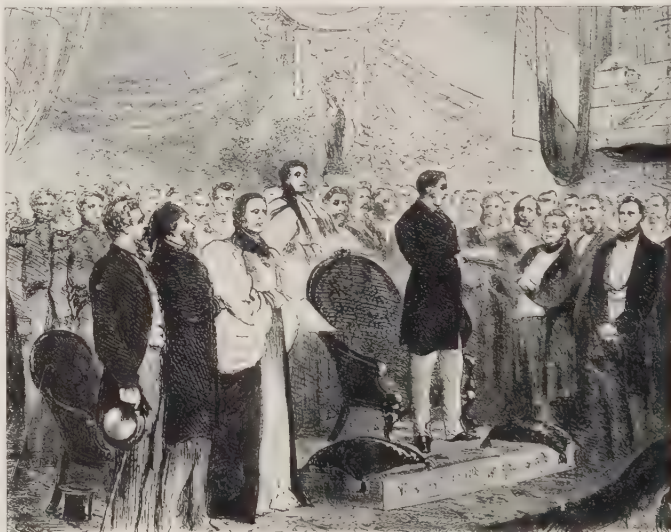
His reverence for his father's memory was repeatedly manifested at the dawn of his career. In one of his earliest speeches, delivered immediately following his marriage, he said to the Royal Academicians and their guests: "I cannot on this occasion divest my mind of the associations connected with my beloved and lamented father. His bright example cannot fail to stimulate my efforts to tread in his footsteps; and whatever my shortcomings may be, I may at least pre-

sume to participate in the interest which he took in every institution which tended to encourage art and science in this country." As he spoke, a sob choked his utterance, and the assembly was strangely moved.

It was not unknown to the future King that his father's days had been embittered by the misunderstandings of which he had been the victim, and there was a challenging note in a remark which the Prince let fall in a speech to the Royal Literary Fund in 1864: "Nobody has forgotten that the second time he spoke in public in this country was as chairman of the Literary Fund dinner. And we all, I am

convinced, deeply regret that the speeches made on that occasion were not reported at full length, as every word falling from those lips could not fail to command universal admiration."

Again the determination to follow in his father's



OPENING A SAILORS' HOME AT LONDON DOCKS, MAY, 1865



THE KING RESPONDING TO THE LOYAL TOAST AT THE FIRST RECEPTION OF HIS MAJESTY BY THE CITY OF LONDON AFTER HIS ACCESSION, OCTOBER 25, 1902

footstep was expressed when he went to Ireland on the International Exhibition in May, 1885. The example of my lamented and beloved parent will I trust ever be present to my mind as a stimulus to the encouragement of every work tending to advance international prosperity, and to develop the powers and resources of our own country.

In ending was the Prince Consort remembered than in respect of the Great Exhibition which, destined to stimulate enormously the commerce and industry of this country, was forced in a year by the short-lived "parents" of the hour. When the Prince Consort should have been most popular for his unflinching exertions to bring his great participation to a successful issue he had to encounter the hostility of the aristocracy and the absurd alarms of the middle classes. Nothing at this was lost upon King Edward, and during his sojourn in Dublin at the Exhibition memorial he said: "As the son of that revered and lamented parent, to whose wisdom, energy, and influence you truly stand indebted, as such as this one thank again, I may well feel proud in being able to assist in the inauguration of the one that we about us upon."

These are tokens of the tribute paid for the King to the memory of his father. His reverence and devotion to Queen Victoria were equally marked, and no other devotion to the memory of a parent was ever joined by son than that in which King Edward honoured the splendid memory of his immortal mother.

Music and the drama had no truer friend than King Edward. He saw every play worth seeing; he was amongst the most enthusiastic patrons of the opera, and vocal and orchestral concerts had in him an unswerving friend. The personal of the stage claimed his utmost, and the fortunes of the little world which revolves about it were to him a matter of warm concern. This interest was always with him. It was in June, 1885, that he first lent his name and personal support to the drama by opening the

Royal Dramatic College. He noted that the leading stars of the actor were to be sustained by the provisions of the Academy, that as the inevitable hour approached, he who has so often neglected to give amusement, thought with assurance, will here find a market open for age and infirmities in grateful recognition of a debt due by the world at large. . . . After having provided for the married wives and parents of those who are entitled to seek a shelter in this asylum, the husband must cheer their lonely life, and to embellish its closing scenes with the looks, memories, and words of their art, that they may again live in the past and make their final exit in a spirit of thankfulness to God and their fellow-creatures."

On another occasion, when speaking to the members of the Royal Theatrical Fund, the King elaborated this idea of the usefulness of the public, but this time he defined the purpose of "the profession" in still more generous terms: "I realize that ever since my childhood I have had opportunities of going to the theatre and witnessing some of the most excellent plays, and appreciating the performances of the best actors of the day. Not only have I derived considerable amusement from what I have witnessed at the theatres, but I have given my patronage to the drama because it is my wish to encourage a noble profession." Here, at any rate, was a Royal Prince who would not be a party to stigmatising actors and actresses as "vices and viciofalls."

Upon the subject of music the King delivered many notable addresses. In regard to this, as well as in relation to his many appearances at the Royal Academy, his hearers marvelled we are told at the freshness and vigour of matter with which year after year he managed to infuse his speeches. One of his addresses upon musical education in England was specially noteworthy and deserves to be held in remembrance in every town and city in the land in this age when "mechanical music" is more and more

Patron of Music and the Drama

threatening to oust the human performer from favour. The occasion was the opening of the Royal College of Music on May 7, 1883, and it takes us back to inspiring times to remember that Sullivan was one of three men knighted on that day. In this address the King drew a thoughtful picture of the effect of the musical education which pupils at the college would receive. Each returned to his or her

The Claims of Music

native place, furnished with the highest instruction in music, to form a centre from which good musical education would spread; while those who obtained musical engagements elsewhere would stimulate and encourage by their success the cultivation of music in places whence they had come. Hence he looked forward to the day when the college would have so popularised music as to place England on a par with those countries on the Continent which had acquired the distinction of being called musical people.

"It has been a reproach to England," the Prince of Wales continued, "that, with her vast resources, her large benevolence, her eagerness to instruct all classes of society in other branches of knowledge, one thing has hitherto been wanting—a national institution for music. If that government be the best which provides for the happiness of the greatest number, that art must be the best which, at the least expense, pleases the greatest number."

His conclusion was still more striking. "The establishment of an institution such as I open to-day is not the mere creation of a new musical society. The time has come when class can no longer stand aloof from class, and that man does his duty best who works most earnestly in bridging over the gulf between different classes which it is the tendency of wealth and increased civilisation to widen. I claim for music the merit that it has a voice which speaks, in different tones, perhaps, but with equal force, to the cultivated and the ignorant, to the peer and the peasant. I claim for music a variety of expression which belongs to no other art, and therefore adapts it more than any other art to produce that union of feeling which I much desire to promote. Lastly, I claim for music the distinction which is awarded to it by Addison—that it is the only sensuous pleasure in which excess cannot be injurious."

There the instinct not only of the artist but of the great Peacemaker and Conciliator peeps out. Here, twenty years before his accession to the throne, the Prince was pleading

for that peace and goodwill among classes which it was to be his mission to extend between nations.

No man was more eager than the King to see science wedded to industry. He saw that the future permanence of the nation's position in the markets of the world depended upon the closer association of the scientist's laboratory with the workshop of the manufacturer. Science always irresistibly appealed to him. It was with no ordinary pleasure, therefore, that he accepted a Fellowship of the Royal Society; and Huxley, who spoke on the night of his election in very technical terms on salmon disease, had no more appreciative and interested listener than the new Royal Fellow. The ashes of the controversy aroused over Darwin's "Origin of Species" still smouldered in 1885, and there were many who still cherished a higher regard for Bishop Wilberforce's glittering platitudes than for the deep reasoning of the great thinker. It is not a little interesting to remember that Wilberforce is supposed to have been primed for the fray by Owen, at whose feet the King and his brothers had formerly sat. But when the day came, in June, 1885, for the unveiling in the Natural History Museum of the Darwin memorial, it was the Prince of Wales who attended on behalf of the trustees to receive the memorial at the hands of Huxley.

"I consider it a high privilege to have been deputed by the unanimous wish of my colleagues, the trustees of the British Museum," he remarked, "to accept, in their names, the gift which you have offered us on behalf of the committee of the Darwin Memorial. The committee and subscribers may rest assured that we have most willingly assigned this honourable place to the statue of the great Englishman who has exerted so vast an influence upon the progress of those branches of natural knowledge, the advancement of

The Wide Call of Science

which is the object of the vast collection gathered here. . . . A memorial to which all nations and all classes of society have contributed cannot be more fitly lodged than in our museum, which, though national, is open to all the world, and the resources of which are at the disposal of every student of Nature, whatever his condition or his country, who enters our doors."

Thus the King-to-be was not the one to give merely a silent vote in favour of the new train of thought which had shaken the world. The King was, as we remember, a thoroughgoing advocate of the application of scientific



THE KING'S BUSY ROUND OF CEREMONIAL FUNCTION IN HIS EARLIER YEARS: SPEAKING AT ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL IN 1868
From a contemporary drawing



ADDRESSING A MEETING OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC IN MARCH 1882

methods to our national industries, and he must have appeared a revolutionary to practitioners of the rule-of-thumb method when, at the successful Fisheries Exhibition, whose triumph he was mainly instrumental in securing, he declared that the fisherman should know something of science in his calling. He pleaded for "the collection of statistics and other information relative to fisheries; the diffusion among the fishing population of a knowledge of all improvements in the methods and appliances of their calling; the discussion of questions bearing upon fishing interests; and the elucidation of those problems of natural history which bear upon the subject."

Science Linked with Trade

When founding the Imperial Institute, in January of the Jubilee year, the King laid stress on the necessity of linking science with trade. "You are aware," he said to a brilliant audience, "that the competition of industry all over the world has become keen, while commerce and manufactures have been profoundly affected by the recent rapid progress of science and the increased facilities of inter-communication offered by steam and the electric telegraph. In consequence of these changes all nations are using strenuous efforts to produce a trained intelligence among their people."

"The working classes of this country have not been slow to show their desire for improvement in this direction. They wish to place themselves in a position of intellectual power by using all opportunities afforded to them to secure an understanding of the principles as well as of the practice of the work in which they are engaged. No less than 16,000,000 people from all parts of the kingdom have attended the four exhibitions over which I have presided, representing fisheries, public health, inventions, and the Colonies and India, and I assure you I would not have undertaken the labour attending their administration had I not felt a deep conviction that such exhibitions added to the knowledge of the people and stimulated the industries of the country."

King George's fame as an orator was to a large extent established by a remarkable speech in which he cried to the Old Country to "Wake up." King Edward's voice had rung through the land to the same effect nearly a score of years before. Speaking to the City and Guilds of London Institute in 1881, he uttered these challenging words: "Hitherto English teaching has chiefly relied on training the intellectual faculties so as to adapt men to apply their intelligence in any occupation of life to which they may be called; and this general discipline of the mind has, on the whole, been found sufficient until recent times; but during the last thirty years the competition of other nations, even in manufactures which once were exclusively carried on in this kingdom, has been very severe. The great progress that has been made in the means of locomotion, as well as in the application of steam for the purposes of life, has distributed the raw materials of industry all over the world, and has economised time and labour in their conversion to objects of utility. Other nations which did not possess, in such abundance as Great Britain, coal, the source of power, and iron, the essence of strength, compensated for the want of raw material by the technical education of their classes, and this country has therefore seen manufactures springing up everywhere, guided by the trained intelligence thus created. Both in Europe and America, technical colleges for teaching, not the practice but the principles of science and art involved in particular industries, have been organised in all the leading centres of industry."

England is now thoroughly aware of the necessity for supplementing her educational institutions by colleges of a like nature. Most of our great manufacturing towns have either started, or have already erected, their colleges of science and art. In only a few instances, however, have they become developed into schools for systematic instruction. . . . By consenting, at your request, to become president of this institute, I hope it may be in my power to benefit the good work, and

King Edward's Challenge to the Colleges

that our joint exertions, aided, I trust, by the continued liberality of the City and Guilds of London, may prove to be an example to the rest of the country to train the intelligence of industrial communities, so that, with the increasing competition of the world, England may retain her proud pre-eminence as a manufacturing nation."

Three years later the King returned with anxiety to the same subject. He called for scholarships to connect the

The Association of Science and Commerce

elementary schools of the country with the Guilds of London Institute, and lamented the shortage of technical instructors. "Hitherto," he went on, "all schools have led up to the universities, and literary training has been encouraged to the disadvantage of scientific instruction. Manufacturing industry has, consequently, not been able to attract to its pursuits its fair proportion of the best intellect of the country."

All his life the King remained a splendid driving force in the direction of this closer association of science and commerce. Twenty-seven years after the first of these two latter speeches he returned to the subject when addressing a great audience at the opening of the new Leeds University buildings. In the course of his address, delivered in July, 1908, he said:

"My interest in the great cause of education is well known, and I note with gratification the ever-widening basis of instruction now undertaken by our great educational institutions. The high standard of moral and intellectual discipline for which our schools and universities have been distinguished has not been lowered, nor has the pursuit of literary and historical studies been checked by the inclusion in the university curriculum of those scientific studies, and especially of those branches applied to science, for which such ample provision has been made. I rejoice to think that the opportunities open to the young men of our great industrial communities of acquiring knowledge of subjects of commercial utility in an atmosphere of academic culture are being so greatly increased, and I find it difficult to express my appreciation of the manner in which the great responsibilities which rest on the authorities and teachers of a university such as this have been discharged.

"It is a source of pleasure to me to know that you have provided also for the study of the theory and practice of agriculture, for I am convinced that the best possible results cannot be derived from the industry and natural ability of our farmers unless they are properly instructed in the scientific aspects of their work.

"Already in all parts of the world there are to be found capable and energetic men holding responsible positions whose capacity and energy have been fostered by the training which they received as students of this university, and I am convinced that the result of their academic education has been to equip them, not merely for the attainment of success in their own pursuits, but also to play a distinguished part in the promotion of the welfare of the nation."

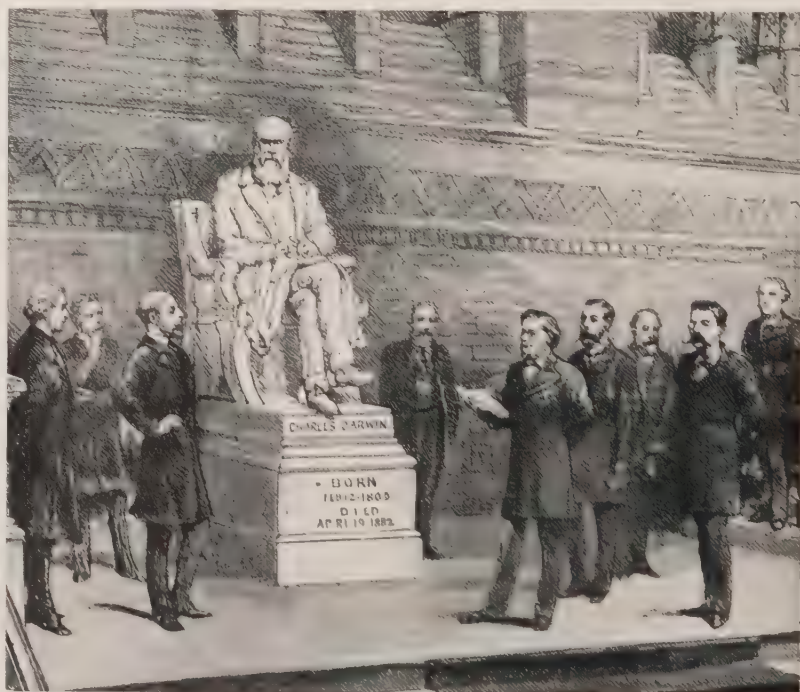
During one period of Queen Victoria's reign, railway accidents happened with alarming frequency, and the kind-hearted Queen caused a letter to be addressed to the directors of railway companies, urging upon them the necessity for the greatest possible vigilance. The King possibly had this in mind when, speaking in May, 1873, on behalf of the Railway Benevolent Institution, he thus put the case of the railway worker.

"In stepping into a railway carriage, do you not think of the risks you may run? An accident may happen to anybody, though every possible security and guarantee may be given that no accident shall occur. Well, if we, as passengers, run risks, how much more so the officers and servants of the companies; and that not merely every day, but every hour and minute of their lives! We may be sure it is the earnest desire of the managers and directors to do all in their power to guarantee the safety of the passengers and those to whom are entrusted the care and management of the trains. I feel sure I cannot impress on them too strongly the necessity for their still using every effort in their power to prevent accidents, which are, unfortunately, too frequent. It is not for me to say what plan may be best devised to lessen accidents—whether it may be that there are too many railways, whether the immense network which exists in our country comes too closely together at different stations, or the trains follow each other at intervals too short. These are questions with which I do not feel myself competent to deal. I may tell you that no week elapses without my travelling once or twice at least by train. I have, therefore, the opportunity of seeing, as well as anybody can, how admirably our railway system is worked. Not only the managers and directors, but the officers and servants, have my warmest admiration for doing their utmost in the execution of their duty, and also for their unvarying courtesy and attention."

At a later date the King referred again to the lot of the railway worker, and paid a generous tribute to the men for their industry, their vigilance, sobriety, and discipline.

The King lived to see the taxicab installed in London, the practical extinction of the hansom, and the lean days of the four-wheeler. Before mechanically propelled vehicles of this type were dreamed of, he championed handsomely the cause of the men who reigned in the streets of London during the late 'seventies and early 'eighties, and, at a meeting of the Cabdrivers' Benevolent Association held in May, 1870, declared: "There is, I think, no class of our fellow countrymen that deserve more of our consideration than the cabdrivers of this great city. One cannot think without pity of these poor men

Railway-workers and Cab-drivers



AT THE UNVEILING OF DARWIN'S STATUE IN THE NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, JUNE, 1885

sitting on their cabs in the cold east winds with which we are, alas! so well acquainted, and in the rain and snow which have been our lot now for so many months." After a tribute to the honesty of cabmen, the Royal orator continued: "I believe—at least, it is the popular belief—that there is only one article a cabman never returns, and this is an umbrella, and I think that is, we may consider, quite fair. A gentleman having an umbrella may not want a cab, but, without an umbrella, he will be compelled to take a cab if the rain comes on!"

Freemasonry claimed the warm sympathy of the King, and the night of his installation as Grand Master of English Freemasons at the Albert Hall, in April, 1875, was one which always lived in his memory. There were not wanting in England those who questioned the propriety of the then Heir-Apparent's close association with this body, but the Prince, with the approval of the highest opinion in the land, had no doubt in the matter. Ten thousand Masons, forming one of the most distinguished and influential bodies of men ever summoned together in London, welcomed him, and the Royal Grand Master, while remembering that members of his family had previously been associated with the same cause, could not but note that "such an assemblage as this has never been known; and when I look around me in this vast and spacious hall, and see those who have come from the north and south, from the east and the west, it is, I trust, an omen which will prove an omen for good."

The Prince made no reference to the little controversy which had arisen, but after expressing the fear that it would be impossible for him to discharge all the duties of his high office, said: "You may be assured that when I have the time I shall do my utmost to maintain this high position, and do my duty by the craft and by you on every possible occasion. . . . Every English-

His Advice to the Freemasons

man knows that the two great watchwords of the craft are loyalty and charity. These are their watchwords, and as long as Freemasons do not, as Freemasons, mix themselves up in politics, so long, I am sure, this high and noble order will flourish and will maintain the integrity of the Empire. I thank you once more for your cordial reception of me to-day, and I thank you for having come such immense distances to welcome me on this occasion. I assure you I shall never forget to-day—never!"

The last sentence was an impromptu to which the Prince was inspired by the sight of the great gathering around him, and by the scene of unprecedented enthusiasm and affection.

Queen Victoria was chief patroness of Freemasons and of the Masonic charities, so in the first Jubilee year, when seven thousand officers and members of the order assembled at the Albert Hall to move an address to her Majesty, the Prince of Wales was at their head. In the course of his speech he again alluded to the fact that some of his ancestors had done much in support of Freemasonry. Though they well knew it to be a secret society, they were



ADDRESSING THE ROYAL ACADEMICIANS AT THEIR BANQUET IN 1894

Among the guests seen above are Lord Leighton (in the chair), Sir J. E. Millais, Sir Edward Poynter, W. P. Frith, E. A. Waterlow, Thomas Brock, Sir Walter Besant, and Andrew Lang
Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

well assured that it was in no wise a dangerous one. . . . "I assure you, brethren, that it is most gratifying to me to receive so large, important, and influential a gathering as this to-day, and I am rejoiced that in the many events which are to be the sign of the people's rejoicing at the Jubilee of the Queen, this meeting at the Royal Albert Hall of the Free and Accepted Masons of England will be first on the list."

When he came to the throne, King Edward received with unfeigned pleasure an address from the Freemasons. "I am very pleased," he said, "to have been able to receive in person the loyal address of sympathy and of dutiful and fraternal congratulations and good wishes. . . . I have felt much regret at relinquishing the high and honourable post of Grand Master, which I have held since 1874, and I shall not cease to retain the deep interest that I have always felt in Freemasonry. As protector of English Free-

masons, I shall continue to watch over your interests, and rejoice over your prosperity and growth which I anticipate for the future. It is a great satisfaction to me that my brother, the Duke of Connaught, has assumed the post of Grand Master in succession to me, and that your interests are in the hands of one who is near to me in blood, and united in sympathy with the fraternity."

Upon the doings of the various friendly societies of the country the King looked with kindly and sympathetic eye. Though he had not the same personal interest in them that he had in Freemasonry, it was his habit to trace their progress from time to time. The result was that when he went with Queen Alexandra to open the new buildings of the Hearts of Oak Benefit Society in London, in May, 1906, he was able to say a good word for friendly societies in general, and of this one in particular.

Encouraging Habits of Thrift "I fully recognise that your society has exercised an important influence on the prosperity of the working classes," said his Majesty. "The encouragement of habits of thrift and foresight, and of a spirit of independence and self-help—qualities which conduce in the highest degree to the welfare of the nation—is an object which must always have the deepest sympathy of the Queen and myself, and we sincerely hope that your efforts may be attended by much success. . . . I rejoice to learn that the earnest work of the friendly societies has achieved such splendid success, and I do not doubt that in the future they will show results surpassing even their present record."

King Edward was wont modestly to speak of himself as a farmer in a small way. His interest in agriculture was always active and real, and Sandringham, upon which he spent for many years all the revenue that he received from it, is an excellent testimony to the wisdom of his experiments. "I sincerely say that I do take a great interest in all that is connected with agriculture," he told the members of the Royal Agricultural Benevolent Institution on June 5, 1875. "I may call myself a colleague of many of you present, as a farmer on a small scale, and I only hope that I may never have occasion to be a pensioner of this institution. It is impossible, I think, for any British gentleman to live at his country place without taking an interest in agriculture, and in all those things which concern the farmers of this great country. . . . The very backbone of the country, the best recruits of the Army and Navy come from the agricultural districts. Since we know also that our commercial and agricultural interests depend upon the valour and efficiency of our land and sea forces, you will, I think, agree with me that it [the toast of the Army and Navy] is a toast especially for this meeting, one most suitable for this agricultural feast."

It was but natural that the King, whose example did so much to promote keen farming in Norfolk, should be especially interested in the agriculture of the county in which his country home was situated, and at a Norfolk Agricultural Society he spoke out for the betterment, not only of agricultural methods, but of the housing of the toilers of the fields. Speaking of the efforts which he had put forth to make himself acquainted with the best operations in farming and stock-breeding, he said, "If I have not always been successful in the path of competition, I have at least obtained prizes sufficient to encourage me to persevere, and to indulge in the hope that I shall obtain more. . . . A landlord ought to feel a pride in having the working classes properly housed on his estate. Those who work

from morning to night should find a comfortable house, which should promote their moral and social well-being. I have endeavoured to improve the cottages on my own estate, and I feel pride and satisfaction in having my work-people properly housed."

The King seldom, if ever, trenched upon ground which could be considered in the least political in character; but once, in Ireland, he spoke frankly but kindly on the point of absentee landlordism. The scene was Dublin, and the occasion a successful agricultural show in August, 1871. The Prince took the opportunity to pay a tribute to the liberality and public spirit of the Earl of Pembroke in regard to the show, and went on, "I am assured that if the many gentlemen and landlords who very often find some difficulty in leaving England, but who have large interests and large estates in this country, could contrive to come over here more frequently, it would do more good than anything else I could imagine. I am certain that they are anxious to come over, and that their relations with their tenantry and those around them should be in every respect good. I may also refer here to the great improvement made in the erection of farm buildings and cottages. Beyond doubt there has been progress in the direction of improvement here; but still, I believe, much remains to be done. Everything depends upon the well-being of the people, and if they are properly lodged, it tends to cleanliness, and very possibly to moral advantage. Perhaps I may be allowed to speak of a slight personal experience in the matter. I have a small estate in Norfolk, and observed

King Edward Speaks as a Farmer myself the greatest importance of providing suitable small cottages for those resident there, and, having done so, now reap immense advantage. I am sure that this is a question which belongs in itself to the well-being of Irish agriculture, and will accordingly receive the best consideration of this society."

This leads us naturally to the work of the King, when Prince of Wales, in connection with the great problem of the housing of the poor. It will suffice to recall an effective little speech which he delivered on the subject in the House

of Lords in February, 1884, the only occasion on which his voice was heard there as a member of the assembly. The question before the House was the moving of an address to the Queen for the appointment of a Royal Commission to deal with the whole question. The Prince had been named a member of that Commission. Following the speeches of Lord Salisbury and Lord Carrington, mover and seconder respectively of the motion, the Prince said, in the course of his remarks, "The subject of the housing of the poor is not entirely unknown to me, as, having acquired a property in Norfolk some twenty years ago, I have had something to do in building fresh dwellings for the poor and working classes. On arriving there I found the dwellings in the most deplorable condition, but I hope now that there is hardly one on the estate who can complain of not being adequately housed. . . . A few days ago I visited two of the poorest courts in the district of St. Pancras and Holborn, where, I can assure you,



KING EDWARD IN THE UNIFORM OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM
From a photograph by Lafayette



KING EDWARD ADDRESSING THE RAILWAY CONGRESS AT THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE IN 1895

my lords, the condition of the people, or rather of their dwellings, was perfectly disgraceful. This, in itself, proves to me how important it is that there should be a thoroughly searching inquiry. In conclusion, my lords, I wish to say that I cherish an earnest hope, which I feel will be shared by your lordships, that the result of this

The King Speaks on the Housing of the Poor Royal Commission will be a recommendation to Parliament of measures of a drastic and thorough kind, which may be the means of not only improving the dwellings of the poor, but of ameliorating their condition generally." Unfortunately, not all the reforms which the King desired to see carried out in this matter have yet been effected, but his words must still serve as a challenge and an inspiration as often as they are recalled.

Though King Edward will always be remembered as the Peacemaker, he took the keenest interest in the military forces of the Crown, and his frequent speeches on military topics, whether in addressing the men themselves or at public functions where his name was associated with the forces, were always an inspiration to officers and men alike. It was he who gave the lead to the movement for safeguarding the graves of our fallen heroes in the Crimea. He had moved in the matter privately long before it became a public question. When a meeting was called in 1883 to debate the matter, the Prince was called upon unexpectedly to move the resolution, and did so in a feeling, extemporaneous speech. "I confess it was a matter of deep regret to me to see the manner in which the tombs were kept," he said. "The condition of the graves was not creditable to us, and not creditable to a great nation like ours, for I am sure that we are usually the very first to do honour to the dead who fought in the name of their country. It was really sad to see the neglected condition of these tombs."

The King was very solicitous also for the weal of the living men of the Army, and he was always interesting when speaking of the Volunteers, whom, as one of themselves, he was able to address as "Brother Volunteers." At one of the anniversary dinners of the Volunteers held on May 1, 1882, he said: "I remember as though it were yesterday, when I was an undergraduate at the University of Oxford in 1859, the commencement of the

Volunteer movement. I remember the interest which all the townspeople of Oxford took in that movement, and also the interest it excited among the undergraduates. . . . Most sincerely do I hope that the occasion will not arise when their services might be required for the defence of their country, but I feel sure that should that occasion ever arise, the Rifle Volunteers of the United Kingdom will go to the front, and stand to their guns in every sense of the word. . . . No doubt, a great stimulus has been given to that force by their being called on to take part in manœuvres, reviews, and sham fights, and of late years from their being frequently brigaded with regular troops. I am sure there is nothing they like better, and I am sure that for the Regular Army, as well as for the Militia, it is most desirable that this should continue."

The King's remarkable memory for details was a sovereign asset to him in his dealings with the Army and Navy. He knew the record of all the ships which he from time to time reviewed, and he never inspected a regiment or presented new colours without being able to tell the men and their officers more of the story of its past than even they themselves knew. It was a proud hour for the Brigade of Guards when the King reviewed them in October, 1902, upon their return from active service in South Africa.

"Guards," he said, "as your Sovereign and as your colonel-in-chief, I welcome you home from active service in South Africa. Ever since you left these shores I have watched with the greatest interest the manner in which you have conducted yourselves throughout the long and arduous campaign. I can only mete out to you that praise which is your due. You have upheld that great name which has made every soldier who has served with the Brigade of Guards a proud man. I myself feel proud to have, as a young man, served in your

An Address to the Guards ranks; though I regret I had not the opportunity, as my brother had, of seeing active service in the field. I shall always take the keenest interest in all that concerns the Brigade of Guards. Most sincerely do I hope that it will always keep up the high efficiency which has been its pride. . . . A finer body of men it is not possible to see. . . . I need hardly say how gratified I have been. It is a proud thing for me to have inspected this parade of the Guards."



CHAPTER LXXXIX

THE KING AS AN ORATOR: ON COLONIAL AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Being a Selection from the more Important Speeches of his Majesty
on Matters and Occasions Outside the Sphere of Home Affairs

NOR more than twenty years before the Heir-Apparent set out for his tour in Canada, Lord Durham had laid upon the table of the House of Lords a report upon Canada, speaking of the contest between the French and British races in Canada, their "utter incompatibility of character and implacable hatred of each other." The healing of the breach between the rival peoples of Canada was a work to which the King's earliest public appearance materially contributed. He presented colours to a Canadian regiment—the 100th Prince of Wales's Own Royal Regiment of Foot—on the eve of his departure for the Dominion. "It is most gratifying to me," he told them, "that, by the Queen's gracious permission, my first public act since I have had the honour of holding a commission in the British Army should be the presentation of colours to a regiment which is the spontaneous offering of the loyal and spirited Canadian people, and with which, at their desire, my name has been specially associated. The ceremony on which we are now engaged possesses a peculiar significance and solemnity, because, in conferring on you for the first time this emblem of military fidelity and valour, I not only recognise emphatically your enrolment into our national force, but celebrate an act which proclaims and strengthens the unity of the various parts of this vast Empire under the sway of our common Sovereign. Although, owing to my youth and inexperience, I can but very imperfectly give expression to the sentiments which this occasion is calculated to awaken, you may rest assured that I shall ever watch the progress and achievements of your gallant corps with deep interest, and that I heartily wish you all honour and success in the prosecution of the noble career on which you have entered."

Speaking again, when his powers as an orator had fully matured, the Prince met at dinner representatives of all our Colonies, at the Mansion House on June 29, 1886, and expressed the regret which he felt that he had been unable to visit all our Colonies, notably Australia, to which he had been twice invited. He rejoiced that he had been able to send his two sons, and for himself he was able to say: "Though I have not had the opportunity of seeing these great Australasian Colonies, which every day and every year are making such immense developments, still, at the International Exhibitions of London, Paris, and Vienna, I had not only an opportunity of

seeing their various products there exhibited, but I had the pleasure of making the personal acquaintance of many colonists—a fact which has been a matter of great importance and great benefit to myself."

At the Colonial Conference in London a few days later the Prince remarked: "Nobody wishes more sincerely than I do that the good feeling, or, as the French say, the *entente cordiale*, between the Mother Country and our great Colonies may be established on a still firmer basis. Far be it from us, and far-distant may the day be, when we shall see our Colonies separated in any way."

The King's Ideal of Colonial Relations

It was in 1886 that the Prince, speaking at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, thus phrased his ideal in regard to relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies: "Let me express the hope that this great undertaking, and the many occasions for friendly intercourse with our fellow-subjects from India and the Colonies which it will afford, may convey to them the assurance that, while we are deeply moved by the spirit of patriotism they have lately shown in desiring to bear their share in the graver trials of the country, we, on our part, wish to participate in every effort to further and develop their material interests—interests which we feel to be inseparably bound up with the prosperity of the Empire. We must remember that, as regards the Colonies, they are the legitimate and natural homes, in future, of the more adventurous and energetic portion of the population of these islands. Their progress and their power of providing all that makes life comfortable and attractive cannot, therefore, but be a matter of serious concern to us all. And as regards India, the increasing knowledge of that vast empire, and the rapid and easy means of communication to all parts of it which now exist, render its remarkable and varied products and its social and political condition a source of yearly increasing interest and importance to us."

Speaking to Canadians in their own land, in 1860, he said: "As an Englishman I recognise with pride your sympathy with the great nation from which so many of you trace your origin, and with which you share the honours of a glorious history. In addressing you, however, as an Englishman, I do not forget that some here are not of my own blood. To them also an especial acknowledgment is due, and I receive with peculiar gratification the proofs of their attachment to the Crown of England. They are evidence of their satisfaction with the laws under which they live, and of their just confidence that, whatever

be their origin, all Canadians are alike objects of interest to their Sovereign. Canada may be proud that within her limits two races of different language and habits are united in the same legislature by a common loyalty, and are bound to the same constitution by a common patriotism."

The King's message to the Colonies on his accession was an inspiring one. "I have already declared that it will be my constant endeavour to follow the great example which has been bequeathed to me. In these endeavours I shall have a confident trust in the devotion and sympathy of the people and of their several representative assemblies throughout my vast Colonial dominions. With such loyal support I will, with God's blessing, solemnly work for the promotion of the common welfare and security of the great Empire over which I have now been called upon to reign."

In nothing was the King's correct attitude as a Constitutional Sovereign more clearly seen than in the terms in which he blessed the deliberations of the Conference of Colonial Premiers which assembled in London in 1907: "The questions which will be submitted to the Conference for discussion, involving matters of weighty interest, not merely to the Colonies there represented, but to the British Empire at large, will, I am sure, receive the most careful attention, and I am confident that the decisions arrived at will tend towards the closer union of our Colonies to the Mother Country, and to the strengthening and consolidation of my Empire." The King was abroad and cabled this message, serenely confident in the determination of the men in conference to do their utmost to promote the interests of the Empire over which he ruled.

The King's visits to Ireland began when disaffection was rampant in the sister isle, but he was always received there with ecstatic affection and loyalty and enthusiasm, and always heartily enjoyed his visits. One admirable and thoughtful speech which he delivered there, on the question of housing and landlordism, has already been given. When he went again, in 1885, innumerable hosts of loyal and affectionate Irishmen waited upon him with addresses expressing love and goodwill and fidelity to himself and to the Crown. His reply to them was characteristically modest: "I have thought it more for your convenience, as well as more within the compass of my ability, that I should, with your permission, make a general reply to the many kind addresses with which you have honoured me than that I should attempt a separate reply to each." And it was as "leaders of local administrations, heads of religious communities, representatives of learning and art, philanthropy and education" that he addressed them, saying: "You have one and all greeted me with a kindness and goodwill which have made a deep impression on me, and which I shall never forget. . . . In varied capacities, and by widely different paths, you pursue those great objects which, dear to you, are, believe me, dear also to me—the prosperity and progress of Ireland, the welfare and happiness of her people. That many difficulties from time to time impede you I can well understand. Such is the natural course of events. But I am glad to be able to gather that you are advancing steadily towards the goal which you have in view. From my heart I wish you success, and I would that time and my powers would permit me to explain fully and in detail the deep interest which I feel, not only in the welfare of this great Empire at large, but in the true happiness of those several classes of the community on whose behalf you come here to-day."

The visit to Ireland in 1903 was one great triumphal progress. Everywhere enthusiasm ran high, and the King showed by his many speeches that he enjoyed the

visit with all the zest of a boy. After his State entry into Dublin, which was marked by a demonstration of delight and loyalty impossible to exaggerate, the King, returning thanks for "the hearty Irish welcome," said that the Queen and himself cherished delightful memories of their previous visit to Ireland, and were looking forward with the most pleasurable anticipations to their

**King Edward
in Ireland**

present stay in the country.

"I am deeply touched by your references to my beloved mother," he went on, "and I assure you that the warm reception given to her by her Irish people was among the most grateful recollections of the closing years of her life. The death of his Holiness the Pope, though expected for some time, has, I know, brought sadness to the hearts of multitudes among my subjects—a sadness in which I share, remembering, as I do, the kindness with which his Holiness recently received me at Rome, and the interest which he took in the welfare of my people. From every point of view my present visit falls at a time when bright hopes are entertained that a new era of prosperity and peace has opened before your country. It is my fervent prayer that these hopes may be fulfilled, and that a land blessed with so many advantages may, by the favour of Divine Providence, and through the united efforts of her children, continue to grow in contentment and peace."



KING EDWARD IN PRIVATE LIFE TOWARDS THE END OF HIS REIGN
From a photograph by D. Knights-Whitton

The King's farewell to Ireland was very charming and sympathetic, and was felt by all to touch the right note: "I desire, on leaving Ireland, to express to my Irish people how deeply I have been touched by the kindness and goodwill which they have shown to the Queen and myself. Our experience on previous visits had, indeed, prepared

**The King's Regard
for the Irish**

us for the traditional welcome of a warm-hearted race. But our expectations have been exceeded. Wherever we have gone, in town or country, tokens of loyalty and affection, proffered by every section of the community, have made an enduring impression on our hearts. For a country so attractive, and a people so gifted, we cherish the warmest regard, and it is, therefore, with supreme satisfaction that I have, during our stay, so often heard the hope expressed that a brighter day is dawning upon Ireland. I shall eagerly await the fulfilment of this hope. Its realisation will, under Divine Providence, depend largely upon the steady development of self-reliance and

contents of some of them which invested them with such world-wide importance. It was his wise and generous words, spoken immediately after the declaration of peace in South Africa, which applied the first healing balm to the wounds caused by that bitter conflict, and it was his power in winning all honest men's affection which made the visit of the Boer generals so powerful a lever for the consummation of the hopes which, at the outset of his reign, he enunciated. Of several speeches on the *entente* with France which the King made, one may be selected as typical of the hearty goodwill and frank kindliness of heart in which he expressed himself. The occasion this time was not an exchange of speeches with the President, but a pleasant little banquet served on board the Royal yacht when the French Fleet visited England in 1905.

"Before I propose the toast of the health of the President of the French Republic," said his Majesty, "I desire to inform your Excellency [the French Ambassador], as the representative of your great country, of the pleasure I have



KING EDWARD'S ENCOURAGEMENT OF THRIFT: INAUGURATION OF THE NEW BUILDINGS OF THE HEARTS OF OAK BENEFIT SOCIETY IN 1906
From a drawing by A. Forestier

co-operation, upon better and more practical education, upon the growth of industrial and commercial enterprise, and upon that increase of mutual toleration and respect which the responsibility my Irish people now enjoy in the public administration of their local affairs is well fitted to teach. It is my earnest prayer that these and other means of national well-being may multiply from year to year in Ireland, and that the blessings of peace and contentment may be abundantly vouchsafed to her."

When the history of King Edward's reign comes to be written, the historian may at first sight ask upon what the title of "The Peacemaker" is based. The secret is not wholly laid bare in his public speeches. His personal charm and transparent honesty of purpose and goodwill did more in his relations with the heads of foreign nations, as has already been shown, for the peace of the world, than all the public speeches that ever were made. But still, his speeches on this subject nearest his heart were sufficiently numerous and significant to warrant prolonged consideration. It was the magnetic effect which they had rather than the actual

in receiving Admiral Caillard and his fine Northern Squadron of the French Fleet. I have not forgotten the reception which you gave to our Atlantic Fleet. All our sailors have been charmed by the amiability which was manifested to them, and I hope that your visit to English waters will emphasise the good feeling which exists between our two countries. It is to be hoped that the good relations which have been established between two such close neighbours will be strengthened. I drink to the health of the President of the Republic. At the same time I express my wish for the prosperity of the French Navy."

**The Banquet to
the French Fleet** Almost at war with Russia through the panic-stricken cruise of Admiral Rojesvensky's fleet, England was eventually brought into warm and friendly relations with that nation, thanks to the good offices of King Edward. When he met the Tsar on board the Russian Royal yacht off Reval, in June, 1908, as great significance attended the interview as attached to the meeting of the Queen and Prince Consort with Napoleon III. many years before.



SPEAKING TO THE COLONIES: KING EDWARD ADDRESSING REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL THE BRITISH COLONIES AT THE MANSION HOUSE, JUNE 29, 1886
Specially drawn for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

It was in these terms that the King addressed the Tsar at the public dinner: "I thank your Majesty most heartily, on behalf of the Queen and myself, for the cordial manner in which you have welcomed us in the waters of the Baltic, and for the affectionate words in which you have proposed

our healths. I heartily endorse every word that fell from your Majesty's lips with regard to the Convention recently concluded between our two Governments. I believe it will serve to knit more closely the bonds that unite the peoples of our two countries, and I am certain that it will conduce to the satisfactory settlement in an amicable manner of some momentous questions in the future. I am convinced that it will not only tend to draw our two countries more closely together, but will help very greatly towards the maintenance of the general peace of the world. I hope this meeting may be followed before long by another opportunity of meeting your Majesties. I drink to the health of your Majesties, to that of the Empress Marie Feodorovna, and the members of the Imperial Family, and, above all, to the welfare and prosperity of your great Empire."

Equally felicitous was the speech in which the King welcomed the German Emperor and Empress to Windsor Castle on the occasion of their visit in November, 1907: "In welcoming their Imperial Majesties the German Emperor and Empress to British shores, let me express, on behalf of the Queen and myself, the great pleasure and satisfaction it gives us to entertain them here in this old and historic castle. For a long time we had hoped to receive this visit, but recently we had feared that, owing to indisposition, it would not take place; but, fortunately, their Majesties are now both looking in such good health that I can only hope their stay in England, however short, will much benefit them. Your Majesties may rest assured that your visits to this country are always a sincere pleasure to the Queen and myself, as well as to the whole of my people, and I fervently hope, not only for the prosperity and happiness of the great country over which you are the Sovereign, but also for the maintenance of peace. I will now drink to the health of their Imperial Majesties the German Emperor and Empress, and in doing so wish to express again to them the sincere pleasure it gives us to receive them here as our guests."

The King's hope of another meeting with the Tsar of Russia was fulfilled, and the Emperor reached England in time to witness the Naval Review held in August of 1909.

"I am glad, sire," said the King, on entertaining his Royal guest—"I am glad, sire, that you should have had an opportunity of seeing perhaps the most powerful and largest fleet that has ever assembled; but I trust that your Majesty will never look upon these ships as symbols of war, but, on the contrary, as a protection to our coasts

and commerce, and, above all, in upholding the interests of peace. I had an opportunity this year of receiving some representatives of the Duma, and I need hardly say what a pleasure it gave to me and the Queen to see them. I trust their stay here was an agreeable one. They had every opportunity of seeing many people and institutions of the country, and I hope that what they saw will increase the good feeling existing between the two countries."

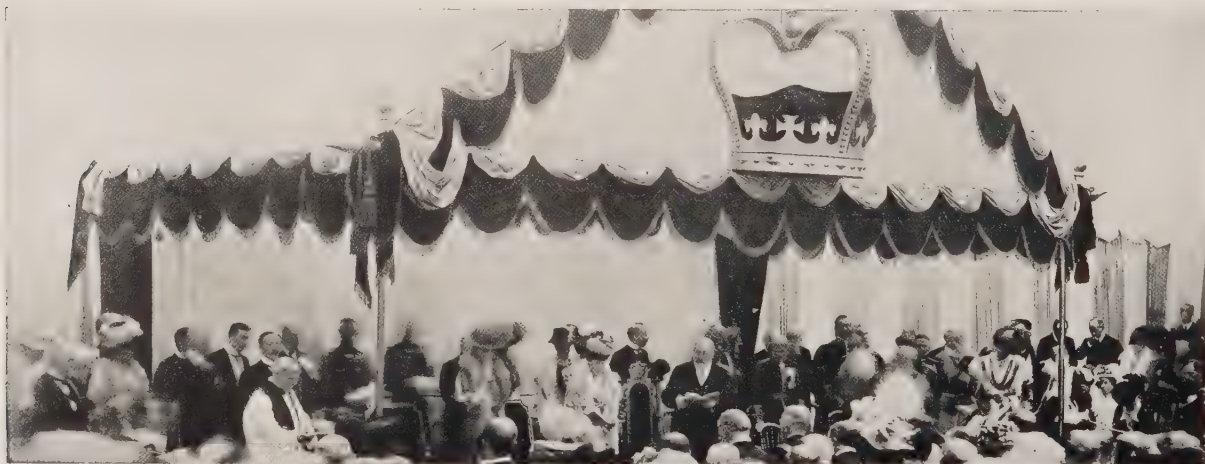
His words of peace were not reserved by the King only for foreign hearing. He delivered a memorable address to the Universal Congress of Peace, held in London in July, 1908. In the course of it he said

"There is nothing from which I derive more sincere gratification than the knowledge that my efforts in the cause of international peace and goodwill have not been without fruit, and the consciousness of the generous appreciation which they have received, both from my own people and from those of other countries. Rulers and statesmen can set before themselves no higher aim than the promotion of mutual good understanding and cordial friendship among the nations of the world. It is the surest and most direct means whereby humanity may be enabled to realise its noblest ideals; and its attainment will ever be the object of my own constant endeavour. I rejoice to think that your international organisation, in which are represented all the principal civilised countries of the world, is labouring in the same field, and I pray that the blessing of God may attend your labours."

One of King Edward's last public utterances was on this subject of peace. He received addresses in February of 1910 from the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and answering the former, said: "Your recognition of my efforts to maintain the peace of the world gives me special pleasure. I feel convinced that, as civilisation advances, the influence of Christian teaching on the minds of men will tend increasingly to inculcate a love of peace. Upon peace the health and happiness and material progress of all nations depend, and it is my constant prayer that our country may be spared the perils and miseries of war, which, in this modern age, must involve the ruin of millions."

To the Convocation of York he spoke in somewhat similar terms upon the same question: "I join with you in my thanks to God for the maintenance of good faith and amity between the Great Powers. The concord of Christendom is unbroken, and rarely in history has the idea of war seemed more repulsive or the desire for peace been more widely cherished throughout my Empire."

These two speeches served as a sort of peroration to all that had gone before, and constitute a rich heritage of inspiration and counsel which Christian nations would do well increasingly to treasure.



KING EDWARD ON EDUCATION: HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECH AT LEEDS UNIVERSITY, JULY 6, 1908



THE FINEST PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA: A PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDY BY
BARON DE MEYER

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CHAPTER XC

KING EDWARD IN ANECDOTE

Being a Selection of the Most Characteristic and Authentic
Stories told of the Private and Public Life of His Majesty



HERE is no better index to the nature and temperament of King Edward than the stories in which he figured. From these we seem intimately to know the frolicsome, high-spirited boy who was Prince, the sunny-natured man who was King. We are afforded cheering evidence that the unparalleled severity of discipline to which he was submitted failed either to repress the engaging frankness of the boy's inquiring mind or the gay unconventionality of the youth at liberty. A most interesting change of sentiment is to be noted in his transition from ardent militarist to the noble and exalted rôle of the chief peace-maker of the world. Many stories display his sovereign talent for the adequate retort, the effective phrase, which either smoothed a difficult situation or, by graceful compliment, made some admirer happier. Best of all, record of innumerable acts of kindness survives in these treasured anecdotes to demonstrate the boundless catholicity of his sympathies, the ungrudging generosity of his impulses, and those manifold graces of character which Lord Rosebery has happily summed up in his description of the King as "le Roi charmeur."

Early in life, as in manhood, the King sought to gather at first hand information of any circumstance which seemed to him unusual. The consequences were, on one occasion, a little disconcerting. A guest invited to Osborne was a nobleman who suffered from a deformed foot. After anxious deliberation, the Queen and Prince Consort decided not to warn the Royal children of this peculiarity, but to trust to their not observing it. The guest duly arrived, and the

children, who were under close surveillance, refrained from any remark which might excite alarm. Next day, however, the little Princess who was to become German Empress, asked where the visitor had gone, and was informed that he had returned to town. "Oh, what a pity!" she answered. "He had promised to show Bertie and me his foot." They had caught him in the corridor, it seems, and made their own terms with their captive.

The King, like his younger brother, the Duke of Connaught, was from his earliest days fired with enthusiasm for military life. One day the two boys entertained Marshal Pélissier, who captured the Malakoff, before entering upon peaceful days as French Ambassador in England. A noise as of distant thunder escaped the room where the two Princes and their guest were, and Lord Malmesbury, entering, found Prince Arthur thundering away on a drum to show the valiant Frenchman how martial music is made in the nursery. The marshal was delighted, and, taking the drum and sticks himself, gave such an exhibition for the entertainment of the Princes and the Minister in attendance as to cause the latter to note in his diary, "He exhibited his own talents in that line so well that he must have begun his career as a drummer; he certainly rose from the ranks." The marshal with his drum was a very great hero to the Royal Princes.

The King as a boy worshipped the Duke of Wellington, who lived for eleven years after the birth of the future King. One morning the young Prince of Wales displayed with pride a drawing which he had made, representing Napoleon on horseback, levelling a pistol at the head of the duke, who was advancing with:



KING EDWARD AS A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN
From a photograph by Lafayette, Ltd.



QUEEN ALEXANDRA
From a photograph by Lafayette, Ltd., Dublin

"Haud the Prince! Haud the Prince!" retorted Donald. "I'll no do it. Ye maun just grip him yersel,' and I'll look o'er the broo."

And the Prince had perforce to submit to gentle restraint until the crisis was over. That day the Prince distinguished himself by bringing down two stags and two hinds, to the great astonishment of Donald.

"Ye'll dae verra weel in time!" was the sturdy forester's compliment to his Royal Highness.

The King's aversion from long speeches and long sermons was well known, and an oft-quoted remark of his was that he had heard sermons so long that the very dogs had gone up into the pulpit and yawned. It was perfectly true. The incident occurred in the old days at Crathie Church, where the Queen and her family worshipped when living at Balmoral. The minister of that time had a privileged

collie, which was a regular attendant at church, following the minister into the pulpit and lying down there during the sermon. He was generally a most decorous, if possibly somnolent, listener, but he was also an excellent timekeeper, and if the sermon were but a few minutes longer than usual, he would get up, stretch himself, and yawn loudly.

When the Royal family first attended service at the church, the collie was shut up at home. The Queen sent round to the manse to ask what had become of the dog, saying that she had seen a sketch of the church with the animal lying there, and that she would like it to resume its old place. The favourite was thus, by Royal command, restored to Church privileges, but it is not unlikely that the Prince, knowing its reputation as a check upon excessively long sermons, may have inspired the Queen's advocacy of the collie's claims to attend the services.

Only those of a generation older than the present remember what a fine horseman the King was when a young man. No hunting country was too stiff for him to negotiate, no horse too high-spirited for him to ride. We have to look back now to hunting memoirs for the records of his doings in the saddle, and in them we find incidents here and there which make us glad that increasing weight limited the exploits of the Royal horseman, for some of his hunting gallops were attended by perils in which it is alarming to see one of such high destiny involved. As his weight increased, the King rode less, but still loved the excitement of the chase, and in the first year of Earl Spencer's mastership of the Pytchley, seized an opportunity to prove that he could still hold his own over the big fences of the Pytchley country.

In a famous gallop from Vanderplanks to Purser's Hills, the Prince held a leading place till the steep slope of Hazlebeach Hill was reached. The Royal horseman was

far too humane to force a tiring horse against the ascent. He dismounted here, and slinging the reins over his arm, led the animal up the hill. With the hounds now out of sight, the Prince determined to rest his blown horse, and calling in at a farmhouse, he sat down to a huge cigar and a flagon of home-brewed ale, then quietly jogged back to Althorp.

Many of the King's funniest adventures were the outcome of his identity being unknown to the other parties to the story. This, however, was not the case upon a visit, when he was still a young man, to Warwick Castle. The house-keeper in those days was a "character" whom old-time visitors may still remember. With much solemnity she showed the Prince a relic, which, she said, had belonged to "James III."

"James III.?" repeated the Prince. "Ah! the Old Pretender."

"We do not think so, your Royal Highness," answered the faithful servitor stiffly.

In performing acts of kindness the King loved to remain unknown, and one pleasant instance of the kind came to light in an unexpected way. Sir Frank Lockwood, when a young man at the Bar, being blessed at the outset of his career with more brains than briefs, was glad to turn his facile pen to account in the production of caricatures of members of the Bench and Bar. The sketches, which were, for the most part, highly skilful efforts, brought him favour in his profession among men whose positions enabled them to help him; but they served also to increase his balance at his bank. At the end of a court sitting he would stroll round to an art dealer's, who was always glad to give him half a guinea or a guinea for his work. The sketches were obtained for some unknown collector. Years passed away, and Lockwood, who had in the meantime become famous as a leading counsel and Solicitor-General, was invited down to Sandringham, where, during the course of the evening, his Royal host produced a series of portfolios. In these were a number of the sketches which Lockwood had drawn and sold in the old days.

Probably the King inherited from his mother his friendly feeling towards painters and photographers. He was given ample opportunity in youth to develop patience as a sitter to both, with the result that as he grew older artists found him a sympathetic and admirable subject. The same composure with which he bore the ordeal of a long sitting to an artist the King expected of other members of his family. The consequence was that a diverting surprise awaited him when he commissioned W. P. Frith, R.A., to paint the portrait of the then Princess of Wales, who was at the same period sitting for a bust to Gibson, R.A. The tedium of the dual sittings was a serious tax upon the patience of the vivacious and active young Princess, and the little *contretemps* to which the matter led may be cited from Frith's autobiography.

"The Princess is well-known for her kindness of heart," he wrote. "Ah, how that heart would have ached if its owner had realised the aching of mine when I, too soon, discovered that the illustrious young lady did not know that the keeping her face in one position, for even a few minutes, was necessary to enable an artist to catch a resemblance of it. That first sitting can I ever forget? I did not dare to complain till, after two or three futile attempts, with downright failure staring me in the face, I opened my heart to the Prince of Wales.

"'You should scold her,' said the Prince.



KING EDWARD IN HIGHLAND DRESS IN 1909

From a photograph by Lafayette, Ltd., Dublin

"Just at this time the Princess was sitting for her bust to the celebrated sculptor, Gibson, R.A., in a room at Marlborough House. I was sent for by the Prince, and, before I was admitted to an interview, I was shown into the sculptor's studio, and found him waiting for a sitting from the Princess. The bust was already in an advanced stage. I did not think it was very like, and, in reply to Gibson, said so.

"'Well, you see,' said Gibson, 'the Princess is a delightful lady, but she can't sit a bit.'

"Just at this moment I was summoned to the Prince, whom I found with the Princess, and I saw, or thought I saw, a pretty, smiling pout, eloquent of reproof and of half anger with me. The Prince had something to show me—photographs, I think—and then he led the way to Gibson, the Princess and I following. No sooner did we

find ourselves in the sculptor's presence than, after some remarks on the bust, the Prince said:

"How do you find the Princess sit, Mr. Gibson?" . . . The Prince looked at Gibson, and Gibson looked in dead silence at the Prince, and then at the Princess; he then looked again at the Princess, smiled, and shook his head.

"There, you see you do not sit properly either to Mr. Gibson or to Mr. Frith!"

"I do—I do!" said the Princess.

The Princess and the Sculptor "You are two bad men!" "And then we all smiled, and Gibson went on with his work, the Princess sitting admirably for the short time that I remained."

Thereafter, the Princess sat most patiently to both painter and sculptor, with the happiest results. The King himself was always greatly interested in the sittings for that and for later portraits, and would himself look out a book to engage his beautiful consort's attention, and relieve the monotony of the long waits.

We have seen already that the King disliked long speeches. His attitude was very natural, seeing how vast was the number of speeches, good, bad, and indifferent, to which he had to listen. When it came to giving Sir Richard Owen a hint on the subject, however, the Prince would naturally hesitate, for he had a high regard for the veteran scientist. But the way was smoothed by Owen himself. It came about in the following fashion. For several years in succession Owen was called upon to reply at the Royal Academy banquet for Science. During his latter years he had become decidedly prolix, and the Council would gladly have had another man in his place. Sir Francis Grant, the President, however, declared that to put the reply to the toast into other hands would be to break Owen's heart. He undertook, therefore, to say something to the veteran with a view to inducing him to shorten his speech.

Owen was graciousness itself when Sir Francis did approach him, suggesting that when he became "too garrulous," carried away by his enthusiasm for science, the President should take his watch from his pocket as a signal to him to stop. The Prince, as the guest of the evening, was informed of the arrangement, and joined in the speculations as to how it would work.

In due course Owen got up to make his speech. He reached the time at which he should have stopped, and those in the secret looked with mingled mirth and excitement at the President. But no one had foreseen how easily such a plan may go awry. Owen had raised himself to his full height, with his right hand tightly clasping his left wrist, his shoulders thrown back, and his eyes raised to the roof as if to peer into the secrets beyond the skylights. Consequently, the President's watch was unseen and unremembered by the orator. Sir Francis kept to his part of the bargain, and, dangling the timepiece at various angles in the air, endeavoured in vain to catch the eye of the scientist. Owen took his own time, and forgot all

about the compact until he had exhausted the idea which he was minded to beat into the heads of his fellow guests. When he did remember, he had nothing more to say, and sat down to join in the laugh which the failure of the scheme naturally produced. None more heartily enjoyed the fun than the Prince, who shared the glee with which the President and the Professor celebrated the breakdown of the experiment.

Public functions of this character frequently called for the exercise by the King of that ready and graceful tact of which he was so perfect a master. An instance of the sort comes from India, where, upon one occasion, he was entertained by a potentate who was little familiar with the social customs of the West. While he was talking to his Royal guest, the host was handed a dish of potatoes, into which he thrust his hand, unconsciously lapsing into the simplicity of Eastern manners. He was covered with confusion upon realising the indecorum of his behaviour. Thereupon, the King quietly signed to the servant to approach, and, dipping into the dish, took out and ate a potato with his fingers in the sight of the whole table.

The need for ready tact often arose nearer home. Notably was this so when, as Prince of Wales, he paid a visit to a certain worthy baronet who had not previously entertained Royalty. The host dressed himself fittingly, as he supposed, in the knee breeches and silk stockings of Court dress. When the Prince arrived, he grasped the situation, and the baronet by both hands. "My dear ——," he said, in a confidential undertone, "change those things; I will dispense you from wearing them as the Princess is not with me." The host executed so rapid a "quick change" that by the time his guest approached the drawing-room he was there to receive him clothed in ordinary "continuations."

In another direction, the King's charming manner was shown when his Majesty was entertained, in 1906, in the Town and County Hall at Aberdeen. His Majesty, when conversing with Mrs. Lyon, wife of the Lord Provost, who, unknown to her, had just received the honour of knighthood, observed the card with her name on it which denoted her place at table. Taking it up, his Majesty said, "I must alter this."

With his pencil, he then obliterated the word "Mrs." and, writing in its place "Lady," graciously handed to Lady Lyon the card, which remains to the family a treasured memento of a very pretty act.

Nothing could have been happier than the King's recognition of the labours for cheap postage with which Mr. Henniker Heaton's name will always be associated. Upon his return from France in 1907, the King saw the reformer on the quay at Dover. With a wave of his hand and a smile, the King pointed to the Channel. "To think that a letter costs twopence-halfpenny to cross!" he said.

The King's alertness of mind was once shown in sensational circumstances during the Indian tour. He visited a camp in which were incarcerated a number of men suspected of being implicated in the Thug outrages which



KING EDWARD, QUEEN ALEXANDRA, AND THE EARL OF CLARENDON AT THE BATH SHOW, ST. ALBANS, 1896
From a photograph by Frederick Downer & Sons

had so shocked India. They were men against whom there was no absolute proof, but who were bound to be improved by a term of isolation and restraint. The members of the party were particularly interested in one thin and wily old Thug, and this man was asked to demonstrate the manner in which an assault by a Thug was carried out. One of the visitors sat down in a chair, and the Thug borrowed two handkerchiefs. The "victim" pretended to be reading a newspaper, but in reality kept his eyes upon his assailant-elect. Suddenly the Thug, having made his preparations, leapt forward and flung a handkerchief in the sitter's face. The seated man started forward, but as he did so a noose fell around his neck. Most of the spectators marvelled at the Thug's deadly skill, but the King noticed that the pretended victim was actually in distress, and, leaping forward, he thrust the Thug aside and removed the handkerchief. The "victim" was black in the face, and, but for the Royal rescuer's promptitude, says a witness, he would undoubtedly have fallen a real victim to the Thug's sanguinary instincts.

The King as a young man loved the excitement of sterner activities more than as Heir to the Throne he was permitted to share in them. He told one of his favourite regiments upon their return from war how he regretted that he had never been permitted to see active service. When the international horizon was clouded in the 'seventies and there was a danger of our being involved in war, he told Sir Horace Rumbold how he longed for some command in the field. Happily he was to distinguish himself not by sharing in wars, but by preventing them. He sought in his early days an outlet for his spirit and energies of which, at the time, but very few people knew. He was devoted to the work of the London Fire Brigade. The Prince was the leader of a small band of distinguished young men who made a practice of never missing a big fire in London. Accompanied by the Duke of Sutherland, Lord Arthur Somerset, Sir George Chetwynd, Lord Richard Grosvenor, and one or two other friends, the Prince would go, sometimes every night for a week or more, to the fire station in Chandos Street or Watling Street, and wait for a "call."

It is believed that the distinguished little party rented a small room over a butcher's shop in Watling Street where they kept their uniforms and changed their clothes after "duty." At a great fire which destroyed the King and Queen Granaries in London some forty years ago, the King worked like a Trojan

King Edward as an Amateur Fireman in the battle against the flames. One of the firemen on duty told afterwards of his Sovereign's exploits. "Through

the height of the fire his Royal Highness shared the smoke and water with us all, and gave a hand here and there just like one of ourselves. The walls of the place were very high, and as the water soaked the grain, it bulged the walls out till they fell with a terrific crash on to the

tenements opposite and crushed them in. Through it all the Prince, who seemed to bear a charmed life, worked with a zeal and knowledge that would have done credit to any trained fireman, unrecognised by the onlookers, and unnoticed by the rank and file of the Brigade." The

The Hard Life of a Prince King's experience with the Brigade was turned to good account at Sandringham and afterwards at the Royal palaces, where the efficiency of the brigades was notable.

An American writer dealing with the then Prince of Wales's career, based a criticism of the King's life upon newspaper reports of the duties which he fulfilled, and expressed the opinion that the life of the Prince was an easy one, devoted in the main to the pursuit of pleasure. Some time afterwards that writer's eyes were opened to the real character of the Prince, and to the wearying and

incessant labours to which he was committed, and the irksome nature of many of the engagements which at first sight the writer had regarded as idle pursuits of a man of the world.

Having altered his opinion, the American wrote to the King's private secretary, expressing contrition for the injustice which he had done the Prince. Moreover, he publicly withdrew what he had written, and declared, from his fuller knowledge, that the Prince "not only knew a good deal more about the poorer classes than those who might feel disposed to criticise him, but that his Royal Highness was permeated with a sincere and earnest desire to help them, and was constantly engaged in doing so." The note which he received in reply from a member of the King's household recalls that famous and poignant letter written by the Prince to Archbishop Benson. It complained that the American had written harshly and with injustice, without knowing the Prince's real character, and with a total misunderstanding of the Prince's appearances at social functions in respect of which he was criticised. Many of the engagements which he was compelled to keep bored him almost to death.

It was inevitable that as to much of the good and serious work which the King delighted to do nothing should be known. Let there be recalled here one instance of the kindness of the

King in matters of which he never expected the world to hear. In 1903 a Frenchman named Danval was released from a French penal establishment, where, by a shocking miscarriage of justice, he had languished for over twenty years. Nobody dreamed that King Edward had ever interested himself in the case, but upon his release, M. Danval wrote the following pathetic letter to the King:

"Sire,—Permit a man whom you must have thought for ever dead to the world to have the pleasure of wishing you welcome to France and long prosperity. Sire, be so good as to call to mind that his Excellency the Prince of Wales, now King of England, came, on May 15, 1878, to visit in his cell at the Conciergerie the chemist Danval, innocently condemned, whose trial he had had the patience



QUEEN ALEXANDRA WITH PRINCE OLAF

From a photograph by D. Knights-Whitmore

to follow during five consecutive days . . . in company of Monseigneur le Duc d'Aumale. It was at the close of this trial . . . that his Excellency the Prince of Wales came to testify to the unhappy convict the pained surprise he experienced at such a sentence, and to express his commiseration in touching words, adding, 'What can I do for you?' Alas! what hope had that unfortunate man at that time? He would have refused a pardon. . . . Allow him, nevertheless, to confess to you that one of his great regrets in the midst of his present happiness is not to be able to address verbally his thanks to the King of England for the kindness of his Excellency the Prince of Wales. Condescend to accept, sire, the expression of the profound and respectful gratitude of him to whose memory your Majesty is ever present, of him who has not forgotten, and will never forget, the magnanimity of the noble sentiments of justice of a young Prince who is to-day a great King.—*L. DANVAL.*"

An act of that sort of the King was more eloquent than a thousand public speeches of his golden qualities of heart.

When John Bright died, one of the most beautiful floral tributes laid upon his coffin bore the inscription in King Edward's own writing, "In memory of their dear friend John Bright; from the Prince and Princess of Wales." It was known to his intimates that John Bright had a deep and abiding affection for the then Prince and Princess of Wales, and it was not until a month after the death of the Sovereign that the world was told in full the story of the genesis of the friendship of the King and the great commoner. It is to the editor of the "Welsh Monthly Chronicle" that thanks for the story are due. According to this periodical, John Bright once protested at a dinner party against a certain criticism of Royalty, and he used the term "my personal friend" in respect of the then Prince of Wales.

"Your personal friend!" echoed one of the company. "You, the people's idol, on terms of personal friendship with Royalty!"

Then John Bright explained.

"The Queen [Victoria] has lost her husband," he said, "and now rarely appears in public. West End tradesmen and others condemn this habit of retirement, for business reasons. For my part, I think we should sympathise with the grief-stricken and bereaved. Speaking at St. James's Hall recently, I said our Queen was a good woman, doing her best to keep Court life pure; and now that she was in sorrow it was her subjects' duty to comfort rather than condemn her.

"Next day one of the Prince of Wales's private secretaries

called on me and asked me to call on his Royal Highness. I called at Marlborough House, and the Prince led me into his private room, and said: 'Mr. Bright, my purpose in asking you to call upon me was to thank you for your kind references to my mother. Her Majesty cannot enter the whirl of society while her heart is still full of sorrow. She is my mother, I am her eldest son, and it grieves me to be personally unable publicly to defend my mother without laying myself open to misrepresentation. But your word, Mr. Bright, goes far, and I thank you for your kindly and considerate references. May I have the privilege of counting you among my personal friends?'

"Whatever my opinions may be about kings and princes," added Bright, "I could not but respond to a son making an appeal on behalf of his mother. We shook hands, and have ever since been close personal friends. I believe if the Prince lives to ascend the throne he will be the best King our country has ever known."

The friendship thus formed continued unimpaired, we are told, throughout Bright's lifetime.

The King doubtless had in mind men like John Bright when he gave a definition of the British aristocracy. It was to Gambetta that he opened his mind on the subject, at a little private dinner party in Paris.

"Monsieur Gambetta," said the Prince during the meal, "allow me to inquire why you and your friends keep the French aristocracy away from affairs?"

"But, monseigneur, there is no aristocracy in France," responded Gambetta. "There are only dukes without an army, marquises who have no 'marche' of the country to defend, counts,

viscounts, and barons who have neither land, authority, nor influence."

"Let us suppose, then, that I was alluding to the nobles generally," continued the Prince.

"But they do not want to be employed," answered Gambetta; "they know that they are played out. They sulk, and that is their definitive employment. They are only to be met with in the Army and Navy, and sometimes in diplomacy. I must admit that they cut a good figure in the professions."

"But why should you not do as we do in my country?" said the Prince. "We take those that are most distinguished in industry, science, letters, trade, and so forth. We make nobles of these men, and our nobility remains a real aristocracy."

Gambetta's answer was that in France "the Duc de la Roche qui Mousse would not care to hobnob with the Duc de l'Industrie, the Duc de la Science, or the Duc des Beaux Arts," and, according to General de Gallifet, who was of the party, and kept note of the conversation, it all ended



QUEEN ALEXANDRA GIVING A SITTING TO MR. G. E. WADE, THE SCULPTOR
Mr. Wade had the honour of special sittings from Queen Alexandra and from King Edward at Buckingham Palace. This photograph, which has not been retouched in any way, is reproduced by permission of her Majesty. It is copyrighted by Mr. E. H. Mills

in a merry laugh. It remains an interesting fragment to us, however, as showing the mind of the king in regard to our own nobility.

Among friends the King was as frank as a boy, and in his desire for information would ask questions which to a smaller man would have been impossible; questions which caused the interrogated no embarrassment. Browning once told of the King's interest in the emoluments of various professions. The Prince was dining at the house of a distinguished surgeon, and said to him: "I should like to know—of course, I do not speak of present company—what a first-rate surgeon makes in his profession."

"Well, sir," said the host, "I should say that about £15,000 a year would be near the mark."

"What," asked the Prince, turning to the then acknowledged leader of the English Bar, "what does a great barrister make?"

"I suppose, sir, about £25,000 would hit the mark," he was answered.

A similar question was put to Sir John Millais, who was present, as to the income of a successful artist.

"Possibly, sir, £35,000 a year," answered Millais.

The Prince looked surprised, as well he might. Seeing this, Millais continued, "As a matter of fact, sir, last year

I made £40,000, and might have made more had I not been taking a longer holiday than usual in Scotland."

Incomes of Surgery, Law, and Art "Ah, we don't make that by literature, do we?" said Browning to Matthew Arnold.

The remarkable powers of observation which distinguished the King were displayed in many interesting connections, but one of the most surprising was when Captain Webb, who was at the time working head of Trinity House, heard the Prince express great interest in the Eddystone Lighthouse.

"There are other lighthouses more remarkable, sir," said Captain Webb; "why are you so specially interested in the Eddystone?"

"On account," said the Prince, "of its historical character; it is represented on the coinage of the realm."

"How so, sir?" asked Captain Webb.

"Look at a penny and you will soon see," observed his Royal Highness.

The King's Power of Observation A penny was produced, and there, clear for all eyes, was the Eddystone behind the figure of Britannia.

Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, to whom Captain Webb related the incident, confessed that he had never observed it, and when he mentioned it the next day to a great banker, who was credited with the eyes of a lynx, and who had been dealing in the coin of the realm all his days, it was equally new to him.

It has already been noted that the King had a memory which amounted almost to genius. The sight of a face which he had once seen before served to recall to his mind the whole train of circumstances in which the meeting had taken place. Mr. Tuckerman, the American Ambassador, had an illustration of this. He met the Prince once, then did not see him again for many years. The first meeting was purely formal. At the second meeting the Prince's reception-room was crowded, but when engaged in conversation he caught sight of Mr. Tuckerman, and advanced down the open space to meet him.

"Really, sir, you are the most wonderful man I know," said the American.

"How so?" laughed the Prince.

"Because, sir, among other things, you have recognised me in this crowded room after so many years."

"Oh, I never forget a person or face that I have once known," said the future King, who then went on to refer to their previous meeting, and to recall an incident that had



KING EDWARD AT THE KIEL YACHT CLUB IN 1904
Drawn by S. Begg

entirely escaped the memory of the other. Mr. Tuckerman adds the story that the Prince once stopped a man in the street, a person in very humble circumstances, calling him by name, whom he had seen but once, and that very casually, some twenty years before.

Mark Twain came in time to pay a tribute to the King on similar grounds. During an early visit to England the humorist wrote a facetious account of meeting the then Prince of Wales, adding, "He was at the head of a procession in the Strand, and I was on a 'bus.'" Years afterwards he actually met the Prince at Homburg. They had a long talk and walk together. When bidding him good-bye the Prince said, "I am glad to have met you again."

This remark troubled Mark Twain, who feared that he might have been mistaken for someone else, possibly Bishop Potter. He communicated this suspicion to the Prince, who replied, "Why, don't you remember when you met me in the Strand, and I was at the head of a procession, and you were on a 'bus'?"

The Indian potentate who ate his potatoes with his fingers was not the only Oriental to embarrass the King. The Shah of Persia, when over here in 1873, put a proposition to the Prince to reply to which would have been too much for the diplomacy or gravity of most men. The Shah was at Trentham, the beautiful seat of the Duke of Sutherland. How much he admired the evidences of wealth and luxury the Shah's published diary reveals. All that he wrote is highly complimentary to his entertainer. But in his dark mind a deadly problem was being turned over, and, taking the King aside, he asked him whether, when he came to the throne, he would not behead the Duke of Sutherland?

The Prince's answer was a perfect bit of polite and humorous evasion. "There are so many other great nobles in the land that I could not undertake such a clearance," he replied. And Lord Ronald Gower, brother of the duke, is warranty for the question and answer.

It was a Royalty of different nationality who taxed the gravity of the King and Mr. Chamberlain. According to Grant-Duff, the King introduced Mr. Chamberlain to the Royal visitor as "the Member for Birmingham."

The illustrious guest, mishearing the name, replied, "Birkenhead? I vos there ven I vos yong. It is a dirty 'ole!"

The King so perfectly disciplined himself that he was rarely taken at a disadvantage in conversation. He could answer a barbarism by the Shah of Persia with such gravity

as completely to impose upon that semi-savage. He could keep back the smile which the hero of the "Birkenhead" story provoked. In critical cases he could preserve an unruffled countenance when his blood was leaping with indignation. The sensational Hohenlohe reminiscences, published in 1906, told of a strange interview between the King some thirteen years before his accession and Count Herbert Bismarck. The latter spoke in what the diarist regarded as a rather disrespectful manner of the Emperor Frederic. According to the Empress Frederic, who was Prince Hohenlohe's informant, the Count had the impudence to tell the Prince of Wales that "an Emperor who was unable to speak must not reign." The Prince of Wales afterwards told his Imperial sister that if he had not had at heart the good relations of England and Germany, he would have simply shown Count Herbert the door.

For a story of the King and Madame Sarah Bernhardt's we are indebted to the late John Little Mistake Hollingshead and M. Sarcey. The great

actress, upon a visit to London, was visited one night at the theatre by the then Prince of Wales, who was accompanied by the King of Greece. The Prince, evidently under the impression that his identity was known to the actress, introduced the King of the Hellenes

as "my brother-in-law." It was noticed that Bernhardt addressed the King of Greece as "Monsieur" throughout her conversation with him. When she was called away to her dressing-room she was informed of the names of her august visitors. Tripping back to the stage, she discovered the Heir Apparent. "Oh, Prince," she cried, "it was treachery not to tell me it was the King of Greece!" "But I told you it was my brother-in-law," laughed the Prince. "Yes, but how was I to know, sir; he might have been a merchant," answered the Frenchwoman, still forgetting the rank of the person whom she addressed.

It fell to the lot of the King to play the part of peacemaker between two famous operatic artistes during that visit of the Shah to which reference has already been made. There was to be a Royal night at the Opera, and selections from three operas were to be given in which those great rivals Nilsson and Titiens were to appear. The Shah was expected to attend only from half-past eight until half-past nine, as he had to go on to the Goldsmiths' ball.

Nilsson planned, therefore, to appear while he was present, and donned a magnificent costume ordered from Paris specially for the occasion. The company waited until nearly nine o'clock, and



A NOTEWORTHY PORTRAIT OF KING EDWARD

This portrait of King Edward, taken at the Grand Studio, Malta, in 1909, was, it is said, spoken of by the Duke of Connaught as the best likeness of his Majesty that he had seen

the Prince of Wales had been at the theatre from half-past eight to receive the Shah, but no Shah appeared. Nilsson had to play her part unseen by the Shah, and was furious. Titiens held the stage when the Eastern ruler arrived an hour late. By this time Nilsson had changed her costume for that of a beggar girl, barefooted, with dishevelled hair and ragged dress.

The Prince of Wales, who knew of the scheming which had taken place to enable Nilsson to appear before the Shah, realised that Colonel Mapleson would have trouble with his rival songstresses, and suggested that the Swedish nightingale should be introduced to the Shah. Nilsson was reluctant to go in such a costume as she wore, but Colonel Mapleson told her that this was a Royal command which was not to be neglected. So she tripped off with her manager to the Royal box, where they found the Shah in the anteroom eating peaches out of the palms of his attendants.

Without waiting to be announced, Nilsson went straight up to him, and, speaking in French, said: "You are a very bad Shah. An hour ago I was very rich, with superb costumes specially for your Majesty. But now I find myself very poor, without shoes." The Shah was so amazed at the apparition and the original conduct of the artiste that he announced his intention of staying to see her performance. He reached the Goldsmiths' ball, where he was due at half-past nine, some time after midnight. But peace reigned at the Opera thanks to the Prince of Wales's happy thought, and the heart of the impresario rejoiced within him.

In his enthusiasm for the cause of music the King once caused a good deal of merriment among those who knew the circumstances by making Archbishop Tait speak at the meeting called to inaugurate the Royal College of Music. The good Archbishop was one of those exceptional men who, like Dean Stanley, was throughout his life deficient in any knowledge or appreciation of music, whether vocal or instrumental. Here again, however, an invitation from the Prince amounted to a command, and the Primate, who had no time to prepare a speech, went fearfully to the meeting. He got very well over the difficulty by making fun of his deficiencies.

"Your Royal Highness has spoken of certain unfortunate people who are deaf to music," he said in the course of his speech. "I am afraid I must class myself somewhat among that number. . . . Perhaps your Royal Highness may not be aware that the humble individual who now addresses you has the power to make a doctor of music. Of the many duties that I have to perform that of making a doctor of music is one of the most difficult, especially as I am afraid that, were I to subject him

Archbishop Tait on Music

to an examination myself, many unworthy candidates would obtain that high honour." The amusement which this speech caused the King may be imagined; but the Primate's advocacy of the claims of music were highly successful, and his selection by the King as a speaker was in the end fully justified.



KING EDWARD AND MARK TWAIN

The illustration, drawn by S. Begg, shows his Majesty greeting the American humorist at a garden-party at Windsor in 1907. Mark Twain died a fortnight before the King.

The King had the greatest repugnance, as has already been noted, to any act which might by any possibility bring him into conflict with public opinion, or lead to his being misrepresented. His letter to Archbishop Benson and his interview with John Bright show how strong were his feelings in this direction. But he did not hesitate to speak out where an injustice to others was threatened.

There was general satisfaction over his Majesty's action in regard to the attitude of the Royal Academy towards Mr. Conrad Dressler's bust of the young Queen of Spain

King Edward and the Sculptor in 1907. The work was the gift of a number of English ladies to the King of Spain, and was regarded as a highly meritorious piece of sculpture. The finished work was sent to the King of Spain, and the model, for which Queen Victoria Eugénie had given the sculptor a dozen sittings, was sent to the Royal Academy. For some inexplicable reason—through a mistake, it was said at the time—the bust was rejected by the Academy, and was welcomed at the New Gallery. This naturally set all London talking. King Edward at once wrote, through Sir Dighton Probyn, saying that he wished the bust to be accepted by the Royal Academy. This amounted to a command which could not be gainsaid, and the bust was forthwith installed in a place of honour within the portals whence it had shortly before been spurned.

Many adventures came to amuse the King when he was travelling among strangers, or, at any rate, met those to whom he was unknown. The curious thing was that it proved possible for him now and again to be as much a stranger in his own land as on the Continent. One of these adventures was related by the Bishop of Thetford to the

The King a Stranger in His Own Land Ancient Order of Foresters upon the occasion of their visit, at the invitation of the King and Queen, to Sandringham in 1906

The King, when Prince of Wales, said the Bishop, was driving along a country road, accompanied only by a servant, when an old woman, carrying a huge basket of cockles, approached the dog-cart and asked the Prince, of whose identity she was ignorant, if he would carry the cockles to King's Lynn. The King replied that he would gladly have done so had he been going to Lynn, but that, unfortunately, he was going in another direction. For how much, he asked her, would she sell the cockles?

"Three-and-six or four shillings. They're a nice lot o' cockles," replied the old lady.

"Well, I'll give you a picture of my mother; I think that will help you," said the Prince.

"Nay, I'm afraid that won't help me to sell my cockles," said the old woman, with a dubious shake of her head.

"Anyhow, here's the picture of my mother," replied the Prince, handing her a half-sovereign.

The Rev. Cecil Maunsell, vicar-rector of Thorpe Malsor, near Kettering, vouched for the following story, which, he said, the King himself told with great gusto. While his Majesty was strolling along the esplanade at Hove a boy walked up to him and said:

"Mister, can you tell me the time, please?"

"Yes," replied the King, taking out his watch. "It is a quarter to one."

The boy then informed his Majesty that he had been "waiting for two hours to see the blooming King," adding, "I am not going to wait any longer!"

"Neither am I," answered the King as he resumed his walk, delighted.

This is not the place in which to dwell upon the King's manifold charities and acts of philanthropy and mercy, That best portion of a good man's life, His little nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and love.

Sufferers in our hospitals who have long borne their burden of sorrow could unfold many a charming story of his goodness to them, of his generosity in material things, of the words of comfort that he spoke. He delighted to pay private visits, and to see for himself the progress of the work being carried on, and to learn at first hand the story of the patients. In one hospital in London there is a sweet little child sufferer who, during the long months of her residence in the hospital, has been taught to read by an adult incurable next to whose bed she was often placed during sunny hours on a verandah. It was to see this little mite of humanity that the King made his way when he visited her hospital, and to-day they call her "King Edward's little patient."

Of a visit to an adult patient which the King paid, nothing can better the beauty of the language in which Lord Burnham has told the story:

"There is one small hospital in London," said Lord Burnham, "in the welfare of which the late King was ever deeply interested—King Edward's Hospital for Officers, in Grosvenor Gardens, managed with matchless devotion and skill by that most admirable woman, Miss Agnes Keyser, popularly and lovingly known as Sister Agnes. Not very long before the King's death there lay in the good sister's charge an officer who was very ill after a serious operation, and who, as it was thought, could not survive.

"The King was coming to the hospital to pay one of his quiet visits, and the patient, who heard that he was expected, and who was almost too weak to speak, said it would be a great happiness to him if he could hear his voice, and he asked the sister if it would be possible for her to talk with King Edward outside the open door. Sister Agnes said she would try to do what he wished, and having in due course led the King there, she told him what her purpose had been. In a moment the King went

King Edward's Hospital Protégées through the open doorway to the bedside of the sick man, and taking his hand, held it for a long time while he spoke to him words of tenderness and sweet counsel. When he had finally said 'Good-bye,' he slowly walked to the window and looked out. Well he looked out upon nothing, as tears rolled down his cheeks. And then silently he left the bedside of the sufferer whose strong desire it had been to listen to his voice."



A ROYAL AND IMPERIAL SHOOTING PARTY AT WINDSOR

This unique photograph shows King Edward conversing with the German Empress, Queen Alexandra, and the German Emperor talking with the Duke of Connaught



CHAPTER XCI

KING EDWARD AS A SPORTSMAN

A Record of the Achievements of His Majesty in the Field of Outdoor Pursuits,
where His Successes Gained for Him the Title of "Prince of Sportsmen"



HERE is a remarkable letter, written in 1861 [see page 661], by King Edward, then Prince of Wales, on the subject of horse-racing, to the late Dr. Benson, then Archbishop of Canterbury. From the opinions it sets forth there are many who will dissent vehemently. Nevertheless, those opinions are not lightly to be disregarded. They are those of a man to whom all Europe has agreed in according a name for a wealth of saving commonsense and perspicacity. The Prince wrote to the Archbishop as a friend to a friend, and told him quite frankly what he thought. The letter was not designed for publication.

No sensible man will dissent from the proposition that gambling is a terrible curse; and all, or almost all, will agree that those who *will* gamble, will gamble at anything.

"Horse-racing may improve the breed of horses," wrote an epigrammatical ecclesiastic; "but unquestionably it impairs the race of men." It would be idle to deny that there is a great deal of truth in the statement. To describe the Turf as a hot-bed of chicanery, roguery, and gambling may be an exaggeration; but, in connection with the Turf, chicanery, roguery, and gambling undeniably do exist in alarming proportions; the very word "jockeying" has acquired a most sinister significance. To attribute the origin of these vices, however, to the honourable patrons of the Turf is utterly unjust.

King Edward was the best type of English country gentleman. He loved the open air. He loved sport, and that he should have loved the sport of kings was natural and fitting. It should be remembered that he was fond of horse-racing merely for the sake of the horses and the race. Of Turf lore he

was almost humorously ignorant. There is a good story told of his early racing days. His trainer one day expressed to him grave doubts as to whether a filly could be got fit for a race limited strictly to three-year-olds for which she was entered. His reply was that it did not matter, as if the filly did not win the race this year she might win it next! Of course, more intimate knowledge came with years by the mere process of attrition against facts, but the anecdote well instances King Edward's way of regarding things of the Turf.

"Everybody wins a Derby," remarks the Evil One in Miss Corelli's "Sorrows of Satan." This is a hard saying, inasmuch as the years of our ownership are, at most, two score and ten, and the number of owners is considerable.

King Edward learned that the laurel crown of the Turf was not to be won unexercised and unbreathed. His colours—purple, gold band, scarlet sleeves, and black velvet cap, with gold fringe—were first registered in 1875. It was not until 1896 that Persimmon carried them triumphantly past the post at Epsom.

There have been many notable Derbys, but to-day the most notable of all are Persimmon's, Diamond Jubilee's, and Minoru's, and probably they will hold the pre-eminence.

On the whole, memories of great Derby Days are not very enduring. Recalling the names of famous winners in the hundred and thirty-one run up to the present date, one cannot escape from the feeling that they have very quickly passed into shadow-land. Blink Bonny, Running Rein, Hermit, Bend Or, Melton, Paradox, Macaroni. What are they to the younger generation? To the majority, names merely. Even Ormonde, the mighty Ormonde, that never ran a race he did not win, and carried off the triple crown of the



KING EDWARD IN GOLFING COSTUME
From a photograph taken in 1892 by W. & D. Downey

Two Thousand Guineas, the Derby, and the St. Leger, is but a dim figure looming large in the mists of the past.

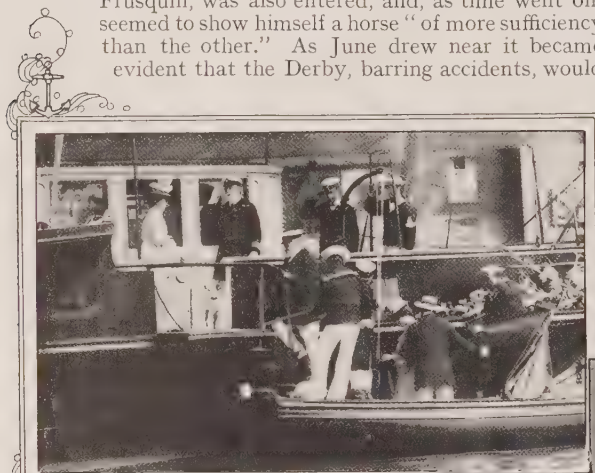
On the other hand, it is no exaggeration to say that Persimmon's Derby is a more real, more living memory than the victories of Orby, Signorinetta, or even Lemberg.

From the time it became known that the Prince of Wales had a son of St. Simon entered for the Derby a flutter of excitement ran through sporting circles. If pedigree counted for anything, such a colt should be good enough to win the Derby nine years out of ten, and everyone was eager to see the prince of good sportsmen win the crown of the Turf. Nevertheless, it could not be overlooked that another son of the same great sire, Mr. Leopold de Rothschild's St.

Frusquin, was also entered, and, as time went on, seemed to show himself a horse "of more sufficiency than the other." As June drew near it became evident that the Derby, barring accidents, would

from his first Derby victory as from the realisation of the affection for himself which spontaneously transformed the huge Epsom crowd into one congregated, wildly cheering conglomeration of delighted loyalty. At first he was almost overwhelmed by the immediate congratulations of his personal friends—in fact, it is recorded that as Persimmon passed the post an enthusiastic member of the Prince's suite clapped him heartily on the back, exclaiming, with a vigorous ejaculation: "You've won, sir!" Probably neither Prince nor subject were aware of the incident. When the Prince came forward and smilingly bowed his acknowledgments enthusiasm rose to a tremendous pitch. When he came to lead Persimmon in the exuberance of the throng ceased to confine itself wholly to cheering, and the person of the Heir to the Throne was a little more than loyally and dutifully jostled, and no one appeared better pleased than the recipient of these vigorously affectionate attentions.

Persimmon was a good horse and a good friend to his Royal owner. In 1896 he also carried off the St. Leger—1896 was the Prince's year. That year his total winnings in prizes—not by betting—were £26,819. In 1897 Persimmon won the Ascot Cup, £3,380; and the Eclipse Stakes, £9,485. Unfortunately, the following year he slipped on his way to exercise, and fractured his pelvis and thigh-bone, and, though everything that could be done was done, it was impossible to save him, and he had to be destroyed.



KING EDWARD GOING ON BOARD
THE ALBERTA

resolve itself into a duel between the two sons of St. Simon, and, though the general feeling formulated itself in the sporting, if ungrammatical, phrase, "May the best horse win," the desire at the back of most men's minds was that the Prince's horse might prove the better.

And a duel it proved to be. Seldom has there been a race more spiritedly fought out, never one more exciting. Down the course came Persimmon and St. Frusquin between two huge banks of spectators, all shouting their loudest. Which would prevail, the strength of St. Frusquin or the long, sweeping stride of Persimmon?

Almost to the post the issue was in doubt; and then the long stride began to carry Persimmon surely to the front, in spite of the desperate efforts of St. Frusquin. When it was seen that the result was no longer in doubt, a roar went up that well-nigh rent the firmament, and, as soon as the issue was ratified by the numbers, a scene followed that beggars description. Hats, from the costermonger's cap to the glossiest Lincoln and Bennet, went up into the air, often never to be returned to their appointed resting-places, and the huge crowd surged down in front of the Grand Stand to cheer the man whom the nation delighted to honour. If their lung power had equalled their loyalty and enthusiasm there would have been no more racing that day.

That the Prince should have shown his gratification markedly was natural and characteristic of the sportsman, but it is questionable whether he derived as great pleasure



KING EDWARD ON HIS YACHT THE BRITANNIA OFF COWES

Persimmon had won for his Royal owner the blue ribbon of the Turf, and the next in order of public estimation—though, according to many good judges, first in order of merit—of the "classic" races, the St. Leger. Yet there remained unrealised the owner's ambition, the triple crown—the Two Thousand Guineas, the Derby, and the St. Leger. It was destined that another son of St. Simon and Perdita II., Diamond Jubilee, should bring this threefold prize, the desire of the great owners, to the Prince of Wales. Diamond Jubilee was a good horse, too, and, as his relationship with Persimmon shows, born to the purple. He had, moreover, been christened by Royal hands; his name was a happy thought of Queen Alexandra. These privileges he repaid in one way by his prowess; on the other hand, he caused all concerned in his career the keenest anxiety owing to his execrable temper. Watts, who had piloted Persimmon to



KING EDWARD'S YACHTSMANSHIP: ON BOARD HIS YACHT FORMOSA WINNING THE QUEEN'S CUP AT COWES, AUGUST 3, 1889
Drawn especially for this work by T. Walter Wilson, R.I.

victory, a jockey of experience, skill, and resolution, was obviously the man who should have ridden Diamond Jubilee for the Derby. It is probable that the Prince would have had him, but it was quite certain Diamond Jubilee would not. The only individual whom he would allow to touch him was an obscure lad, Jones—a son of John Jones, the Prince's first trainer, and it was a case of Jones or no one. To this idiosyncrasy of Diamond Jubilee's Jones owed his rapid rise to fame.

Diamond Jubilee's Derby presents some remarkable points of resemblance with Persimmon's. Both were sons of St. Simon and Perdita II., and neither was expected to win, Persimmon because St. Frusquin was considered the better horse; Diamond Jubilee—even though he had won the Guineas by four lengths—because of his infirmity of temper; and, most curious of all, both races were run in exactly the same time—2 minutes, 42 seconds.

Little more than a year has passed at the time of writing since King Edward achieved the greatest victory on the Turf ever won by a reigning monarch. It was a great race, worthy of a great occasion. The finish was intensely exciting. His Majesty's Minoru only just got home from Louviers, with William III. and Valens in close attendance, every one "all out."

The enthusiasm evoked by the Sovereign's success was immense, and, but for Persimmon's Derby, unprecedented. Indeed, there are some who maintain that Minoru's Derby was the theatre of the greatest exhibition of cordial and loyal gratulation the Turf has ever known. The owner of Persimmon was the most popular of princes; the owner of Minoru was a beloved and revered monarch who had, by sheer individuality, enthroned himself in the hearts of his people and won the affection of the civilised world.

The Derby of 1909 concluded the list of King Edward's classic victories. Though he never won the Oaks, they make a fair show—a brave show: Derby—1896, Persimmon; 1900, Diamond Jubilee; 1909, Minoru. Two Thousand Guineas—1900, Diamond Jubilee; 1909, Minoru. One Thousand Guineas—1896, Thais. St. Leger—1896, Persimmon; 1900, Diamond Jubilee.

Diamond Jubilee's year was King Edward's year in prizes, the winnings totalling £49,585. Still, he was not without acquaintance with "downs" in sharp contrast to "ups" recorded. For instance, the winnings of 1905 only came to £900; of 1893, £372; of 1892, £190; of 1889, £204; of 1886, £298; while he carried off no stakes in 1887 and 1888. Yet he bore failure or success with equanimity and a smiling face. The King was a good winner; but he was also a good loser, not merely concealing chagrin under a mask of indifference, but as smiling and affable as if fortune had shone instead of frowned. He was a sportsman to the core; he loved the sport for itself. If he won money on a race, well and good; if he lost, what then? As seen in the letter referred to at the beginning of this chapter, he never regarded horse-racing as a gambling transaction; and if there was one thing he detested more than another, it was the ignorant and malicious scandal,

freely circulated amongst men of small minds and no manners, that he was in the habit of betting beyond his means. What he enjoyed was a keen, hard-fought race between good horses, with the best horse to win; and, of course, if the best horse proved to be his, gratification was added to pleasure.

Before his reward came in "classic" and other triumphs, the King had a long novitiate to serve, followed by many barren years. His first public appearance was marked by a delightfully ingenuous entry. Tradition has assigned to the "Arab steed" wondrous speed, and certainly these beautiful creatures are very fast—for their size. The King, who had recently returned from India, was imbued with an exaggerated idea of the Arab's prowess, and entered his own thoroughbred, Alep, for a race at Newmarket, to be made favourite by deluded backers. Now, a first-class Arab over any ordinary course has about as much chance against a fourth-class racehorse as a schoolboy runner has against a University Blue—and the inevitable happened, the favourite went down badly.

Perhaps the best racer the King ever owned, next to Persimmon, was that distinguished horse's brother, Florizel II., whose performances as a four-year-old were remarkable. He won six races out of the seven for which

he was entered, carrying off the Prince of Wales's Stakes (Epsom), the Prince's Handicap (Gatwick), the Manchester Cup, the Ascot Gold Vase, the Goodwood Cup, the Jockey Club Cup, and losing only the Cesarewitch, the total value of the stakes won being £4,359.

King Edward always had a fancy for steeple-chasing. It was "over the sticks" that he made his first—and unsuccessful—appearance on the Turf. However, time brings its compensations, and it was "over the sticks" that he scored his first victory as a reigning monarch with Ambush II. This horse subsequently secured for his Royal owner the blue ribbon of



AT THE ASCOT RACES IN 1863
From a contemporary drawing

that branch of sport in the Grand National Steeplechase.

There are certain manly pastimes, popular among the people, from which a prince or a sovereign is debarred, not only out of consideration for himself, but for the players. With a Prince of the Blood Royal on one side in Rugby football as outside scrum half and Cunningham, the Oxford captain and Scottish International, on the other, the commoner's famous tackle would have been

paralysed if applied to the person of one near the throne. In fact, the game would be spoiled. In like manner it is undesirable that a prince should take part in what is perhaps the noblest of sports, mountaineering. It would be unwise to expose the life of the hope of a nation to the mercy of a sudden storm, a falling stone, or an unforeseen avalanche.

Yet these sports found in King Edward a warm and interested patron. He knew they were calculated to make his manly subjects more manly, and he encouraged them as a valuable national asset, besides indulging his own enjoyment of vigorous outdoor sport. Both Rugby and Association matches have been honoured by his presence. To the Scottish Mountaineering Club he allowed free access



PERSIMMON'S FAMOUS VICTORY AT THE ROYAL DERBY OF 1896: THE ROYAL OWNER LEADING IN THE WINNER AFTER THE RACE

Illustration by S. D. 1924

to the magnificent mountains or his deer forests, thereby setting a Royal example of confidence and generosity which landowners of lesser minds would do well to imitate. This concession was of almost audacious unselfishness, for it was then, and still is, a maxim among owners or lessees of deer forests, foresters, and gillies that the intrusion of a foreign foot into a forest ruined sport. The King, however, trusted the Scottish gentlemen, and they never betrayed his trust. And be it noted that no keener "deerstalker" than King Edward ever drew trigger.

Shooting, indeed, has been justly described as the passion of his life. As a shot he was in the very first flight, though, perhaps, not equal to his son, King George V. It is argued, however, and not without reason, that when King Edward was in his prime the manufacture of arms and ammunition had not attained the perfection of to-day; that the father in his prime was, to an extent, handicapped by inferior, or, rather, less perfect, weapons, and that when he did enter, so to speak, into competition with his son he was handicapped by advancing years.

The King's party for a big shoot seldom reached double figures, and was always composed of first-class shots. The selection, however, was not made with an ungenerous disregard of the feelings of less skilled shots, still less with the desire of securing as large a bag as possible. There is nothing the true sportsman detests more than the infliction of suffering. He had far rather miss clean than wound. The wavering descent of a pheasant to earth, followed by that "horror of horrors," to quote the late Mr. Bromley-Davenport, "active pedestrianism," inspires feelings similar to those evoked by a dropped catch at a University match; a wounded hare or rabbit is a disgrace; its escape sends the sportsman home in depression. It requires no small degree of skill to hit a bird flying with the speed of an aeroplane high overhead. The object of the complete shot is to kill the game cleanly, so that it never hears the sound of the gun or knows that it is hit. Accordingly, the King's parties consisted of the best shots only.

At the end of the day the game were laid out, and the result of the day's shooting totalled. Generally, the bag of the King's party amounted to between two or three thousand head, mostly pheasants in first-class condition.

Such successes are not achieved fortuitously. They are the outcome of months, nay, of years, of patient preparation and thought. It must be emphatically insisted that the excellence of the Sandringham game preserves is due to the initiation, the organisation, and the supervision of the Squire. Of course, he had an admirable staff working under him. He was a rare judge of men, and selected from the best available.

At a very early date in his career King Edward noted Norfolk as the game-county *par excellence* of England, and immediately after his purchase of Sandringham he set about transforming the estate into a gunner's paradise. No considerable alteration in the ordinary daily routine is unattended with inconvenience to the individual, and very shortly the rapidly increasing numbers of ground game began to be a serious grievance to the tenants. But it had been anticipated by the Royal Squire. As soon as the cases were brought forward compensation was awarded with a liberal hand, and the tenantry passed from grumbling to content, from content to affection, from affection to devotion.

The daily round of the head keeper at Sandringham is no common task. Besides the multifarious duties attached to his station, he is the sub-overseer of the rearing of some ten thousand pheasants. The term sub-overseer is used

advisedly. Into pheasant-rearing, as into all other details connected with his estate, the head overseer looked in person, and understood it and the others thoroughly.

The same studied organisation which produced birds in first-class condition for the guns marked the hour of action. On the previous day notice was sent round the estate, and on the morning itself all work was stopped, even the farm machinery, so that there might be no noise to distract the game from the attention of the beaters. Except for the shooting party and their allies, the keepers and beaters, the place was deserted, everyone else being expected to keep out of sight for that day for fear of spoiling sport.

The keepers posted first the beaters and then drew up a line of boys behind the coverts, equipped with blue and red flags to scare back the game; the head keeper rode over the ground to see that the arrangements he had drawn up—in consultation with the Squire—were complete.

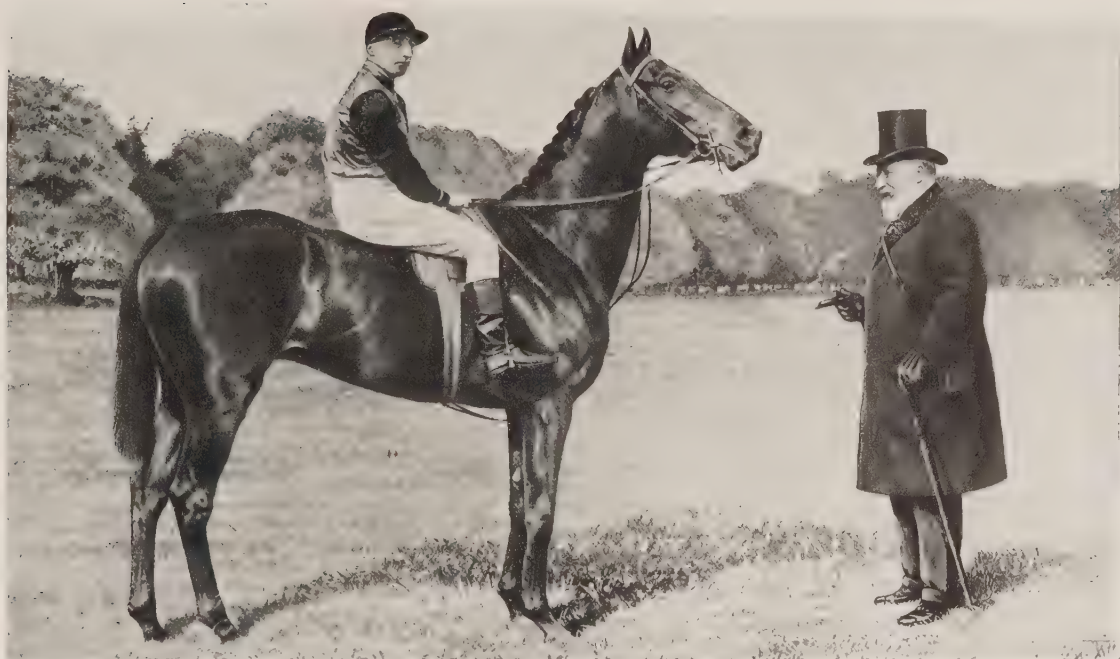
Then the sportsmen

arrived, each accompanied by two loaders and their quantum of guns, and the sport commenced.

In his younger days, and in his prime, deerstalking was a favourite pastime of King Edward. The forests may be most carefully guarded, the sanctuaries may be preserved inviolate, the gillies the best available, but neither stag nor mountain nor weather are respecter of persons. No matter how exalted your rank, if you show yourself, or dislodge a stone, or do anything clumsy, your stag will be off and perhaps twenty miles away by the end of the day. However elaborate the preparations, if you cannot hold your rifle straight you will not hit. King Edward had to crawl through heather drenched with mist, to muzzle through peat-hags, to undergo the back-aching experience of turning himself into a stone in the event of an outpost hind looking his way, and thoroughly enjoyed it all, for, by the perversity of human nature, such detestable experiences are of the



RIDING OUT TO SHOOT AT SANDRINGHAM
From a photograph by W. J. Edwards



KING EDWARD WITH MINORU, THE HORSE WITH WHICH HE WON THE DERBY OF 1909
From a photograph by the Sport and General Illustrations Co.

most enjoyable. Moreover, he was remarkably successful. As years began to tell he was less and less able to indulge in stalking, and had to content himself with deer-drives, which he justly regarded as an inferior form of the sport. There were few more steady shots at running deer in the United Kingdom than he.

For many years the name of the Prince of Wales has been associated with the Royal Windsor Stag-hounds. Stag-hunting in the home district is a bastard kind of "sport" that is difficult to defend from the charge of cruelty. The object, if it be a good run across country, could be just as well attained by a drag, and though Ascot misses the picturesque figure of the Master of the Buck-hounds in the Royal procession, nobody sincerely regrets the abolition in 1901 of the pack. It was not "the real thing." On the other hand, King Edward was out time and again with the Devonshire and Somerset.

He was a fine horseman and a fine judge of a horse. His seat was easy and graceful, as might have been seen almost any morning in the Row at one time. Moreover, in addition to sportsmanlike qualities vouched for by so excellent a judge and unimpeachable a witness as the late Duke of Beaufort, he would bring in his horse at the end of a run comparatively fresh, though holding his own in the first flight. His ability to extricate himself outside covert was his own. With the utmost goodwill to give him a good lead, a jostling

crowd, in endeavouring to get out of his way, would but make confusion worse confounded. After that, too, his position was in his own hands; neither fox nor hounds will accommodate direction or pace to oblige Royalty, and as for the chase looking after him, why, very often "the pace was too good to inquire," even if any such attention was necessary. King Edward, however, was very capable of

looking after himself. We give here the text in full of the Duke of Beaufort's testimony to King Edward's high position as a sportsman. It is the generous word of fellow-sportsman rather than the homage of a subject, possibly exaggerated by the devotion of loyalty, to the qualities of a monarch.

Badminton, October, 1885.

Having received permission to dedicate these volumes, the "Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes," to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, I do so feeling that I am dedicating them to one of the best and keenest sportsmen of our time. I can say, from personal observation, that there is no man who can extricate himself from a bustling and pushing crowd of horsemen when a fox breaks covert more dexterously and more quickly than his Royal Highness; and that when hounds run hard over a big country no man can take a line of his own and

live with them better. Also, when the wind has been blowing hard, often have I seen his Royal Highness knocking over driven grouse and partridges and high-rocketing pheasants in first-rate, workmanlike style. He is held to be a good yachtsman, and, as Commodore of the Royal Yacht Squadron, is looked up to by those who love that pleasant and exhilarating pastime. His encouragement of racing is well known, and his attendance at the University, Public School, and other important matches testifies to his being, like most English gentlemen, fond of all manly sports.

BEAUFORT.



AMONG HIS ENTHUSIASTIC SUBJECTS AT THE ROYAL DERBY

This illustration, from a photograph by the Sport and General Illustrations Co., shows King Edward leading his winner through the madly cheering crowd, a thing, it is said, no other European monarch would have dared to have done



KING EDWARD'S LAST VISIT TO ASCOT: THE ROYAL CARRIAGE ENTERING THE ROYAL ENCLOSURE IN 1909
Drawn by A. Forestier

It may seem strange that so mighty a hunter as King Edward did not number among the trophies of his prowess the skin of a lion, but the ambition of the sportsman was circumscribed by the duties of the Prince.

Nevertheless, he gathered spoils sufficient to content the heart of a Nimrod. Naturally, most of his shooting was done near home, though his duties once took him as far as India. Round about Copenhagen he had capital sport, and Germany was more than once for him a happy hunting-ground; but his European paradise was found in the teeming forests and valleys of Austria-Hungary. Here feathered game abounded, and here, too, are deer and buck of various kinds, wild boar, chamois, and occasionally bear and wolves.

The most sporting of these is the chamois. This little animal, which looks like a cross between an antelope and a goat, but is in reality first cousin to a giraffe, requires most accurate shooting to bring to bag. There are two methods of hunting it—the one by stalking, the other by driving. Chamois stalking is exceedingly arduous work. The stalker must be both a good mountaineer and a quick and clean shot, for though his first opportunity will probably be at a stationary chamois, the remainder of his experiences may be confined to snapshots. The chamois offers a very small mark, and, when driven, it progresses in a series of long hops, after the manner of an elastic ball, and scarcely less rapidly.

It has been seen that a pheasant shoot entails much organisation and forethought, and no little labour. In all these respects, however, it is child's play in comparison with a chamois drive.

A chamois drive is entirely under the control of the keepers; the business of the sportsmen is merely to take their station where they are told, and to shoot straight.

The task of the keepers, on the other hand, is complicated and laborious in the extreme. A pheasant shoot may cover, say, twenty acres, taking covert with covert; a chamois drive may take in twenty square miles. This area comprises deep valleys with broken slopes, wild gorges, narrow ravines, precipitous rock-walls, jagged mountain crests, and knife-edged ridges. Now the chamois will prance up and down crags and along arêtes that would constitute something of an "expedition" for a party of mountaineers, "with all appliances and means to boot," so that it is obvious that any quantity of beaters less numerous than the German armies that encompassed Sedan would scarcely avail to stop the game if it broke back over very difficult



DRIVING TO GOODWOOD RACES WITH THE PRINCE OF WALES IN 1906
From a photograph by Stephen Cribb

ground. As the number of beaters, however, is necessarily limited, a very old but very effective device is requisitioned. As nearly as possible along the narrow crests—a hazardous business—a series of stakes is driven in, each being connected by stout lines, or thin ropes, to which are attached rags of coloured cloth. It is, in fact, the "formido" of

our schooldays, the "game-scare" of the Latin hunters, which in the mouth of the Latin poets took to itself the more imposing significance of panic or terror.

It is essential that these lines should be stout, as the chamois are not easily cowed, and will frequently charge the obstacle that bars their escape—a proceeding that usually results in a severe check—instead of jumping it, which they could easily do were it thrice the height.

Though the business of the sportsmen is to take their stations where they are told and to shoot straight, neither of these obligations is a sinecure. Absolute stillness of body and silence are essential. The chamois is an exceedingly alert creature, and will very readily detect the presence of any "foreign substance" in the landscape. Then, having quietly inspected the too excitable sportsman, he passes by on the other side at a safe distance. Now, everyone knows that mountain weather, even among our own little British hills and in midsummer, hardly presents conditions agreeable for lying out motionless for three or four hours. Chamois drives usually take place in late autumn amongst mountains three or four times as high as English hills.

degrees more trying than a chamois drive; in the eyes of the marksman and the sportsman it is much inferior. In the hands of the accomplished novelist, thrilling situations develop; in practice they are rather tame. Quick and accurate shooting, however, is required. The ground is often broken, heavily timbered, and generally covered with thick snow. Up and down, over the ground, in and out among the trees, now breaking unexpectedly into the open, now



KING EDWARD AT PUNCESTOWN RACES DURING HIS VISIT TO IRELAND IN APRIL, 1904

The central photograph shows the Royal party arriving at the races. Below, the King is seen conversing with the Dowager Duchess of Devonshire; above, his Majesty is seen with the Duke of Connaught in the enclosure. All the photos are by Lafayette, Ltd., Dublin.

At the end, or after two or three hours of lying low, in sunshine perhaps, in snow or sleet probably, the sportsman has to bring his weary eye to bear along the sights of his rifle, adjusting it with chilled hands to his cramped shoulder, and bring down a toy indiarubber deer as it goes bouncing madly by.

King Edward had also an opportunity of shooting the largest and, reputedly, most formidable of European big game, the Russian bear. Climatically, a bear drive is several

slipping no less suddenly behind dense undergrowth, rearing over falling trunks, plunging into deep snow, the driven bear is by no means easy to hit clean, or, indeed, to hit at all. The element of danger, which by a pleasing convention is supposed to be so alluring, is almost entirely absent. In the unlikely event of a charge, the lumbering brute has to run the gauntlet of four or five rifles. Nevertheless, it is important that the men behind the guns should be able to shoot straight.

It is hardly likely that bear shooting in this wise appealed warmly to King Edward. He, no doubt, regarded the boars he bagged with greater pleasure, though even that pleasure was probably modified. The weapon for the boar is the spear. In India to shoot a boar within forty miles of



KING EDWARD ENJOYING THE ROYAL SPORT: DEER-STALKING IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS

Drawn by S. Begg

possible "pig-sticking" is almost equal to sacrilege, or even shooting a fox in High Leicestershire.

It was on Indian soil that King Edward had his chance of breaking a spear with the boar, and so successful was he in the encounter that he "got his spear"—*i.e.*, stuck his pig, and mortally, a feat which occasioned much wonder and some incredulity at the time. It is not obvious why such wonder should have been felt. Why should it be remarkable that a man in splendid health, of unerring eye and iron nerve, a perfect horseman, and a natural adept at sport, should succeed where many others less gifted have been successful? Nevertheless, it was a rare feat for a first experience. How the old song must have thundered out that night!

Here's luck to all who fear no fall,
And the next grey boar we see.

King Edward's tour in India was one unceasing round of hard labour. From morning to night he was always doing something—holding Durbars, receiving presentations and princes, reviewing troops, laying foundation stones, etc. He never had a spare moment to himself, and when he had, to use a Hibernianism, he worked harder than ever. To be King Edward's companion when sport was afield was no feather-bed holiday.

One day, for instance, at Goa, he got interested in seine-fishing, and a-fishing he would go. Accordingly, he rowed ashore, his boat being pooped on the way by a wave which drenched him thoroughly. He was soon, if possible, wetter, for his interest took an intensely practical form, and in a few minutes he was up to his waist in the sea, hauling at the nets with the best of them. He must have found the sport congenial, for he

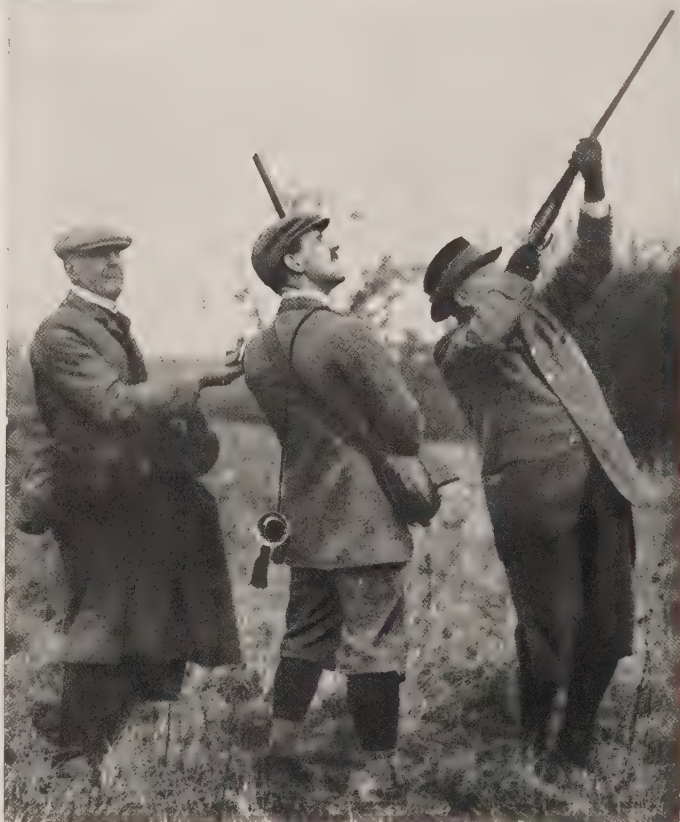
did not return till midnight, wet to the skin, and so elated that he, with his companions, woke up all the less vigorous to tell them of the day's fun.

He had other aquatic or semi-aquatic experiences, wading out after teal and other water birds, as occasion offered, which was more or less commonplace, and taking part in an Indian otter hunt, which was something of a novelty. In India no hounds are employed, for the reason that the dog is a favourite delicacy of the crocodile, and, since these beasts swarm in the rivers, wading and swimming are also undesirable pastimes. The otters are beaten from covert as well as may be, and shot at as they take the water or rise for breath. Beating in England of any kind is a tame sport, but on the banks of an Indian stream it is not wholly unexciting—there is always the chance of kicking up a cobra or a crocodile. Indeed, the King's favourite keeper, Peter Robinson, is said to have exhibited a certain reluctance in performing this duty.

Such interludes, however, were merely regarded as chance pastimes in a land where "sport royal" was at hand. The King had come out equipped for big-game shooting, and big game he meant to shoot.

The chief anxiety of those in charge was that he should get his elephant or his tiger without danger to himself, and every precaution was taken accordingly. But they had reckoned without King Edward.

At his first great elephant hunt in Ceylon, every arrangement that foresight and experience could devise to ensure success concurrently with safety had been carried out. On one side the elephants



TAKING A FLYING SHOT IN THE SANDRINGHAM COVERTS

From a photograph by the Graphic Photo Union



KING EDWARD AT A GROUSE DRIVE: SHOOTING OVER THE MOORS

From a drawing by Archibald Thorburn and S. Begg

were hedged in by an impenetrable stockade, guarded by hundreds of men equipped with torches and spears, as well with trumpets and shawms and other fearsome implements to scare back the beasts. At the point of vantage, on a lofty rock, unapproachable by elephants, the King was stationed whilst the herd were driven past him by long lines of beaters. To the

Excitements of annoyance of the management, however, the herd refused to accommodate itself to the best laid plans. It was under the command of a war-worn old bull, who knew that shouts were innocuous, whereas to run from them was to court danger. Accordingly, with the herd at his heels, he charged the shouts, sending the beaters flying in all directions, chiefly up trees. After some hours of this work, to the consternation of the management, the King, who had had no reasonable chance, descended from his rock of safety and went to look after the game himself.

The situation was serious in the extreme: a dense jungle, through which a man could only fight his way with toil, and a mob of excited monsters dashing this way and that, crushing through the matted vegetation and crowded undergrowth as easily as a man through standing corn. King Edward, however, cared for none of these things. He meant to get an elephant, *coûte que coûte*. Ere long one appeared, and a shot from his rifle dropped it for dead. He pushed on, but an artistic gentleman stayed behind to sketch the royal quarry at his leisure, when the quarry unexpectedly revived, energetically disturbing sketch and leisure together. Meanwhile, King Edward, streaming with perspiration, his clothes in rags, and with a proportionate *quantum* of bruises and abrasions, kept marching for the "sound of the guns." At length he was rewarded. An elephant crashed out on to the

bank of a stream directly facing him, stood for one moment, and the next dropped stone dead to a single shot. The garland had been won, not without "dust and heat," for, despite contemporary illustrations, which represent a cool, fashionably dressed gentleman standing on the body of the elephant, the real hero of the chase was ragged and torn, worn and weary, but withal elate. Scarcely less so were all who could keep up with him and witnessed his success.

According to custom, the King cut off the elephant's tail, and, within a very short time, very nearly lost it, besides narrowly escaping an accident on the way home from the jungle. The carriage in which he was driving overturned and pitched itself, together with its human freight, into a rivulet. Fortunately the only injuries sustained were by the carriage. The accident was only an incident after the toils of the day; the elephant's tail was the event of a lifetime. The ruling passion, the love of sport, manifested itself as King Edward righted himself after the catastrophe. The spill he heeded not, but expressed considerable solicitude as to the fate of the tail, which was rescued intact, to be preserved, deservedly, amongst his proudest trophies, holding pride of place even above the head of a fine tusker.

As a tiger shot the King was remarkably successful, on one occasion bringing as many as six to hand in one day. This feat—and it was a feat—was hailed with characteristic incredulity by a certain class of papers and their readers. That an untried hand should display such prowess was, it was argued, inconceivable. Why it was inconceivable that a man who could kill clean rocketeer after rocketeer, who could bring down driven chamois, should not be able to hit a great brute like a tiger at short range is not easy to explain.

King Edward's First Tiger

The King bagged his first tiger—or rather tigress—in the Jeypoor district on February 5, 1876. His first fire wounded her badly, and in his anxiety to secure her, coupled with the sportsmanlike aversion from letting a wounded creature suffer, he was eager to dismount and follow on foot. It is commendable to spare pain, and no trouble can be too

great to prevent the miserable escape of, say, a wounded rabbit, but a wounded tigress is not a wounded rabbit, and the Royal hunter was with difficulty dissuaded. He was not, however, disappointed of his quarry, and a little later got another chance at her with finishing effect.

His first tiger he got in Ceylon, a full-grown male, measuring 9 feet 6 inches. This incident was a revelation to the shikaris of the man with whom they had to deal. Plentiful was the good-natured, but officious withal, advice proffered to the Royal sportsman as to how, when, and where to shoot, in none of which did he require the least instruction. He chose his own time, took his own aim, and killed his beast exactly at the right moment. A fraction of delay and it would have charged, and there would have been all the confusion of bolting elephants, wild shooting, perhaps, a tiger clawing off a mahout, possibly, but the occasion never arose. After which it was reckoned advisable to let the King "gang his ain gait," with the results chronicled above.

Many other of the fauna of our Eastern Empire fell to his marksmanship; feathered game without number, some for the "pot," many as specimens, which were taken in hand and stuffed by a taxidermist who accompanied the suite. Probably the shot that gave the King the greatest satisfaction was a black buck at two hundred yards.

It is one thing to own a yacht, quite another to be a yachtsman. The late Royal Commodore of the Royal Yacht Squadron was both, and made a point of knowing his business in all its details. He was a thorough practical sailor. No man in the kingdom did more to popularise yachting, and to attract people to regattas, and under his patronage the Cowes and other meetings became fashionable functions. Neither was the patron without more substantial rewards than the affectionate recognition of the yachting world. With his famous yacht *Britannia*, and other vessels of less note, he carried off prize after prize, including the Queen's Cup five times. The trophies he kept for himself, the prize-money he distributed with Royal generosity among the crew.

From his early years he was very fond of being on the water. At Oxford he was constantly out in a boat, and there received due instruction in the art of rowing, though not subjected to that drastic coaching which compels the oarsman to remember seventeen different things each stroke, and to execute them all with the precision of a machine and the energy of a motor. Nevertheless, he was a sound, strong oar, and enjoyed a good pull.

Somewhat as in the case of Greece and Rome, save that she was never conquered, Scotland by her arts took captive the predominant partner until the worship of the golf

"bogey" extended from Berwick to Land's End. The King beheld the evolution of the sport in England from its embryo to its magnificent manhood. For a time the King was under the delusion, common to most of the uninitiated, that it was an "old man's game," but as soon as he began to appreciate its merits, he became an enthusiast. It is fair to say, however, that the game as it came to England was not the same in many respects as is played to-day.

For some not very obvious reason, it has been suggested that King Edward did not care for cricket, because he was not a successful cricketer. If he did not care for it, which is disputable, he at any rate showed a keen interest in the game, patronising as he did by his presence time and again some of the most important matches. That he should have been a brilliant cricketer is to expect a miracle. He simply had not the time if he had wanted; there is no outdoor game that makes greater demands on time than cricket. One can play as many sets of lawn tennis in an afternoon as of first-class cricket in a month.

Lawn tennis just suited the King, and right vigorously did he pursue it—too vigorously, perhaps, for the taste of some of those who had the honour of being his associates. There is an amusing picture in an illustrated paper of the mid-'seventies depicting King Edward, then Prince of Wales, in the Red Sea on his voyage to India. On the seats and against the bulwarks are the majority of the passengers in a state of somnolence, approaching collapse. The intervening space is occupied by a deck tennis-court, with the Prince dashing about in the heat of the game, wholly regardless of the heat of the atmosphere, with joyous energy, and three other players, not *quite* so energetic.

Later on in life, when tennis proved too strenuous, King Edward took up croquet in its modern development, and found great pleasure in that fascinating—or exasperating—pastime.

Above all these homely sports, however, he preferred, undoubtedly, a game of bowls, not the subtle, skilful, gentle game of the "billiard-table" lawn, but a roystering set-to in a bowling-alley, a sport bearing a close—a perilously close—resemblance to the humble and invigorating skittles. He used to delight in a turn with the bowls for an hour before dinner and for an hour before going to bed. How many minutes were included in that last hour only those who played with him can tell, but they not infrequently

numbered two hundred and more.

What a splendid all-round sportsman was King Edward, and what a patron of sport! In most he took an active part, and those in which he could not participate he encouraged.

It was a fitting and pathetic conclusion of the life of this Prince of sportsmen that his career on the Turf should end in victory. On the day of his death, *Witch of the Air* carried the Royal colours first past the post on the Turf. The news was communicated to the dying monarch. "I am very glad to hear it," he smiled. True sportsman to the last!



KING EDWARD AT A MEET OF THE WEST NORFOLK HUNT



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